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(First installment of "Cuu Long" article entitled "The lesson of mobilizing the people to fight the Americans," carried by QUAN DOI NHAN DAN magazine, February 1967)

(Text) During the past few years, we undertook a great ideological task to mobilize the people to fight the Americans. The year 1965 marked a turning point in the war. The Americans were completely defeated in their special war strategy. They aggressively sent U.S. expeditionary troops to directly invade our country. They greatly increased their means of war to massacre our people and intimidate our troops and people. We were in an advantageous situation. We were going to completely defeat the puppet forces, composed of half a million U.S.-trained, U.S.-equipped, and U.S.-commanded men, but then we had to fight the U.S. troops also. Ideologically speaking, in this situation we had many advantageous conditions in undertaking the task of mobilizing the people to fight the Americans. The reasons were:

1--In several years of fighting the special war in which the Americans used the puppet authorities and forces, we defeated many U.S. plots and tricks and defeated the U.S. strategies and tactics, such as the helicopter-borne tactic, armored vehicle-borne tactic, and so forth. We wiped out and captured a number of U.S. officers and soldiers. We acquired a number of experiences. Conditions justified our feeling that we would defeat the Americans.

2--We were in a strong and advantageous position. The liberated areas were enlarged. Fired with enthusiasm, the people actively participated in the resistance. The rotten puppet government disintegrated. Coups d'état and struggles for power broke out successively; our armed forces with three categories of troops developed, were deployed rationally, were equipped and trained relatively satisfactorily, and achieved victories. The regular units especially developed and grew quickly. The great rear, that is the north, defeated the war of destruction of the Americans and wholeheartedly supported the southern revolution.

3--In the field of leadership, there was clear-cut determination. There were plans for taking advantage of all opportunities to defeat the special war of the Americans and to achieve victory. But, at the same time, it was necessary to be vigilant and make preparations for directly fighting the U.S. troops, surely defeating the special war of the Americans under all circumstances in order to achieve independence and freedom and advance toward national unification.

4--Feeling deep hatred for the U.S. aggressors, fired with intense patriotism, and having great pride in our nation, all our troops and people were obviously proud of our ancestors' antiforeign aggression tradition, of our nine-year resistance, of Dien Bien Phu, and of our correct revolutionary line. That is why they enthusiastically and eagerly participated in the fight against the Americans.
U.S. expeditionary troops entered South Vietnam at a moment when the puppet authorities were on the verge of collapse. That is why the Americans were in a defensive state, would surely be defeated, and could not freely develop their aggressive power. They brazenly waged their aggressive war with their expeditionary troops, but could not remove their neocolonialist mask. That is why they had to rely on their strategic forces—U.S. and puppet troops. Yet, the puppet troops were declining and being disintegrated seriously. We had many advantages to develop our offensive position.

However, the fact that the Americans massively increased their forces by introducing hundreds of thousands of troops and a large quantity of modern means of war to directly invade our country brought about many problems which had to be assessed correctly and uniformly. Many problems had to be solved in the fields of executive methods, combat goals, combat organization, combat tactics, and so forth. Faced with a number of such problems, our ideological task was undertaken in an urgent and diversified way, with the aim of correcting erroneous or imperfect views and negative tendencies and smashing the enemy's psychological warfare argument and, at the same time, reaching uniform decisions, unifying the correct and revolutionary ideological views and tendencies, reaching accurate and concrete views about the U.S. power and about the revolutionary power, and building new aims and principles in order to further enrich the military art of the people's war.

It is difficult to assert when this ideological task was started. In fact, immediately after taking up weapons to fight, after the 1960 general uprisings, our southern people began fighting the Americans and facing the material power of the U.S. imperialists. Since then, our troops and people, whose hatred and patriotism had been stirred up, have clearly realized that the Americans are the aggressors, that they have trampled on our fatherland, destroyed our families, devastated our native land, and want to enslave our people again. Animated by this hatred, our people have fought and won. Every time the U.S. imperialists increased their material strength, the ideological weapon of our armed forces and people was accordingly improved and mobilized in order to prevail over them. In the same manner, we have won time and again.

Now, our people really face the aggressive forces of the United States. The ideological weapon now requires further improvement and better efficiency and is more urgent. At any rate, it is only a continuation of the task that we have carried out so far. Taking into account this challenge, since early 1965, our leaders have equipped all our troops and people with an idea: to be determined to defeat the U.S. special war and, at the same time, to prepare to defeat the U.S. limited war if it is ever started. By mid-1965 when the United States prepared public opinion and in fact brought a number of combat units into South Vietnam, reemphasis of this ideal became more pressing. Since then, we can generally note the following steps:

1—From October 1965 to the beginning of 1966, although basic and adequate realization of the turn of the war and of concrete strategic guidelines had been acquired, ideological work revolved around the strategic determination to defeat the U.S. aggressive expeditionary troops. We fought both the puppets and the Americans and scored great victories. The Americans sent more troops because they were passive and defeated. Although the Americans were stubborn and violent, we were winning and were determined to move forward, not to retreat a single step, and to defeat all of the Americans' schemes.
Some people asked about combat guidelines for fighting the Americans. The leadership pointed out that the guidelines for fighting the Americans would emerge on the battlefield and would mobilize all the armed forces and people to develop their initiatives in fighting the Americans.

In this phase, almost all units and localities enthusiastically stirred up hatred for the Americans, from denouncing the Americans' crimes against the Vietnamese people, fatherland, and families and individuals, to establishing statistics for the crimes committed by the Americans, asserting the determination to fight the Americans, launching the movement to offer plans for fighting the Americans, volunteering to fight the Americans, conducting ceremonies for setting out to fight the Americans, initiating the study and exchange of experiences, inviting those who were experienced in fighting the Americans to come to various units and localities—the main force units inviting guerrillas, and guerrillas of one locality inviting those of another locality—and conducting observation trips.

Experiences acquired at Nui Thanh, Van Tuong, and An Dien were the first experiences that were enthusiastically disseminated. Some localities had an opportunity to learn concrete experiences, others felt confident that they could do what the people were able to do. In this phase, the American-annihilating valiant fighters movement was launched and attracted enthusiastic participation. The congresses of American-annihilating valiant fighters held in various localities developed their effectiveness in arousing enthusiasm for fighting the Americans and successfully recapitulated many experiences in fighting the Americans.

Since the beginning of 1966, after the leading echelon formulated realizations of the Americans' schemes and of our strategic line and guidelines and determined the objects of combat and the determination to defeat the Americans under all circumstances, no matter how many more troops they introduced, the education conducted throughout the south equipped all cadres and combatants in the armed forces with such determination. This education resulted in the basic resolving of a number of major problems concerning our strategic line and guidelines. In addition, those responsible for conducting education also deeply analyzed in a relatively systematic manner the comparative balance of forces. They clearly pointed out the enemy's limited strong points and basic weaknesses and our own basic strong points and temporary weaknesses in a scientific, dialectical manner. With an actively revolutionary spirit, all higher and lower echelons rapidly and unanimously agreed on the above major realizations.

In this phase, the realities emerging on the battlefield after a few months of fighting against the Americans furnished extremely clear and strong evidence of the great capability and successes of our armed forces and people, of the fact that the U.S. aggressive troops' real strength was limited and could be defeated, and so forth. These facts strengthened the thoughts of all our armed forces and people one step further. In this phase the generation of hatred for the Americans continued. In the American-annihilating valiant fighters movement, which increasingly expanded and became more enthusiastic, outstanding American-annihilating heroes, such as Truong Van Hoe and Pham Van Coi, emerged. The movement had a great impact also on the people's armed forces.
3--Since May 1966, recapitulative results of the Americans' defeat in their 1965-1966 dry-season counteroffensive were comprehensively and rapidly disseminated. These results made quite an important contribution to consolidating the realization of the Americans' weaknesses and of our own successful offensive posture and further consolidating our confidence in success, our strength, our firm stand on protracted fighting, and our determination to achieve continued successes.

4--During the rainy season, the enemy maintained a defensive position while we were continuously on the offensive. We continued to win while the enemy continued to decline. Fighting on the battlefield was in a stalemate. Although the enemy was seriously passive on the battlefield, he still tried to increase the number of troops in order to make up for the decline in quality and the serious casualties suffered by his troops and to disseminate deceitful propaganda about imaginary successes. In this phase, our results during the rainy season, the historic appeals made by President Ho in July and by the South Vietnam National Liberation Front Central Committee in October, and the movement to learn from Nguyen Van Be continuously consolidated the results acquired through education. They continued to strengthen our determination to fight, raise our awareness of our initiative on the battlefield, of our capability to win increasingly greater successes, and of the enemy's vicious and cruel schemes; they continued to heighten our hatred for the aggressors who massacred our people, destroyed crops, and upset the people's life, and to stimulate our spirit of exerting outstanding efforts, overcoming all difficulties, and persistently surging forward to achieve successes.

Up to the present time, ideological work has been centered on thoroughly understanding the great tasks and objectives of the revolution, overcoming all difficulties, analyzing the enemy's state of being passive and defeated, and consolidating and heightening our determination to fight and defeat the U.S. aggressors. Even though we do not have sufficient conditions to make a complete tally, through a series of actions that we have taken so far and through some facts that have emerged on the battlegrounds, among the Liberation Armed Forces and the people, we are able to draw the following great experiences in the task of indoctrinating and mobilizing the anti-U.S. struggle:

1--An experience which involves a matter of principle but manifests very clearly and profoundly the task of indoctrinating and mobilizing the anti-U.S. struggle is that thorough understanding of the strategic purpose of the revolution is of primary and decisive importance in the entire ideological task. It is necessary to emphasize the purpose of the struggle and the war and to identify the enemy of the revolution and the war whom we must defeat and annihilate. If we fail to point out or instill in the minds of cadres and soldiers of the armed forces these relevant points, we can never build a steel-like, constant determination to fight both the Americans and the puppets and to defeat the Americans no matter how large their forces may be.

This determination is built on the foundation of intensive activation of the mind and aspirations of the overwhelming majority of cadres, soldiers, and people in order to create an immensely spiritual strength. This spiritual strength is a synthesis of patriotism, class and national pride, and private and national animosity, rather than a personal, selfish feud.
This hatred is illuminated and vented into a very high determination to fight. With a correct, clear, and profound understanding of the enemy forces and ours, we are able to define a clear and realistic strategic line which helps everyone realize that our course is bright and clear.

However, this understanding is not built upon the analysis of the leader only but rests firmly on the foundation of everyone's direct or indirect experiences, making everyone see generally the common line of the country and his private line. The statement "in my life, if I do not fight the Americans, I would work as a servant," reflects clearly the demands and aspirations of the overwhelming majority of the working people, having both a class and national character. It is a firm base for the strategic line and determination to defeat the Americans to liberate the country, win back independence and freedom, and move toward reunification of the fatherland.

This determination is also based on the realities of the history of the long and glorious struggle of our nation: from the time when with empty hands we rose up to fight the French, expel the Japanese, and win the power to (words indistinct) the nine-year armed struggle that defeated the French expeditionary corps of some 100,000 men. This history has provided every Vietnamese with a rich store of experiences and a sure skill in armed struggle against foreign aggression. This skill is handed down from fathers to sons and from sons to grandsons.

The determination to defeat the Americans and liberate South Vietnam is closely associated with the determination to defend North Vietnam. Our entire country is immersed in a state of war. The south is the great front, the north the great rear area. The Vietnamese people fight anywhere on the territory of the beloved Vietnam fatherland, share an old national animosity against imperialist aggressors, and have the same pride in the fortitude and indomitable tradition of our nation. Thus, the common determination of leaders easily becomes everyone's real determination. This determination is the big source of strength, which creates other powers and brave, heroic, and clever acts to serve as the foundation for an excellent, superb military skill. When there is a common, deep-seated determination, leaders are firmly confident in the masses of people, and the masses of people in their leaders. Any problems which have not been solved will be settled on the spot as the fight is carried on. The saying of the leaders: "The guidelines for fighting the Americans will emerge on the battlegrounds," which has been enthusiastically accepted by the majority of cadres and soldiers, reflects this great unanimity.

However, the ideological task does not end there. This determination can be turned into strength only when the leaders apply it to the fulfillment of their duties of mobilizing the masses of people, activating their initiative, mobilizing to gain experiences by studying how the Americans live, transport things, and conduct operations or defense, then finding out the enemy's weaknesses and vital points in order to attack them. The masses of people have learned that "a burly American is an easy target." This shows the heroism of our nation in fighting the aggressors. When they see a big American, they do not need to know how strong he is or how fast he can run; they see immediately that he is an easy target.
It is a marvelous experience—an experience of heroes. Let us ask: Without a revolutionary spirit, how can one accept such an experience? Many small and young soldiers such as Tran Thanh Hiep have learned that when there is hatred, a young boy can stab an American to death. By spearing him with a bayonet and squeezing a gun trigger at the same time, one can surely kill him.

When we had not fought with entire American units, we did not have these experiences. However, the leaders were confident that marvelous acts of the same type would take place among the masses of people, and the leaders from top to bottom echelons felt the revolutionary strength of the people. It is unnecessary to wait for them to come. We must move out to attack the Americans when we encounter them or search and kill them. Acts of revolutionary heroism will come up very often together with many superb tactics of the Liberation Armed Forces in the fight against the Americans. Here the ideological task must guard against two tendencies:

A—Building a superficial determination and teaching simply the common tasks in a general manner and then shouting some slogans to express determination and considering the ideological task to be completed. This is wrong, for it is bureaucratic, superficial, lazy, and even an idealistic ideological task.

B—Supposing that only when there is every practical condition to solve all questions and difficulties can we have the basic determination. This is a rightist, negative task which is characterized by the fear of difficulties and hardships.

It is necessary to build determination with an extensive ideological task by vigorously mobilizing the people, analyzing every cause of the task, and setting forth the line to overcome all difficulties, while getting further into realities to solve these difficulties in order to enhance the material strength which in turn bolsters the spiritual strength. However, in the entire process of creating unanimity in the execution of the task and planning the strategic line, the improvement of the determination to fight is the most fundamental work, the primary work which must be done repeatedly, continuously, and forever.

Concluding Installment

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(Text) 2—Another experience is that the ideological task must have a mass character and must be carried out in accordance with a mass viewpoint. This principle has been very clearly manifested in mobilizing the people to fight the Americans. It has been manifested primarily by the fact that the highest leading echelon has thoroughly understood the inner thoughts and expectations of the cadres and combatants at all levels and of all strata of the people. It was not accidental that heroine Nguyen Thi Ut said that in fighting the Americans, we must fight them until we have nothing left. Nor is it accidental that this statement has been acclaimed by many people. Although it sounds simple, this statement reflects the truth, the truth of the Vietnamese laboring people and of all Vietnamese people, who rose up to break the yoke of slavery, who are determined not to be enslaved again, and who would rather make sacrifices in struggle than agree to being trampled on until death by the aggressors and Vietnamese traitors.
If this struggle is not accomplished by the present generation, it will be
carried on by the next generation. It is for this reason that the ideological
task involved in mobilizing the anti-U.S. struggle has not only been highlighted
at various conferences and in appeals and essays, but has also been manifested
in a lively, rich, and deep manner among the broad masses and in all units and
localities.

This task has been carried out primarily by generating hatred for the enemy; that
is, stirring up old, new, common, and personal hatred which deeply arouses man's
emotions. The essence of each source of hatred embodies many things ranging from
nationality, class, freedom, human dignity, sentiments, and so forth. Therefore,
there are no limits to repeating these things. The more we repeat them, the
stronger our hatred becomes. These things never become old, and each time we
repeat them there is always something new about them. When mentioned, they
make everyone think and provide everyone with greater strength. Moreover, as
long as the U.S. imperialists persist in their aggression against Vietnam and
as long as the American lackeys exist, new crimes will still be committed. Each
crime of the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys, regardless of where it is
perpetrated, creates hatred among all of us. The more the U.S. imperialists
and their lackeys pile up their crimes, the more comprehensively must we generate
hatred for them and the more this hatred arouses one's emotion. The source of
hatred is never exhausted. It is necessary to make sure that the more drastically
the enemy resorts to terrorism, the more our people are unafraid of him and the
more our people meet the hatred and determination to annihilate him.

The generation of hatred was followed by the launching of other movements, such
as the movements to develop traditions and initiatives, suggest strategies,
learn experiences, act out to attack the enemy, and, finally, the movement of
mobilization to annihilate the Americans. Each movement exerts a good two-sided
impact: on the one hand, one person mobilizes the other and understands the
other's will, determination, and experiences, thereby striving to strengthen
his own determination and will and making use of his own experiences; on the other
hand, the intelligence of many people is pooled together and forms a rich and
penetrating collective intelligence that makes the commanding and leading
members more clear-sighted and experienced. Through each movement, the masses
become further imbued with determination, and, at the same time, the program of
action becomes clearer and clearer and the general determination increasingly
greater, deeper, and more concrete.

An outstanding characteristic of the present ideological task is the generation
of the emulation movement to win the glorious "American-annihilating valiant
combatant" and "American-annihilating valiant unit and locality" titles. In
our time, the words "annihilation of Americans" truly reflect the "kill the enemy"
spirit of our elders. It was not accidental that a certain organ took the
initiative in initiating the American-annihilation movement. Since the time
seven valiant combatants took heroic actions in (words indistinct), the
heroic bearing of our people was strongly aroused. Since then, the story about
the American-annihilating valiant combatants at Nui Thanh has aroused people's
emotions. When the movement to mobilize the people to fight the Americans
was rising a high tide, everyone was anxious to have a certain criterion, a certain
clearly defined movement, or a certain concrete and glorious title so that a
concrete program of action could be worked out.
This desire did not represent a desire for title and position, it represented a
warm patriotism, revolutionary aspiration, and spirit of revolt against foreign
aggression of all Vietnamese who once had engraved the words "rebel against
the enemy" on their arms and surged forward to save the country. This desire represented a
violent urge of revolting spirit. Therefore, the American and puppet forces' multiple names, such as Black Tiger, Angel, Air Cavalry, Big Red One, Lightning,
Blue Dragon, White Tiger, and so forth, are but tasteless, empty, and ridiculous
names that the puppet soldiers who still had a little conscience and who bore them
have felt ashamed and awkward about. For the past 10 years, these names have
merely evoked something disgusting and horrible in people's minds.

No sooner had the words "American-annihilating valiant combatant" emerged then they
became something very intimate to everyone, from the young combatant to the cadre
of an organ, from the comrade liaison agent to the [ ?, why?], and from middle-aged
peasants to girls. These words have become the subject matter of intimate talks
between two friends, two lovers, and young couples. People have put down the
criteria in their notebooks, (words indistinct) the seven criteria on their rifle
butts, asked one another about the criteria in order to learn by heart, and discussed
the possibility of lending one another the number of American soldiers they killed,
in order to help one another win the glorious and familiar title soon.

The American-annihilating movement is indeed a highly significant emulation movement. It is both universal and concrete, and, therefore, is extraordinarily attractive. The movement has advanced one step further in that it has made people thoroughly
imbued with determination and made this determination concrete. It has thereby
translated the determination to annihilate the Americans into the entire country's
great revolutionary determination of far-reaching significance to all the world,
and into everyone's concrete, familiar, and interesting daily task.

Many units and localities have demonstrated their strongpoints by holding timely
congresses of American-annihilating valiant combatants amid the flames of war and by
their structures with a view to commending the deserving combatants extensively,
and, at the same time, exchanging fresh experiences. These congresses have a very
great political significance, a very high ideological value, and are a great
mobilizing force. Many localities have extended the American-annihilating
movement into various fields by launching such movements as the movement to hold a
hoo in one hand and a rifle in the other and the valiant production combatant
movement. So far, the American-annihilating valiant combatant movement has been
supplemented by the movement to win glorious titles, which indicates the present
combat requirements and which is developing comprehensively.

All experiences of mass character of these ideological tasks are not only concrete
experiences of methods and organization, but are primarily a manifestation of the
leadership's extremely firm and correct strategic determination.

3-A very outstanding lesson in mobilizing the people to fight the Americans is the
conduct of repeated education with a view to accurately realizing the cooperative
balance of forces between us and the enemy. This is also a lesson which has a
principled character. To fight an enemy, it is necessary to clearly know him and our
own forces. This experience is not new. It is but an extension and development of the
very comprehensive experience acquired by the South Vietnam revolutionary movement.
for more than 10 years. It is the classical experience of a small nation that has had to
resist and defeat an enemy that is more powerful in terms of weapons and material.
For many years, the leading echelon asserted the following truth before the southern
revolutionary people: the aggressors have very basic weaknesses, whereas the strength
of our people is invincible.

Since then, our people have continuously tried to identify the enemy's weaknesses
and our own strongpoints. As a result, even at the most perilous and dangerous
movement, when the revolutionary forces were still small while the reactionary
aggressive forces were violently showing off their power, our people were still
capable of identifying the strong points of the revolution and the weaknesses of the
enemy, and, thereby, were able to fight persistently to defeat him.

The analysis of the comparative balance of friendly and enemy forces has increasingly
enabled our people to profoundly realize that the enemy has very basic weaknesses and
will surely fall and that we have very basic strongpoints and will surely win. This
is not a subjective observation. The truth embodied in it has been proved by an
entire process of actual struggle. We are actually strong, because we are a united
people and have a high revolutionary spirit. Our moral strength is invincible and
is capable of generating considerable material strength. Although the enemy has
large quantities of weapons and money, his cause is unjust. He is morally inferior
to us and, therefore, is weak. In other words, our people have realized more and more
clearly the enormous and boundless strength of revolutionary spirit and the limited
strength and basic weaknesses of the reactionaries and aggressors. So far, the
situation of our anti-U.S. struggle has been complex. Yet, owing to the above
experiences, our ideological task has a clearcut trend. To make very objective
and scientific observations about the comparative balance of forces between the
Americans and us, in order to attain and firmly grasp the truth that the Americans
have many very basic weaknesses and will surely be defeated and that we have many
very basic strongpoints and will surely defeat the Americans, also constitutes a
process.

The Americans have introduced their expeditionary troops into our country with enormous
quantities of weapons, money, and other material. They have also tried to create the
impression that they are the richest and most powerful nation in the world. They have
resorted to many extremely cruel war instruments and tricks and, at the same time,
tried to use insidious psychological warfare to amplify their material strength.
Therefore, in making observations about the U.S. imperialists, it is often easier
to see their material strength than to realize their basic weaknesses.

As for our great strength, it lies primarily in the line concerning leading the war,
which has been instilled in the hearts and minds of the cadres and combatants and in
the hearts and lives of the mothers, women, brother guerrillas, and young children
who have translated their strength into acts of "building another house if this one
is burned down" and "digging shelters to live in when it is impossible to live in
houses." Thus, after having engaged in direct battle against the U.S. expeditionary
and satellite troops, the matter of realizing very clearly the comparative balance
of forces—that is, to clearly identify the strongpoints and weaknesses of the
Americans and puppets and the strength of our armed forces and people—became a
major task.
This matter is very broad and contains many scientific matters that cannot be dealt with in a simple and practical manner. It must be raised in conjunction with various categories: essence and phenomenon, entirety and partiality, the material and the intellect, quantity and quality, economic and military, the problems of contradictions, and so forth.

It is necessary to clearly assess the state of passiveness and defeat of the Americans and puppets, clearly assess the quality and combativity of the 500,000-man army which is disintegrating, and clearly assess the direction of the development of this army in order to see whether it will be reinforced or, on the contrary, will further decline, disintegrate, and lose its influence despite the U.S. buildup. It is necessary to clearly assess the labels of independence, freedom, allied aid, and so forth in order to see whether they will increase or decrease the contradictions between our people and the aggressors.

It is necessary to assess the combativity of U.S. troops who are equipped with cumbersome means of war, but who do not have a just cause, who are stupid and immoral. It is necessary to assess the characteristics of the logistic difficulties encountered by the Americans. It is true that they are rich, but their needs are great and complex. For instance, each U.S. soldier on an average needs several tons of equipment and supplies each month. Thus, with a force of 500,000 or 400,000 men, it is necessary to transport millions of tons of supplies. If they lack anything, they cannot fight, and so forth.

Only by combining several factors is it possible to clearly realize the enemy's basic weaknesses and the direction of the development of these weaknesses which will be increasingly numerous and complex. Then passing from generalities to concrete realities on the battlefield--such as the Americans are afraid of sunlight, they are amazed at everything, they roar when one of them dies, they despise the puppet troops while the latter avoid and boycott the former, they shoot at one another in error or intentionally, the Americans are afraid of snakes and ants, they like to swim at springs or lakes when it is sunny, and so forth--through combat realities, we realize more clearly our basic strong-points as well as the enemy's basic weaknesses.

With this realization, our cadres and combatants have invented many tactics for defeating the Americans. Our Americans-exterminating heroes have appeared in increasingly large numbers. Ideologically, cadres and combatants have passed from a realization of generalities to that of concrete points, and relied on this evidence of concrete points to realize more clearly the generalities. Their stand and views have been improved. Their confidence has become greater. However, in analyzing and comparing forces, we must not analyze only the Americans' weakness. We must also clearly realize the bad effects of their material strength, such as planes, artillery, armored vehicles, and chemical poisons. We must not only clearly realize this strength, but also the limitations and weaknesses so that we can develop our strong-points with the aim of overcoming it.

The slogans "Pinch the Americans' belts and beat them" and "Smear your sword with American blood," which are appearing at present, have special meaning. Among the people has appeared the slogan "Good shelter is better than good house." These are manifestations of a revolutionary spirit, of a determination to spot and defeat the enemy.
Recognizing the enemy who is rich in weapons, material strength, and money, like the Americans, in a tense and fierce war is not a simple task, especially in very fierce battles or after such battles in a particular situation of a certain definite locality and when faced with temporary difficulties in life and with material shortages. In this case, it is necessary to explain that our difficulties and shortages are temporary and secondary and are surmountable, that these difficulties are a natural consequence of the revolutionary development. It is necessary to explain that the main factor of our strength is our combative spirit, our determination to overcome difficulties, that the enemy intentionally creates difficulties for us with the hope of escaping defeat.

We overcome difficulties. This means that we drive the enemy increasingly deeper into a state of passiveness and greater defeat. For instance he fires guns to prevent us from coming near and attacking him. But if we attack him with determination and resourcefulness, we will win. If he uses armored vehicles to threaten us and if we are unafraid and bravely and resourcefully destroy his armored vehicles, we will win. Thus, our moral strength enables us to make our weapons in hand much stronger than the enemy's weapons.

For instance, the enemy has many modern planes and artillery pieces. Sometimes they use millions of gallons of gasoline and thousands of tons of bombs and bullets. Yet the effect of these weapons is less than one-tenth of that of some of our mortars. Our combatants have proudly said that the Americans have B-52 planes and we have 81-mm mortars, yet the Americans are afraid of our 81-mm mortars, that is our 81-mm mortars, and we are unafraid of their B-52 planes. That is why, in this race for changing the balance of power, the Americans are no match for us.

We develop our boundless moral force. As for the enemy, no matter how many material forces he may employ, they still remain limited. The enemy wants to triumph over our revolutionary spirit with his material strength, but we have correctly assessed his limited material forces. If we are determined to win, we will certainly defeat the enemy. Education concerning the comparison of forces does not only require a display of all our current aspects and those of the enemy but also requires us to see both our continuing development and that of the enemy, which is also important. Through history our people have clearly seen that we have developed from "have not" to "have" and from weak to strong, and the imperialists, either French or American, have gone from strong to weak and from their temporarily firm posture to that of passiveness and defeat.

At present, our armed forces are not small and weak but have become strong, experienced, and seasoned. Our people have become rich in experiences and have been much tested and forged. After 10 years of building, our large rear possesses steadfast strength. The world sympathizes with and loves us very much and admires and (word indistinct) aids us. All this has increased constantly, has become more and more consolidated, and has increasingly strengthened us. As for the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys, they have been increasingly weakened, isolated, and despised, and their contradictions have become increasingly numerous and more and more acute.
Through (words indistinct) and entire process with serious complications, our common tendency is to become stronger the more we fight, and the enemy's common tendency is to become weaker the more he fights. It is not easy to discover this truth. However, through more than 20 years of continuous struggle, our people have had sufficient conditions with regard to time and experiences to clearly see this truth. Only by advancing this truth can we further strengthen our confidence and determination to win, thus providing very precise and scientific bases and no longer the object of guesswork and debate.

Therefore, the educational process concerning the comparison of forces is a process for building fighting stands, building ideological methods, encouraging and mobilizing revolutionary heroism, analyzing events scientifically and objectively in conformity with revolutionary dialectics, and firmly consolidating confidence in our ability to win successes. If we fail to build our stand and viewpoints, we cannot receive scientific explanations in conformity with revolutionary dialectics. If we fail to build the concept that man is the decisive factor, we cannot correctly assess the limited nature of the material force.

The educational task aimed at having a correct assessment of the comparison of forces is a steadfast and permanent task, which is sometimes general, sometimes, concrete, sometimes aimed mainly at building viewpoints and stands, and sometimes must consider the improvement of ideological methods as the main objective.

Recently, the educational task aimed at acquiring a correct assessment of the comparison of forces has been a very great, collective task. All levels and branches have been busy with this task. At all times, all localities have been fulfilling this task, one of the most important tasks among all tasks of mobilizing to fight the Americans. The task of mobilizing to fight the Americans is a very great, versatile, many-sided, and difficult task. Here, this task cannot be presented in full, and we can only begin to present some of its most striking features.

The task of mobilizing to fight the Americans in the past two years can be considered an important success of our ideological task, and its successes and experiences are of very great significance. The task of mobilizing to fight the Americans has made an important, main contribution to the successes of our armed forces and people in fighting the Americans and has, at the same time, justified even more the important role of the ideological task and put forth its concrete subjects. The task of mobilizing to fight the Americans has clearly shown that the ideological task is not only (words indistinct) and to shout slogans but it is also a versatile, scientific task, which can develop its strength only when it is carried out in a systematic, basic, concrete, and thorough manner.

The task of mobilizing to fight the Americans recently has also clearly shown the strength of the revolutionary spirit, the strength of the masses when they have had the determination to carry out a revolution. From this, the task of mobilizing to fight the Americans has put forth the problem of comparison of forces between the revolutionary people's forces and all reactionary, invading forces. This task has cast light on this truth: the revolutionary people's forces which are organized, guided, and educated closely and correctly are invincible forces able to defeat all aggressors and weapons. This task reminds us that through this process of fierce struggle, the task of improving, mobilizing, and strengthening our determination thoroughly and all other political, educational tasks constantly play an important, main role.