REVIONISM AND THE ARMED FORCES

by Hoang Van Thai
ARTICLE: "IT IS NECESSARY TO HOLD FAST TO THE PARTY MILITARY LINE AND CHECK THE REVISIONIST INFLUENCE IN THE MILITARY SPHERE"

(ALL BRACKETS AND ELLIPSSES ARE AS PUBLISHED)

(TEXT) AT PRESENT, THE SOUTHERN PART OF OUR COUNTRY IS CARRYING OUT A LIBERATION WAR AGAINST THE U.S. IMPERIALIST AGGRESSORS.

AND THE NORTH HAS TO MAINTAIN ITS READINESS AT ALL TIMES TO STRUGGLE TO SMASH THE CFMS. IMPERIALIST SCHEME OF EXPANDING THEIR AGGRESSIVE WAR. TODAY MORE THAN EVER BEFORE, OUR CADRES, SERVICEMEN, AND PEOPLE MUST HOLD FAST TO THE PARTY MILITARY LINE IN ORDER TO BUILD AND STRENGTHEN OUR ARMED FORCES, CONSOLIDATE NATIONAL DEFENSE, STRENGTHEN THE PROLETARIAN DICTATORSHIP, AND INSURE THE SUCCESS OF THE REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE.

SIMULTANEOUSLY WITH THEIR DISTORTION OF AND OPPOSITION TO THE MARXIST-LENINIST LINE WITH REGARD TO ALL ESSENTIAL PROBLEMS OF WORLD POLITICS, THE MODERN REVISIONISTS ARE TRYING TO DISTORT AND REJECT THE MARXIST-LENINIST VIEWS ON WAR AND THE ARMY AND ON THE RULES OF WAR AND ARMED STRUGGLE. THEREFORE, OFFICERS AND MEN OF OUR ARMED FORCES MUST HEIGHTEN THEIR REVOLUTIONARY VIGILANCE, SMASH ANY ARGUMENT OF MODERN REVISIONISM, AND CHECK ITS INFLUENCE IN ORDER TO CORRECTLY IMPLEMENT THE PARTY LINE.

ONE --- THE MAIN ERRORS COMMITTED BY THE MODERN REVISIONISTS IN THE MILITARY SPHERE


THE FIRST BASIC RULE OF WAR WHICH THE MODERN REVISIONISTS ARE TRYING TO DISTORT OR REJECT IS THE RULE THAT WAR IS DEPENDENT ON POLITICS.


ATOMIC WEAPONS AND INTERNATIONAL BALLISTIC MISSILES HAVE BROUGHT ABOUT A LEAP FORWARD IN THE NATURE OF WAR AND THAT IMPERIALISM CAN NO LONGER USE WAR TO ATTAIN ITS POLITICAL GOALS BECAUSE THE OUTBREAK OF A NEW WAR WOULD MEAN THE DOOMSDAY OF MANKIND AND THE ANNIHILATION OF BOTH OPPOSING SIDES. THEREFORE, WAR IS NO LONGER A CONTINUATION OF POLITICS, IT WOULD BE A CONTINUATION OF THE POLITICS OF THE "WAR MANIACS" WITHIN THE RANKS OF THE IMPERIALISTS AND OF THOSE WHO LACK "CLEARPASIGHTEDNESS" AND WHO ARE "WARLIKE" WITHIN THE SOCIALIST CAMP.

IS IT DUE TO THE APPEARANCE OF ATOMIC WEAPONS THAT IMPERIALISM HAS RENOUNCED THE USE OF WAR TO CARRY OUT ITS CONQUERING THE WHOLE WORLD? ALL THE MARXIST-LENINISTS REPLY THAT IT IS NOT RPT NOT SO. THE PRACTICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN THE WORLD ALSO PRODUCES A "NEGATIVE REPLY."
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HANOI HOCH TAP VIETNAMESE APRIL
1964 (PARTY MILITARY LINE) XXX A NEGATIVE REPLY.

(TEX) ONE ASKS WHAT IS THE AIM OF ALL THE PROGRAMS AND PLANS
OF ARMAMENT, ESPECIALLY OF PRODUCTION OF ATOMIC WEAPONS, WHICH
WESTERN COUNTRIES ARE CARRYING OUT? ARE THEY NOT AIMED
AT ENRICHING THE POCKETS OF THE MONOPOLIST CAPITALISTS IN
IMPERIALIST COUNTRIES? THE PRESENT POLITICAL LINE OF THE U.S.
IMPERIALISTS CONSISTS OF USING EVERY SORT OF TRICK TO ENSLAVE
THE WORLD IN ORDER TO GAIN THE GREATEST NET PROFIT AND SAVE
THEIR OUTDATED CAPITALISM FROM ITS DOOM. THE FIGURE OF NET
PROFITS THAT THE U.S. IMPERIALISTS OBTAINED FROM THE NUCLEAR ARMS
RACE IN PREPARATION FOR LAUNCHING WAR CLEARLY PROVES THAT FACT:
IN 1953 NINETEEN THIRTY-NINE 2.3 TWO POINT THREE BILLION DOLLARS;
IN 1949 NINETEEN FORTY-NINE 27.2 TWENTY-SEVEN BILLION DOLLARS
MILITARY BUDGET: 12 TWELVE BILLION), AND IN 1959 NINETEEN
FIFTY-NINE 47.447 FORTY-SEVEN BILLION DOLLARS (MILITARY BUDGET:
64 FORTY-SIX BILLION).

THE U.S. IMPERIALISTS THEMSELVES HAVE SPOKEN OF THEIR
SCHEME TO PREPARE FOR WAR. U.S. CHAIRMAN OF THE JOINT CHEFS
OF STAFF TAYLOR WROTE IN "DESPERATE STRATEGY": "THE U.S. MILITARY
PROGRAM COMPRISES ALL INTELLIGENT MEASURES... TO ATTAIN OUR
NATIONAL GOAL AND, AFTER MILITARY ACTIONS HAVE BEEN SUCCESSFULLY
DEVELOPED, WE WILL BUILD THE MOST BEAUTIFUL WORLD." THIS
MOST BEAUTIFUL WORLD, WHICH IS THE OUTCOME OF MILITARY
ACTION, IS ACCORDING TO U.S. SENATOR (ROBERT TECKERMOTT-
PHONETIC) "ONLY A WORLD IN WHICH OUR WILL ACTUALLY TRIUMPHS...
AND IN WHICH INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS WILL BE BASED NOT
RPT NOT UPON COMPROMISE, BUT UPON COERCION AND COMPLETE COERCION."

LET US ASK: WHAT IS THE U.S. IMPERIALISTS' AIM IN

ESTABLISHING MISSILE BASES THROUGHOUT THE WORLD SURROUNDING THE
SOCIALIST CAMP, IN CONTINUING TO CARRY OUT ABOUT A DOZEN OF
UNDERGROUND ATOMIC TESTS RECENTLY, AND SO FORTH?

THE MARXIST-LENINISTS NEVER DENY THAT THE DEVELOPMENT
OF WEAPONS TO A CERTAIN DEGREE WILL HAVE A DEFINITE EFFECT UPON
THOSE WHO USE THEM, BUT THIS EFFECT ABSOLUTELY DOES NOT RPT NOT
CHANGE THE CLASS AND POLITICAL NATURE OF THE IMPERIALIST CLIQUE.
ON THE CONTRARY, THE NEW WEAPONS IN THE IMPERIALISTS' HANDS
CONSTITUTE A FACTOR THAT FURTHER STIMULATES THEIR AMBITION,
THE SAVAGE AND BARBAROUS ACTS OF THE U.S. IMPERIALISTS IN
USING ATOMIC BOMBS TO MASSACRE TENS OF THOUSANDS OF THE
JAPANESE AIMED AT MENACING AND INTIMIDATING WORLDPEOPLES.
IT OPENED A PERIOD IN WHICH THE U.S. IMPERIALISTS RELIED UPON
ATOMIC BOMBS TO CARRY OUT THEIR WARRIORS AND AGGRESSIVE POLITICAL
LINE.

SINCE THEN IF THE U.S. IMPERIALISTS HAVE NOT RPT NOT DARED
TO COMMIT NEW CRIMES WITH ATOMIC WEAPONS, IT IS MAINLY BECAUSE
THEY ARE TREMBLING BEFORE THE STRENGTH OF THE PEACE-LOVING
AND DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT AND OF SOCIALISM. NONE CAN FORGET THAT
DURING THE DAYS WHEN THE U.S. IMPERIALISTS SUFFERED SUCCESSIVE
DEFEATS IN THE AGGRESSIVE WAR AGAINST NORTH KOREA (1950
NINETEEN FIFTY-1953 NINETEEN FIFTY-THREE) AND WHEN THE FRENCH
IMPERIALISTS WERE DEFEATED IN THE AGGRESSIVE WAR AGAINST
VIETNAM (1945 NINETEEN FORTY-FIVE-1954 NINETEEN FIFTY-FOUR), THE
U.S. IMPERIALISTS SEVERAL TIMES SPOKE OF ADVENTUROUSLY USING
ATOMIC WEAPONS TO OVERCOME THEIR THEN DIFFICULT SITUATION, BUT
BEFORE THEY DARED NOT RPT NOT COMMIT ADDITIONAL CRIMES WITH
ATOMIC WEAPONS, FEARING THAT THIS USE NOT RPT NOT ONLY WOULD
RPT NOT HELP THEM SOLVE ANY PROBLEM, BUT ALSO WOULD CAUSE
UNIMAGINABLE CONSEQUENCES IN THE POLITICAL FIELD.
HANOI HOC TAP VIETNAMESE APRIL 1964 (PARTY MILITARY LINE) XXX THE POLITICAL FIELD.

(TEXT) IN THEORY AND PRACTICE, MODERN REVISIONISTS ARE UNABLE TO FIND ANY EVIDENCE AND REASON TO PROVE THAT NOWADAYS WAR IS NO LONGER A CONTINUATION OF POLITICS. BUT THEY CONTINUE TO ADHERE TO THEIR ERRONEOUS VIEW. MOREOVER, THEY STRESS THE "ACCIDENT" FACTOR TO DISTORT AND REJECT THE RULE OF DEPENDENCE OF WAR UPON POLITICS, BY SAYING FOR INSTANCE THAT "THE DISASTER OF A WORLD WAR MAY BE CAUSED BY THE BREAKING DOWN OF THE GUIDING MACHINERY OF THE MISSILE BRANCH OR BY A FIT OF MENTAL DERANGEMENT OF THE PILOT." THIS ARGUMENT IS ONLY A REPITITION OF THE ARGUMENTS OF THE IMPERIALIST PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE ORGANS ABOUT THE DANGEROUSNESS OF THE DESTRUCTION OF THE GLOBE.


STARTING FROM THE DENIAL OF THE RULE OF THE DEPENDENCE OF WAR ON POLITICS, MODERN REVISIONISM HAS SHIFTED TO DENYING THE RULE CONCERNING THE DECISIVE ROLE OF THE MASSES IN WAR.


IT IS THE MASSES OF PEOPLE IN THE INVADED COUNTRIES, IN THEIR OWN COUNTRIES, AND IN OTHER COUNTRIES THROUGHOUT THE WORLD WHO HAVE DEFeated THE WARLIKE AND AGGRESSIVE SCHEMES AND ACTIONS OF THE IMPERIALISTS. THE POLITICAL LINE CONSISTING OF RELYING ON WEAPONS AND ARMED FORCES TO SAVE THE OUTDATED AND REACTIONARY CAPITALIST SYSTEM HAS FURTHER ISOLATED THE IMPERIALISTS, CAUSED THE MASSES OF PEOPLE TO FEEL MORE HATED FOR THE IMPERIALISTS, AND STRENGTHENED THE DETERMINATION OF THE MASSES TO DEFEAT ALL CRIMINAL ACTIONS AND SCHEMES OF THE IMPERIALISTS IN ORDER TO DEstroy IMPERIALISM, SAVE MANKIND FROM AN ATROCIOUS DEATH, AND BUILD A WORLD WHERE THERE IS NOT RPT NOT EXPLOITATION OF MAN BY MAN.


NOT RPT NOT EXPLOITATION OF MAN BY MAN.
NATURALLY THE IMPERIALISTS' VIEW DIFFERS TOTALY FROM THE MARXIST VIEW ABOUT THE ROLE OF THE MASSES IN WAR. THE IMPERIALISTS CONCEDE THAT THE MASSES PLAY A DECISIVE ROLE ONLY BECAUSE MEN ARE NECESSARY "LIVING BEINGS" TO HANDLE WEAPONS, WHILE THE MARXISTS RECOGNIZE THE ROLE OF THE MASSES BECAUSE THE LATTER BELONG TO A DEFINITE CLASS AND THEY CREATE EVERYTHING, INCLUDING WAR MATERIAL.

MODERN REVISIONISTS HAVE, AT CERTAIN MOMENTS, DECLARED THAT THE MASSES PLAY A DECISIVE ROLE IN WAR, BUT THROUGH THEIR PROPAGANDA ARGUMENTS AND ACTIONS THE ROLE OF THE MASSES HAS BECOME UNIMPORTANT, IT IS NOT RPT NOT FORTUITOUS THAT MODERN REVISIONISTS HAVE REPEATED THE IMPERIALIST ARGUMENTS THAT "NOW, DIVISIONS ARE ONLY FLESH TARGETS; TO SPEAK OF THE BALANCE OF MILITARY FORCES IS TO SPEAK OF THE NUMBER OF NUCLEAR BOMBS AND FIGHTER PLANES." "NOW MILITIAMEN DO NOT RPT NOT BELONG TO THE ARMED FORCES," AND SO FORTH.


HANOI HOC TAP VIETNAMESE APRIL 1964 (PARTY MILITARY LINE) XXX PROLETARIAT ASSUME POWER. (TEXT) WHILE ASSERTING THE DECISIVE ROLE OF THE MASSES IN WAR, WE MUST NOT RPT NOT UNDERESTIMATE THE ROLE OF WEAPONS. WE UNDERSTAND CLEARLY THAT TO DEFEAT THE IMPERIALISTS AND REDUCE THE PEOPLE'S SACRIFICES WE NEED WEAPONS. OUR COUNTRY AND OTHER SOCIALIST COUNTRIES ARE SAVING DONG BY DONG AND TAKING ADVANTAGE OF ALL AVAILABLE CAPACITIES TO PRODUCE MORE POWERFUL WEAPONS; INCLUDING NUCLEAR WEAPONS. WE HIGHLY REGARD THE


WE ALSO REGARD THE PRODUCTION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS BY ANOTHER SOCIALIST COUNTRY AS NECESSARY TO INCREASE THE CAPACITY OF PROTECTING WORLD PEACE AND PROTECTING THE SOCIALIST CAMP. HOWEVER, DESPITE THESE CONSIDERATIONS, WE MUST NOT RPT NOT DENY THE DECISIVE ROLE OF THE MASSES; WE MUST NOT RPT NOT BASE OURSELVES ON NUCLEAR WEAPONS TO FORMULATE THE STRATEGY AND TACTICS OF THE REVOLUTIONARY ARMED FORCES; WE MUST NOT RPT NOT REGARD NUCLEAR WEAPONS AS THE DECISIVE FACTOR IN THE SUCCESS OR FAILURE OF WAR. THE FACTOR DECIDING THE SUCCESS OR FAILURE OF WAR CAN ONLY BE MEN, THE MASSES.

MODERN REVISIONISM IS ALSO INJECTING ITS VENOM INTO THE RULES OF SPECIAL WAR IN COUNTRIES WHERE A WEAK ARMY HAS TO FACE A STRONGER ARMY AND IN COUNTRIES WHICH ARE PURSUING A LIBERATION AND ANTIAGGRESSION WAR.

HISTORIC REALITIES OF THE PRESENT ERA AND THE REALITIES OF THE NATIONAL LIBERATION STRUGGLE MOVEMENT PROVE THAT THE OPPRESSED AND THE NEWLY INDEPENDENT NATIONS CAN DEFEAT THE IMPERIALIST AND COLONIALIST AGGRESSORS. THEY MUST ENGAGE IN A PROTRACTED WAR IF THE ENEMY IS EQUIPPED WITH STRONGER WEAPONS. IF THEY CAN PURSUE THIS PROTRACTED WAR, THEY WILL SURELY WIN NO MATTER HOW MUCH STRONGER THE ENEMY IS.

AGAINST THE FRENCH COLONIALIST AGGRESSORS 1945 NINETEEN


HANOI HOC TAP VIETNAMESE APRIL 1964 (PARTY MILITARY LINE) XXX WEAPONS DECIDE EVERYTHING. (TEXT) IN CRITICIZING THE ARGUMENTS PraISING THE ROLE OF WEAPONS AND OF PROFESSIONAL ARMIES IN ORDER TO DENY THE REVOLUTIONARY FACTOR OF THE MASSES AND DENY THE POSSIBILITY OF VICTORY FOR THE OPPRESSED WHEN THEY HAVE TO USE RUDIMENTARY WEAPONS TO OPOSE MODERN WEAPONS FOR SELF-LIBERATION, LENIN SAID: "... ALTHOUGH THEY ARE WEAK AND ALTHOUGH THE EUROPEAN OPPRESSORS SEEM TO BE INVINCIBLE THANKS TO THEIR TECHNICAL MIRACLES AND MILITARY ART, THE REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE THAT THE OPPRESSED ARE PURSUING--IF IT ACTUALLY AWAKENS MILLIONS OF LABORING AND EXPLOITED PEOPLES--WILL BRING ABOUT MANY POSSIBILITIES AND MIRACLES...." THIS VIEW OF LENIN HAS BEEN REGARDED BY THE OPPRESSED WHILE PURSUING THEIR LIBERATION WAR, AS A MOTTO, A RULE TO BE FOLLOWED.


MARXISM-LENINISM NEVER DENIES THE IMPORTANCE OF WEAPONS IN MILITARY STRATEGY AND OF THE MILITARY CHANGES CAUSED BY THE DEVELOPMENT OF WEAPONS, ESPECIALLY NUCLEAR WEAPONS WHOSE APPEARANCE HAS MADE THESE CHANGES MORE IMPORTANT. FACED WITH AN ENEMY HAVING NUCLEAR WEAPONS, WE WILL SOON COMMIT MISTAKES IN ASSERTING THE MILITARY STRATEGY IF WE DO NOT FIRST CONSIDER INTO ACCOUNT THE MILITARY CHANGES CAUSED BY NUCLEAR WEAPONS.
THE SITUATION OF CLASSES IN AND OUTSIDE THE COUNTRY. WEAPONS ARE ONLY A CONCRETE MANIFESTATION OF THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL SYSTEM, ALTHOUGH THEY ARE THE MOST IMPORTANT MANIFESTATIONS IN CASE OF WAR. TO FORMULATE A CORRECT MILITARY STRATEGY, IT IS NECESSARY TO START FROM ALL THESE BASES. NUCLEAR WEAPONS CAN ONLY BE A BASE ON WHICH WE RELY TO ENSURE THE METHODS OF PURSUING THE WAR AND NOT A BASE WHICH DECIDES EVERYTHING AND COMPLETELY CHANGES THE BASIC PRINCIPLES OF WAR.


STARTING FROM MISTAKES COMMITTED WHILE FORMULATING MILITARY STRATEGY AND FROM CONFUSION CONCERNING THE BASES AND METHODS OF STRATEGY, MODERN REVOLUTIONISTS HAVE ARRIVED AT THESE ODD CONCLUSIONS: TO STRUGGLE AGAINST THE IMPERIALISTS, IT IS NECESSARY TO HAVE NUCLEAR WEAPONS ONLY, AND WHEN A COUNTRY IN THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST CAMP HAS NUCLEAR WEAPONS THAT ARE STRONGER THAN THOSE OF THE STRONGEST IMPERIALIST COUNTRY, THE OTHER COUNTRIES HAVE NOTHING TO FEAR AND DO NOT RPT NOT HAVE TO FURTHER DISCUSS THEIR MILITARY STRATEGY.

THESE MISTAKES HAVE LED THE MODERN REVOLUTIONISTS UNILATERALLY TO MAGNIFY THE UNEXPECTED FACTORS IN MODERN WAR. IN THE PRESENT ERA, WHEN MILITARY MATERIALS ARE HIGHLY DEVELOPED AND HAVE GREAT POWER AND HIGH MOBILITY, THE UNEXPECTED FACTORS HAVE BECOME THE FACTORS EXERTING GREAT INFLUENCE UPON THE EVOLUTION OF STRATEGY. POINTING OUT THIS POINT IS EXTREMELY NECESSARY, BUT AT NO TIME, IN NO CASE, AND UNDER NO CIRCUMSTANCE, CAN THE UNEXPECTED FACTORS PARALYZE THE ENEMY TO THE POINT THAT OTHER FACTORS CANNOT BE USED. IN A CAPITALIST COUNTRY IN WHICH IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF UNEXPECTED FACTORS, THE ABOVE ASSERTION IS PARTIALLY CORRECT. BUT MARXIST-LENINISTS MUST NOT RPT NOT USE A TEMPORARY EVENT TO REPLACE A RULE. MARXISM-LENINISM HAS POINTED OUT THAT THE UNEXPECTED FACTORS ARE NOT RPT NOT THE PERMANENT FACTORS DECIDING THE PROCESS AND RESULTS OF WAR BECAUSE THOSE WHO ARE FAVORED WITH THE UNEXPECTED FACTORS BUT WHO LACK THE OTHER BASIC FACTORS--SUCH AS THE POLITICAL FACTOR; A CONSOLIDATED REAR; THE ECONOMIC CAPACITY, AND SO FORTH--CANNOT WIN. THIS IS STRIKINGLY PROVED BY THE FAILURE OF THE AGGRESSIVE WAR LAUNCHED BY THE GERMAN FASCISTS AGAINST THE SOVIET UNION.
THE SOVIET UNION.

After committing mistakes while formulating the military strategy and while magnifying a number of unexpected factors that decide the process and results of war, it is natural that modern revisionists cannot have correct views on the balance of military forces. Thus, no one is surprised when modern revisionists pay attention only to comparing weapons, the strengths of regular armies, and the material bases of national colonies. They pretend to forget that the fact that the soviet victory in the struggle against the German fascists was not not due to the fact that Soviet steel production was superior to that of fascist Germany.

A study of the wars in Vietnam, Cuba, Korea, Algeria, and other countries shows that it was the combativeness of the people and their comprehensively consolidated rear areas that were the main factors of their victories over the imperialist aggressors. It was thanks to their determination to vanquish the enemy that the peoples of these countries advanced from the state of having almost no material base for struggle to the state of having a sufficiently strong material base for defeating the enemy. History also teaches us that as far as the comparison between the material base—including weapons—of the revolutionary force and that of the reactionary bourgeois force is concerned, it is not not necessary for a revolutionary force to have a material base as strong as that of the enemy to vanquish the latter. On the contrary, in my revolutionary wars a weaker force is victorious over a stronger force.

One cannot arrive at correct conclusions if in comparing the forces one fails to look comprehensively at the revolutionary force, see its positive factors, and see the capacities of the people and the revolutionary force.

The errors concerning the theory and viewpoints about war in the present era will lead the modern revisionists to errors concerning the building of the revolutionary armed forces. With an eye that sees "only nuclear weapons," modern revisionists have gone astray from the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism while building and consolidating the revolutionary armed forces. Modern revisionists also speak of party leadership and political activities, but these declarations are driven into oslivi or become empty words when the modern revisionists concentrate their attention on stressing "the techniques of using nuclear weapons" and "professional quality.

Replacing the class policy with the theory of "weapons alone" in the building of the revolutionary armed forces, modern revisionists maintain that in the past we paid attention to political activities because our weapons were weak, they forget that class policy continues to be the basic problem in the building of the revolutionary armed forces and that correct political activities constitute the life of the revolutionary armed forces. These two things make the revolutionary armed forces superior to any imperialist armed forces.

Historic experiences show that there are cases in which a revolutionary army which is fully equipped with modern weapons but is politically disturbed—having a vague notion about classes and being unable to distinguish friends from foes—is dispersed before the armed attacks of the counterrevolutionaries.

The change in the nature of the Yugoslav armed forces is another instance. Under the control of the Tito revisionist group and because of its sabotage, the Yugoslav armed forces have been turned from the revolutionary armed force of the anti-fascist war for national liberation into a tool of the falsely socialist dictatorship—in fact, a bourgeois dictatorship—serving the reactionary plots of the imperialists.
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HANOI HO CH MINH VIETNAMESE APRIL

1964 (PARTY MILITARY LINE) XXX OF THE IMPERIALISTS.

(TEXT) ADHERING TO THE THEORY "WEAPONS ALONE" AND USING EYES WHICH SEE "ONLY NUCLEAR WEAPONS" TO LOOK AT THE MILITARY EXPERIENCES OF OTHER COUNTRIES, MODERN REVOLUTIONISTS HAVE SHOWN DISDAIN FOR THE EXPERIENCES OF THE REVOLUTIONARY ARMED FORCES, WHOSE ARMAMENT IS WEAK, AND FOR THE CORRECT MILITARY POLICIES OF THESE COUNTRIES. THEY SAY: YOU KNOW NOTHING ABOUT ORTHODOX WAR. PERHAPS FOR THEM ONLY WORLD WAR OR NUCLEAR WAR IS ORTHODOX WAR. THEY DO NOT REALIZE THAT ARMED CLASS STRUGGLE HAS MANY FORMS AND SIZES.

THE U.S. IMPERIALISTS ARE PRESENTLY WAGING REGIONAL WARS AND "SPECIAL WARS" TO INVADE OTHER COUNTRIES. THIS IS WHY THE PROLETARIAN MILITARY SCIENCE MUST STUDY BOTH WORLD WARS IN WHICH NUCLEAR WEAPONS ARE USED AND REGIONAL WARS AND "SPECIAL WARS" IN WHICH MAINLY CONVENTIONAL WEAPONS ARE USED. THE REVOLUTIONARY ARMED FORCES IN MANY COUNTRIES SOMETIMES HAVE TO ENGAGE IN MINOR WARS BEFORE ENGAGING IN MAJOR WARS AND USE CONVENTIONAL WEAPONS. WHO DOES NOT REALIZE CLEARLY THE IMPERIALIST PLOTS TO DETACHES HIMSELF FROM THE POLITICAL TASKS OF THE WORLD REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT.

FROM THE VIEWPOINT OF MILITARY STUDIES, WHILE THE IMPERIALISTS USE THE "FLEXIBLE REACTIONS" STRATEGY, WAGE MINOR WARS TO PREPARE FOR MAJOR WARS, AND ASSOCIATE "PEACEFUL INFILTRATION" WITH "ARMED AGGRESSION" TO FIGHT THE WORLD REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT, HE WHO FAILS TO COUNTERATTACK THE IMPERIALISTS TO DEFEAT THEIR ATTACKS AND SEE ONLY THE NECESSITY TO PREPARE FOR WORLD WAR HAS FALLEN INTO THE STATE OF NEGATIVE DEFENSE AND DEPRIVES HIMSELF OF THE OPPORTUNITY TO TAKE THE INITIATIVE AND ATTACK.

THE MODERN REVOLUTIONISTS' ERRORS HAVE EXERTED DISASTROUS EFFECTS UPON THE MILITARY ACTIVITIES OF SOCIALIST COUNTRIES IN PARTICULAR AND UPON THE MILITARY STUDIES OF THE PROLETARIAT IN GENERAL.

TWO HISTORIC REALITIES HAVE PROVED AND ARE PROVING THAT THE MILITARY LINE OF OUR PARTY IS CORRECT.

SINCE ITS FOUNDING, OUR PARTY HAS CONTINUOUSLY UNDERSTOOD CORRECTLY AND KEPT A FIRM HOLD ON THE MARXIST-LENINIST ARGUMENTS CONCERNING THE PROBLEMS OF ARMED STRUGGLE AND BUILDING THE REVOLUTIONARY ARMED FORCES. OUR PARTY HAS CONTINUOUSLY KEPT A FIRM HOLD ON THE NATURE OF THE PROBLEMS; HAS NOT BEEN DECEIVED BY SECONDARY OR TEMPORARY EVENTS; HAS NOT BEEN LURED AWAY FROM MARXIST PRINCIPLES BY EMOTIONAL CAUSES; HAS RESOLUTELY AND BRAVELY GUARDED THE TRUTH; AND HAS CONTINUOUSLY DIRECTED THE SPEAREAD OF ATTACKS RIGHT AT THE ENEMY.

WHILE LEADING THE PEOPLE IN UNDERTAKING THE RESISTANCE WAR AGAINST THE FRENCH IMPERIALIST AGGRESSORS, OUR PARTY -- DUE TO THE FACT THAT IT KEPT A FIRM HOLD ON MARXIST-LENINIST PRINCIPLES ON WAR AND STUDIED THE EXPERIENCES OF THE SOVIET WAR TO PROTECT THE FATHERLAND AND THE CHINESE WAR OF LIBERATION -- UNDERSTOOD CORRECTLY HOW TO APPLY THE RULES OF WAR TO THE PARTICULAR CONDITIONS IN VIETNAM. SET FORTH BY OUR PARTY AT THAT TIME, THE SLOGAN "PROTRACTED RESISTANCE AND SELF-SUFFICIENCY", THE SLOGAN "ADVANCING FROM GUERRILLA WARFARE TO WAR FUGHT BY THE REGULAR ARMY", AND THE SLOGAN "BUILDING THREE CATEGORIES OF ARMED FORCES" PROVED THAT OUR PARTY UNDERSTOOD CORRECTLY AND KEPT A FIRM HOLD ON THE RULES OF WAR. THAT IS WHY OUR PARTY SUCCEEDED IN LEADING OUR PEOPLE IN OVERCOMING THOUSANDS OF DIFFICULTIES AND TO FINAL VICTORY. (}
THE SOURCE OF MODERN WAR, BY NATURE, IS WARLIKE AND AGGRESSIVE. TO ELIMINATE WAR FOREVER, IT IS NECESSARY TO CARRY OUT THE REVOLUTION TO DESTROY IMPERIALISM.


AMONG THE PEOPLE, THERE WAS THE TENDENCY TO PAY ATTENTION ONLY TO ECONOMIC BUILDING AND LITTLE ATTENTION TO ASSOCIATING ECONOMIC BUILDING WITH NATIONAL DEFENSE. THERE WERE ALSO CASES OF UNAWARENESS OF THE PROBLEM OF COMBAT READINESS AND THE TENDENCY TO RELY ENTIRELY ON THE PERMANENT ARMY, AND SO FORTH.

THERE ARE MANY CAUSES FOR THE ABOVE ERRONEOUS THOUGHTS, AND VIEWS; FOR SOME PERSONS, THE THEORY OF "WEAPONS ONLY" MAY BE THE MAIN INFLUENCE; FOR OTHERS, IT MAY BE MECHANICALISM, DOGMATISM, LACK OF INDEPENDENT THOUGHTS, AND SO FORTH. BUT THERE IS A GENERAL CAUSE: THE PARTY LINE ON PEOPLE'S WAR AND THE PEOPLE'S ARMY HAS NOT BEEN FULLY UNDERSTOOD. UNDER NEW CONDITIONS--THE BUILDING OF BOTH THE ECONOMY AND A STANDARDIZED AND MODERN ARMY AND THE COMBINING OF PERSONAL EXPERIENCES WITH THOSE OF BROTHER COUNTRIES--WE HAVE MANY ADVANTAGEOUS CONDITIONS TO BUILD OUR ARMY AND CONSOLIDATE NATIONAL DEFENSE, BUT IT IS PRECISELY DUE TO THE FACT THAT THEY SEE ONLY THE NEW CONDITIONS AND FORGET THE PRINCIPLE THAT A NUMBER OF PEOPLE HAVE DEVELOPED SHORTCOMINGS IN BOTH THE FIELDS OF IDEOLOGICAL CONSCIOUSNESS AND MILITARY STUDIES.

THE RECENT EVENTS CONCERNING THE BUILDING OF THE ARMED FORCES AND THE CONSOLIDATION OF NATIONAL DEFENSES SHOW THAT WHENEVER WE KEEP A FIRM HOLD ON THE LINE OF PEOPLE'S WAR AND PEOPLE'S ARMY, WE WILL SCORE HIGH PERFORMANCES AND OVERCOME DIFFICULTIES AND OBSTACLES. ON THE OTHER HAND, WHENEVER AND WHEREVER WE DO NOT RPT NOT FULLY UNDERSTAND THE LINE OF PEOPLE'S WAR AND PEOPLE'S ARMY, WE WILL COMMIT ERRORS AND MISTAKES AND BE CONFUSED BEFORE THE DIFFICULTIES AND OBSTACLES CREATED BY NEW CONDITIONS.

ALL OF US KNOW THAT NO DIFFICULTY, HARDSHIP, OR DANGER CAN BE COMPARED TO THE PRESENT CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH THE SOUTHERN PEOPLE ARE FIGHTING. YET, THE SOUTHERN COMBATANTS AND PEOPLE NOT RPT NOT ONLY ARE NOT RPT NOT BEING EXTERMINATED BY THE ENEMY, BUT ARE BECOMING EVER STRONGER, causING THE ENEMY TO SUFFER DEFEAT AFTER DEFEAT, AND ARE DRAWING NEARER AND NEARER TO FINAL VICTORY. THE BRILLIANT SUCCESSES OF THE SOUTHERN PEOPLE ARE DUE MAINLY TO THE FACT THAT THEY HAVE APPLIED CREATIVELY AND DEVELOPED SUCCESSFULLY THE LINE OF PEOPLE'S WAR AND PEOPLE'S ARMY.

AT PRESENT, TO FULFILL THE TASK OF BUILDING THE ARMED FORCES AS SET FORTH BY THE PARTY, WE IN THE NORTH MUST FULLY UNDERSTAND THE PEOPLE'S WAR AND PEOPLE'S ARMY. ESPECIALLY, WE MUST HELP ALL THE PEOPLE TO BECOME COMBAT READY AND INCREASE THE PEOPLE'S CAPACITY FOR NATIONAL DEFENSE. IN ORDER TO FULFILL THE ABOVE TASK WE MUST CORRECTLY SETTLE THE RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN BUILDING THE ECONOMY AND BUILDING UP NATIONAL DEFENSE. WE MUST PAY ATTENTION TO ECONOMIC BUILDING, BUT WE MUST NOT RPT NOT RELAX VIGILANCE BEFORE THE AGGRESSIVE SCHEMES OF THE U.S. IMPERIALISTS. BY NATURE, ECONOMIC BUILDING IS AIMED AT TURNING THE REAR INTO A MAIN BASE IN CASE OF WAR, BUT WE WILL BE BEING OVERLY CONCERNED WITH ECONOMICS IF WE FORGET THAT WE ARE ENGAGING IN ECONOMIC BUILDING WHILE HALF OF THE COUNTRY IS IN WAR AND THE NORTH IS BEING THREATENED WITH AGGRESSION. ONE OF THE MAIN ERRORS OF THE MODERN REVISIONISTS IS THEIR WORSHIPPING OF ECONOMIC FACTORS AND THEIR DETACHING OF THE ECONOMY FROM THE POLITICAL STRUGGLE OF THE REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE MOVEMENT WHICH IS DEVELOPING.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT BY ITSELF DOES NOT RPT NOT GUARANTEE A FIRM REAR BECAUSE THE FIRMNESS OF OUR REAR DEPENDS MAINLY ON POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT. THAT IS, IF, WHILE BUILDING THE ECONOMY, WE FORGET TO STRENGTHEN OUR DETERMINATION TO FIGHT, OUR REVOLUTIONARY CONSCIOUSNESS, OUR CONFIDENCE IN THE POLITICAL LINE OF THE PARTY, AND OUR DETERMINATION TO PROTECT THE REVOLUTIONARY GAINS; THIS ECONOMIC BASE CAN NEVER BECOME A STRONG AND FIRM MATERIAL BASE FOR A WAR WHICH THE ENEMY FORCES US TO JOIN IN.

ON THE OTHER HAND, AFTER KEEPING A FIRM HOLD ON THE MILITARY LINE OF THE PARTY IN ORDER TO FULFILL THE TASK OF CONSOLIDATING NATIONAL DEFENSE AND ACHIEVING COMBAT READINESS; IT IS NECESSARY TO BUILD THE MATERIAL AND SPIRITUAL BASE FOR A PROTRACTED, COMPREHENSIVE WAR OF ALL THE PEOPLE, TO BE READY IN THE EVENT OF THE OUTBREAK OF SUCH A WAR.
PARTICIPATE IN--IF IT BREAKS OUT--WOULDBE TOTALLY DIFFERENT FROM THE
PREVIOUS ANTI-FRENCH RESISTANCE WAR. OUR PRESENT MATERIAL BASE IS MUCH
STRONGER THAN OUR PAST BASE. OUR ABSOLUTE SUPERIORITY IN THE
SPIRITUAL AND POLITICAL FIELDS IS MORE OBVIOUS. HOWEVER,
WE HAVE A LARGE AND FIRM REAR; WHICH IS THE ENTIRE SOCIALIST CAMP.
THIS, THE EXECUTION OF THE STRATEGY, TACTICS, AND MILITARY
OPERATIONS WOULD BE GREATLY DIFFERENT FROM IN THE PAST. THE FORM
OF THE WAR WOULD ALSO BE DIFFERENT, AS WOULD THE EVOLUTION
OF THE WAR. RIGHT NOW WE CANNOT PREDICT HOW THE WAR WOULD DEVELOP.
BUT IT IS CERTAIN THAT, AS IN THE PAST WHEN OUR PEOPLE DEFEATED
THE FRENCH COLONIALIST AGGRESSORS AND NOW ENH OUR SOUTHERN PEOPLE
ARE DEFEATING THE U.S. IMPERIALISTS IN A PROTRACTED AND COMPREHENSIVE
WAR, IF THE U.S. IMPERIALISTS Dare TO EXTEND THEIR AGGRESSIVE WAR
TO THE NORTH, THEY WILL UNDOUBTEDLY FACE A MORE SHAMEFUL AND
SERIOUS DEFEAT THAN THE ONE SUFFERED BY THE FRENCH IMPERIALISTS
IN THE PAST.

TO SHOW THAT WE HAVE FULLY UNDERSTOOD THE NATURE OF
THE COMPREHENSIVE, THOROUGH, AND PROTRACTED PEOPLE'S WAR, THE
MOST CONCRETE THING WE MUST DO CONSISTS--IN ADDITION TO HELPING
THE PEOPLE TO UNDERSTAND THE SAME THING--OF CONSOLIDATING

POSITIVELY AND DEVELOPING STRONGLY THE BUILDING OF THE THREE
CATEGORIES OF FORCES: THE MILITIA AND GUERRILLA FORCE, THE
LOCAL FORCE, AND THE MAIN FORCE, AND OF CONTINUOUSLY KEEPING
A FIRM HOLD ON THE POLICY WITH REGARD TO THE BUILDING OF
THE ARMED FORCES. IN THE RECENT PAST DUE TO THE FACT THAT WE
HAVE SATISFACTORILY FULFILLED THE TASK OF BUILDING THE MILITIA
AND GUERRILLA FORCE, THE POLICE FORCE, AND THE MAIN FORCE,
WE HAVE THAWTED THE SCHEME OF THE U.S. IMPERIALISTS AND THEIR
LACKEYS TO USE SPY RANGERS TO SABOTAGE THE NORTH. BUT WE MUST
NOT BE SATISFIED WITH THE RESULTS ACHIEVED THUS FAR.

IN THE FUTURE, THE U.S. IMPERIALISTS MIGHT BE MORE DARING
THAN BEFORE IN INITIATING PROVOCATIONS IN AND SABOTAGING NORTH
VIETNAM. THEY MIGHT EVEN EXTEND THEIR AGGRESSIVE WAR TO NORTH
VIETNAM. THEREFORE, PARTY COMMITTEES AT ALL LEVELS INSIDE AND
OUTSIDE THE ARMY MUST BE MORE ACTIVE AND POSITIVE IN BUILDING THE
THREE CATEGORIES OF FORCES.

MANY OF OUR COMRADES STILL ARE UNCERTAIN AS TO HOW TO SEARCH
TO LEARN NEW THINGS IN THE MILITARY DOMAIN. OUR PARTY STRONGLY
ENCOURAGES THE SEARCHING FOR AND LEARNING OF NEW THINGS IN
ALL FIELDS OF ACTIVITY. OUR PARTY'S VIEWPOINT IS THE VIEWPOINT FOR
DEVELOPMENT. MARXISM-LENINISM WILL NO LONGER BE ITSELF IF IT IS
NOT DEVELOPED. SINCE THE REALITIES OF LIFE HAVE CONTINUALLY
DEVELOPED, MARXISM-LENINISM MUST CONTINUALLY BE DEVELOPED. THE
IMPORTANT THING IS THAT ONLY BY HOLDING FIRM AND REMAINING LOYAL
TO MARXIST-LENINIST PRINCIPLES WILL WE BE ABLE TO KNOW TRULY
NEW THINGS AND AVOID BEING FOOLED BY "FALSE NEW THINGS" CREATED
BY MODERN REVISIONISTS.

IT IS NECESSARY FOR US NOW TO LEARN NEW THINGS FROM OUR
BROTHER COUNTRIES. WE ALSO SHOULD EVEN LEARN NEW THINGS
FROM THE ENEMY. BUT WHILE LEARNING NEW THINGS, WE MUST NOT
RPT NOT FORGET OUR OLD EXPERIENCES. WE OBTAINED THAT ONLY
ON THE BASIS OF THE OLD CAN WE BUILD THE NEW AND RAISE OUR
DIACRITICAL STANDARD TO A NEW LEVEL. TODAY IN THE MILITARY DOMIAN,
MANY NEW THINGS HAVE ARISEN FROM THE SITUATION IN THE REVOLUTIONARY
STRUGGLE AND IN SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL DEVELOPMENTS.
THE MOST BASIC NEW THINGS ARE THE ADVENT OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS
AND MISSILES AND THE COMPREHENSIVE AND THOROUGH DEVELOPMENT OF
PEOPLE'S WARS IN COUNTRIES LED BY THE PARTIES OF THE PROLETARIAT.
The basis of improving its political standards will we be able to build powerful armed forces along the party lines. Laying partial stress on either of these two aspects or more seriously, neglecting the principal aspect—that is, the political aspect—means committing a mistake in principle.

In order to oppose positively and prevent modern revisionist influences from developing among our cadres, it is necessary to make everyone understand and hold firm to the ideological and military lines of our party and to improve continually the class standpoints and viewpoints and Marxist-Leninist dialectical standards of our cadres.

To be able to hold firm to and apply the party's military line, we must, first of all, have proletarian standpoints and viewpoints. Particularly, to be able to distinguish right from wrong and draw a line between the Marxist-Leninist line and the modern revisionist line in the military domain, we must stand firm on proletarian standpoints and viewpoints.

On the ideological front, we are struggling to protect the purity of Marxist-Leninism, and we are criticizing and revealing the erroneous modern revisionist line. In the military domain, the struggle to understand more thoroughly the military Marxist-Leninist line of our party and to criticize and reveal the erroneous points of modern revisionism has not only a dialectical effect, but it has also a very great practical effect. Along with criticizing positively modern revisionism, we must use our thorough understanding of the party's military line as the most positive measure to prevent and oppose modern revisionist influences in the military domain.