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FILE / SUBJ.
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TRƯỜNG-CHINH
SELECTED WRITINGS

FORWARD ALONG THE PATH
CHARTED BY KARL MARX

*(Speech at a cadres' conference to mark
the 150th birthday of Karl Marx)*

(1968)

F. C. WINN
1968

Dear comrades,

Karl Marx, the greatest thinker of our time, the founder of scientific communism, the greatest teacher and leader of the world proletariat, was born 150 years ago.

This year, together with the workers and labouring people of all countries, the oppressed nations and all progressive mankind, we celebrate Karl Marx's 150th birthday at a time when his doctrine has won brilliant successes in the world and in our country.

On this occasion, I wish to elaborate the three following questions :

1. Karl Marx, a dedicated revolutionary, the founder of scientific communism.
2. How has our Party applied Marxism-Leninism in Viet Nam ?
3. Let us march forward under the banner of Marxism-Leninism and fulfil brilliantly our immediate tasks.

I

KARL MARX, A DEDICATED REVOLUTIONARY, THE FOUNDER OF SCIENTIFIC COMMUNISM

Karl Marx was born on May 5, 1818, at Trier, Rhenish Prussia, into a lawyer's family. When a student, he joined the *Young Hegelians* and tried to draw atheist and revolutionary conclusions from Hegel's idealistic philosophy. After graduation, in 1841, he contributed to the *Rhenish Gazette* with the radical bourgeois leaders in Rhineland and eventually became its editor-in-chief.

The democratic inclination of the *Rhenish Gazette* and its influence among the masses frightened the royal government of Prussia into banning it.

Marx's contribution to the *Rhenish Gazette*, though short-lived, had a strong influence on his thinking. Engaged in intense political activities, he had the opportunity to gain better understanding of the political life in Germany and of the wretched condition of the labouring masses. Discussions in the *Rhenish Gazette* on various problems relating to the labouring people's material interests set Marx the task of thoroughly investigating questions of political economy and of correctly determining the relationship between the State and law on the one hand, and the material conditions of society on the other. *A Contribution to the Critique of*

Hegel's Philosophy of Law completed by Marx in the autumn of 1843 marked the first change in his world outlook, from idealistic to materialistic, and from revolutionary democratism to communism.

Immediately after the banning of the *Rhenish Gazette*, Marx decided to go abroad and publish a revolutionary paper to be circulated in Germany.

In October 1843, he went to Paris. There he published the *Franco-German Year Book*. France's capital was a thriving industrial centre where a fierce struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie was unfolding. This had a decisive influence upon Marx's thinking. He frequented workers' quarters in the Paris suburbs, contacted underground revolutionary organizations of French and German workers, and dedicated his efforts to a critical study of English classical political economy and French utopian socialism. During his stay in Paris he reached extremely important conclusions. In the preface of *A Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Law*, he wrote: "As philosophy finds its *material* weapon in the proletariat, so the proletariat finds its *spiritual* weapon in philosophy. And once the lightning of thought has squarely struck this untouched soil of the people, the emancipation of the *Germans* into *men* will be accomplished."

This proposition and many others show how the philosopher and revolutionary fighter had merged in Marx, and how the young intellectual full of revolutionary ardour and thirst for truth had placed firm confidence in the historical mission of the proletariat. From that time he devoted all his energy and abilities to its emancipation.

Whilst in Paris, Marx gave up idealism and revolutionary democratism to adopt materialism and communism. Engels in the English industrial centre of Manchester followed a similar path. From then the collaboration between the two men grew ever closer so that the life work of each became the work of both, and Engels' name was inseparably associated with Marx's.

Banished from France, Marx left for Brussels in early 1845. In France as in Belgium, together with Engels he thoroughly criticized Hegel's idealistic philosophy and Feuerbach's metaphysical materialism. On this basis he elaborated a scientific world outlook for the proletariat. In Brussels, Marx made strenuous efforts in propaganda and agitation work among the proletarian masses and set up the *German Workers' Union*.

In early 1847, Marx and Engels joined the *League of the Just*, an underground organization comprising workers from Germany and many other countries, and completely reshaped it. *The League of the Just* was renamed *Communist League*. The Second Congress of the League convened in late 1847 unanimously adopted the principles of the Programme put forward by Marx and Engels, and entrusted them with the drafting of a manifesto to expound these principles. Thus, the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, an immortal document of scientific socialism, came into being, establishing the Marxist doctrine as the comprehensive revolutionary doctrine of the proletariat.

Lenin said about the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* :

“With the clarity and brilliance of genius, this work outlines a new world conception, consistent materialism, which

also embraces the realm of social life, dialectics, as the most comprehensive and profound doctrine of development, the theory of class struggle and of the epoch-making revolutionary role of the proletariat — the creator of a new, communist society..."¹

Ending the *Manifesto*, Marx and Engels raised the slogan "Workers of all countries, unite!", calling on the world proletariat to close its ranks in the struggle to overthrow the rule of the bourgeoisie and build a new society.

The February Revolution (1848) which broke out in France had a resounding echo in the neighbouring countries. The frightened Belgian government arrested Marx and expelled him from Belgium. He moved to Paris where he worked actively for the progress of the proletarian movement. The Central Committee of the *Communist League* appointed him its President. In April 1848, together with Engels he returned to Germany and took a direct part in the seething revolutionary movement there. In June the same year, he published the *New Rhenish Gazette*, the only journal voicing the viewpoint of the proletariat in the democratic movement in Europe at that time. In this journal he profoundly analysed the momentous events of the revolutionary years of 1848-1849, laid bare every scheme and manœuvre of the reactionary forces and the bourgeoisie, and guided and encouraged the masses in their struggle. But the Revolution failed and the *New Rhenish Gazette* was prohibited. Marx was indicated by the Prussian government and banished in May 1849. He returned to Paris but was again expelled by

1. V. I. Lenin, *Marx, Engels, Marxism*.

the French government shortly afterward. He then left for London where he was to complete the main work of his lifetime : *Capital*.

In 1859 Marx's *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* was published. His theory on value was systematically expounded for the first time. In 1867 the first volume of *Capital* appeared, of which Engels said :

“As long as there have been capitalists and workers on earth, no book has appeared which is of as much importance for the workers as the one before us. The relation between capital and labour, the axis on which our entire present system of society turns, is here treated scientifically for the first time...”¹

In the early 1860's the proletarian movement again surged up so powerfully that Marx could think of realizing his long-cherished dream : the establishment of an international organization of the proletariat to unite, educate and lead the latter in its struggle for self-liberation. In September 1864, the *International Workingmen's Association*, or *First International*, was founded with Marx as its guiding force. He himself drafted nearly all the documents issued by its Central Committee. The great achievement of the *International* was to unite the workers' movement in various countries and direct its activities toward common action, to fight non-proletarian socialist theories, and secure triumph for Marx's revolutionary theory in this movement.

After the failure of the Paris Commune (1871) the *International* could no longer operate efficiently. In application of the resolution of the Hague Congress (1872),

1. F. Engels, *Marx's Capital*.

it temporarily withdrew from the political scene. The *First International* had fulfilled its historical mission and had opened a period of extensive development in the workers' movement, that of the formation of many socialist workers' parties with a mass character.

Despite the dissolution of the *First International* the role played by Marx and Engels as leaders of the international workers' movement continued to be strengthened. By giving instructions and critical advice, Marx and Engels showed constant concern for the setting up of genuine proletarian parties in various countries, especially in Germany and France. Such well-known works as Marx's *Critique of the Gotha Programme* and Engels' *Anti-Duhring* were written with this specific aim.

The correction of the drafts of the second, third and fourth volumes of *Capital* occupied most of Marx's time, but his health did not enable him to finish this gigantic work. The strain from mental overwork coupled with material privation soon reduced his robust strength. Marx breathed his last on March 14, 1883, in London, at the age of 65.

Dear comrades,

Where does Marx's genius lie? In the fact that *he provided timely and judicious solutions to the great problems of the epoch, posed by progressive mankind.*

By the middle of the 19th century, world capitalism had reached a high degree of development, and the productive forces of society had gone through a fairly vigorous growth. On the one hand, large-scale industry in its expansion had

impoverished various strata of the labouring people and, on the other, it had turned out a great amount of commodities for which there were only limited markets. The clash between over-production and the destitution of the working people reflected the intensifying conflict between the productive forces of society and the capitalist relations of production, between Labour and Capital.

From spontaneous actions such as the wrecking of machinery, the proletariat soon became conscious of its class interests and gradually reorganized itself for a more vigorous fight against the rule of the bourgeoisie. The struggle of the proletariat, particularly the French proletariat, had a strong influence on the shaping of Marx's scientific socialism.

In the domain of natural sciences, man had also achieved remarkable successes. The three great discoveries of the 19th century on the origins and evolution of the species, on the cell, and on the conservation and transformation of energy, together with other feats of science, had an influence on the shaping of Marxist philosophy.

In this historical context, Marx inherited in a critical way, and inventively developed the three main trends of 19th century thought, namely German classical philosophy, English classical political economy, and French utopian socialism.

In *philosophy*, Marx resolutely repudiated idealism which was constantly wedded to religion. He was critical of non-dialectical mechanistic materialism, which only sought to explain the world without trying to change it.

He developed the gains of German classical philosophy, more particularly Hegel's dialectics and Feuerbach's materialism, and upon the strength of the new findings of natural

sciences, he conceived his own *dialectical materialism*. This is the science of the general laws of motion of nature, society and thought, the most perfect, exhaustive and comprehensive theory of evolution, the theory of man's knowledge of the objective world.

Marx's dialectical materialism provided the proletariat and mankind with a wonderful tool of thought.

Applying dialectical materialism to an examination of human society, he completely revolutionized man's conception of world history. Earlier, idealism had attributed historical change to man's thought and the most important historical developments to outstanding heroes. Disposing of such an erroneous view, he proved that the material world was an objective reality existing independently of human consciousness and that the latter was only the reflection of the former. The material life of society, social being, exists prior to social spiritual life, and does so independently of man's consciousness. The latter is determined by that objective reality. It is the conditions of the material life of a society which determine its social theories, its political, legal, literary and artistic views, its political regime, and so on. Economy is the basis of society, on which are founded its political system, laws, philosophy, ethics, literature, arts, etc.

What is the main decisive factor which moulds the conditions of the material life of society? The mode of production. By using instruments of production, man produces material wealth which enables him to subsist. The producers, together with the instruments of production, make up the productive forces of society. As individual labour alone cannot produce material wealth, collective production is necessary, and thus

connections are established among labourers. At times, the connections take the form of labourer-to-labourer relations: at times, they assume that of exploiter-to-exploited relations. During its uninterrupted process of development, the productive forces at a given time violently clash with the relations of production. Then a social revolution breaks out, destroys the outdated relations of production, and sets up new ones to make possible a vigorous growth of the productive forces.

Human history up to the 19th century (when Marx founded scientific socialism) had in the main experienced the following relations of production: primitive communist, slave, feudal, and capitalist¹. Marx and Engels show that when the ownership of the means of production was instituted, the process also created exploiting and exploited classes. Since class society emerged, the history of man has been that of class struggle. The masses of the people are the genuine makers of history, and class struggle is the motive force which impels forward its development. The appearance and survival of classes is dependent on material conditions, economic conditions in which production and exchange of daily necessities of life are carried out in each given historical period.

In his preface to *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*, Marx wrote: "In the social production of their life, men enter into definite relations that are indispensable and independent of their will, relations of production which

1. Do Asian relations of production belong to a different category from that of the Western ones? And what are in fact those "Asian modes of production" mentioned by Marx? These are questions to be carefully considered before serious answers can be found.

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correspond to a definite stage of development of their material productive forces. The sum total of these relations of production constitutes the economic structure of society, the real foundation, on which rises a legal and political superstructure and to which correspond definite forms of social consciousness. The mode of production of material life conditions the social, political and intellectual life process in general. It is not the consciousness of men that determines their being but, on the contrary, their social being that determines their consciousness. At a certain stage of their development, the material productive forces of society come into conflict with the existing relations of production, or — what is but a legal expression for the same thing — with the property relations within which they have been at work hitherto. From forms of development of the productive forces these relations turn into their fetters. Then begins an epoch of social revolution. With the change of the economic foundation the entire immense superstructure is more or less rapidly transformed...

“In broad outlines, Asiatic, ancient, feudal and modern bourgeois modes of production can be designated as progressive epochs in the economic formation of society. The bourgeois relations of production are the last antagonistic form of the social process of production, antagonistic not in the sense of individual antagonism, but of one arising from the social conditions of life of the individuals; at the same time, the productive forces developing in the womb of bourgeois society create the material conditions for the solution of that antagonism. This social formation brings, therefore, the pre-history of human society to a close”.

Marx's historical materialism demonstrates that under capitalism the growth of the productive forces reaches such a level as renders capitalist relations of production no longer suitable and their breaking up by proletarian revolution inevitable. This proposition leads us directly to socialism and arms the proletariat with a most incisive weapon which is not only capable of *interpreting the world*, but what is more important, of *changing it*.

In *political economy*, Marx's most significant discovery is his *surplus value* theory. This supplies the most thorough explanation of the relations between Capital and Labour, and exposes the exploitation of the latter by the former in the capitalist mode of production.

English classical political economy, the exponents of which were Adam Smith and Ricardo, had been credited with momentous achievements. In studying capitalist economy which emerged first in England, those two economists had come to the conclusion that labour alone was the source of all wealth, of all value. But owing to their class limitations, they were unable to give the reason why the wage-earners did not get the whole product of their labour and were unable to explain correctly the source of the capitalists' wealth.

For nearly half a century, Marx carried out research on the economic system of capitalist society, starting from its basic unit, the commodity, to extended large-scale mechanized industry, and succeeded in formulating the economic law of the motion of capitalist society. His conclusions: the capitalist mode of production conditions the existence of two social classes; on the one hand, the capitalists who own the bulk of the means of production and means of living; and

on the other, the proletariat, deprived of all means of production and forced to sell its labouring power for the means of living necessary to its survival. The value of a commodity is determined by the amount of social labour needed for its manufacture. The proletarian who sells his labouring power to the capitalist is paid a wage which corresponds only to a part of the time of labour he spends, the value of the rest, the surplus value, being pocketed by the employer. This viewpoint eloquently proves that all the wealth of the bourgeoisie is made up of the surplus value produced by the proletariat and appropriated by the capitalists.

Capitalist primitive accumulation, the emergence of capitalism in the course of history, means essentially savage and ruthless despoliation of small producers by the bourgeoisie. Capitalism came about by the elimination of small production, the abolition of small producers' private ownership based on individual labour and its replacement by capitalist private ownership based on exploitation of the labour of the proletariat through the agency of the wage system. Brought to ruin by the bourgeoisie, millions of small producers turned proletarians and were assembled in great factories to produce all material wealth while a handful of capitalists were living leisurely on the fat of the land, on the fruits of their labour. Marx concluded: "Centralization of the means of production and socialization of labour at last reach a point where they become incompatible with the capitalist framework. This framework is burst asunder. The knell of capitalist private property sounds. The expropriators are expropriated."¹

1. Karl Marx, *Capital*, Volume I, Part III.

Marx's scientific socialism was founded on his own historical materialism and political economy. On the strength of his findings in these fields, he established that the eventual destruction of capitalism and its supplanting by socialism is an inevitable and objective historical necessity.

For the first time in human history, he elaborated a comprehensive theory on *class struggle* and made the fullest use of it. In the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, Marx and Engels wrote: "The history of all hitherto existing societies is the history of class struggles (except the history of the primitive community, Engels added subsequently - T.C.).

"Free man and slave, patrician and plebeian, lord and serf, guild-master and journeyman, in a word, oppressor and oppressed, stood in constant opposition to one another, carried on an uninterrupted, now hidden, now open, fight, a fight that each time ended either in a revolutionary re-constitution of society at large, or in the common ruin of the contending classes...

"The modern bourgeois society that has sprouted from the ruins of feudal society has not done away with class antagonisms. It has but established new classes, new conditions of oppression, new forms of struggle in place of the old ones.

"Our epoch, the epoch of the bourgeoisie, possesses, however, this distinctive feature: it has simplified the class antagonisms. Society as a whole is more and more splitting up into two great hostile camps, into two great classes directly facing each other: Bourgeoisie and Proletariat."¹

1. K. Marx - F. Engels. *Manifesto of the Communist Party*.

Making an objective appraisal of the attitudes of various classes with vested interests in the economic base and their respective social positions under capitalism, Marx and Engels said: "Of all the classes that stand face to face with the bourgeoisie today, the proletariat alone is a really revolutionary class. The other classes decay and finally disappear in the face of Modern Industry; the proletariat is its special and essential product."¹

Marx shed a bright light on the role of the proletariat in world history, as *the grave-digger of capitalism, and builder of a new society, a classless, communist society, free from exploitation of man by man.*

He also blazed the only trail for the proletariat to attain self-liberation: *under the leadership of the communist party, its vanguard, the proletariat, in close alliance with the peasantry, will use revolutionary violence to overthrow the capitalist rule and seize power for itself.*

The *dictatorship of the proletariat* occupies a central position in Marx's scientific socialism. In his review of different class struggles which had taken place in human history, more particularly that of nineteenth-century France, Marx commented: "What I did that was new was to prove: 1. that the *existence of classes* is bound up with *particular historical phases in the development of production*; 2. that class struggle necessarily leads to the *dictatorship of the proletariat*; 3. that this dictatorship itself only constitutes the transition to the *abolition of all classes* and to a *classless society*..."²

1. *Ibid.*

2. K. MARX, *Letter to J. Weydemeyer.*

Having analysed the economic and political conditions of capitalist society, Marx concluded that between the latter and communist society, there will be a period of revolutionary transformation, when the state must be the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat. Therefore, *the road to communism must necessarily pass through the dictatorship of the proletariat*. Marx also highlighted the objective inescapability of the two stages of communism: the lower one which is socialist society, and the higher one which is communist society. In the former, the main means of production fall under socialist ownership of two kinds: ownership of the whole people, and collective ownership; the principle determining the distribution of goods is: "From each according to his ability, to each according to his work". In communist society, all means of production are the common property of the whole people, the basic difference between manual work and mental work is wiped out, just as that between the towns and the countryside; classes no longer exist, the state is no more; man enjoys all-round development; labour becomes a need and habit for everyone; the productive forces are greatly increased, goods are superabundant and the principle applied in society is: "From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs."

Marx was the first to chart the proletariat's line of struggle for self-liberation, to enlighten it on its historical mission, to organize and lead it in the fight to liberate itself and mankind from all forms of oppression and exploitation. Regarding revolutionary struggle as his *raison d'être* and greatest source of happiness, he carried it out valiantly,

passionately and dedicatedly to emancipate the proletariat, in defiance of the enemy's persecution and repression, and in the face of hardships and privations.

Throughout his life, he stood in the forefront of the fight of the proletariat, devoting his heart and soul to its organization and education and guiding its revolutionary effort to overthrow the bourgeoisie. Not only was Marx a thinker, he was also — first and foremost — a revolutionary.

While struggling for the revolutionary cause of the proletariat, he and Engels had to put up a bitter fight against all un-proletarian tendencies in the workers' movement from the "Prussian socialism" of the Lassalle group in Germany to the Proudhon circle's petty-bourgeois socialism in France and Belgium, from the rightist opportunism of English trade-union leaders to the German communists' "leftist" adventurism, from Bakunin anarchism in Russia to bourgeois nationalism on the questions of war and colonies, etc. It was in this process that Marxism grew and was forged into the invincible weapon of the proletariat.

As the most outstanding proletarian leader, Marx supplied his class with important principles regarding the strategy and tactics of revolutionary struggle, namely: To establish the proletariat's leadership (through its political party) over the whole struggle for the emancipation of the labouring masses; to set up a steadfast alliance between the proletariat and the masses of the peasantry, to enlist the wholehearted support of the peasantry for its revolutionary attempt to topple capitalism and build a new society; to co-ordinate the drive of the proletariat with democratic and national liberation movements: constantly and thoroughly to grasp the ultimate

goals of class struggle without neglecting the struggle for everyday interests so as to rally the broad masses of the people and push them forward; to change fighting tactics in time to suit changes in the revolutionary situation and in the relation of forces between classes; to display unfailing loyalty to proletarian internationalism, and so on.

Karl Marx is no more, but his doctrine is wielding growing influence and will last for ever. We always highly value revolutionary theory, and have no doubt that it is perfectly capable of changing society if the following three prerequisites exist: 1. It must reflect the objective laws of society; 2. It must be the exponent of the thinking, and champion of the rights, of the vanguard class of society; 3. It must penetrate deep into the masses of the people, and make it possible to mobilize, organize and lead them into action.

The cogency of Marxism precisely resides in its ability to reflect accurately the objective laws of historical development, and to represent the most advanced class, the most revolutionary class of modern society, the proletariat, and hence to strike roots into the broad masses, to win the hearts and minds of millions and millions of people, and stir them into an implacable and uncompromising fight against the enemy of their class, against world bourgeoisie, and into the building of a classless, communist society.

Lenin said: "The Marxist doctrine is omnipotent because it is true. It is complete and harmonious and provides men with an integral world conception which is irreconcilable with any form of superstition, reaction or defence of bourgeois oppression..."

"Marx's philosophical materialism alone has shown the proletariat the way out of the spiritual slavery in which all oppressed classes have hitherto languished. Marx's economic theory alone has explained the true position of the proletariat in the general system of capitalism."¹

After Marx's death, Engels, his most intimate comrade and companion in-arms, acting as continuator, brought to completion Marx's interrupted works, while keeping aloft the banner of militant Marxism and giving a fresh impetus to the workers' movement. Engels founded and headed the *Second International* until the end of his life. He spurred the international workers' movement forward and speeded up the formation of proletarian parties with a mass character in many countries.

Carrying on Marx's and Engels's work, Lenin imaginatively developed their doctrine in the new stage of history, the stage of imperialism and proletarian revolutions. He tirelessly combated reformism, rightist and "leftist" revisionism then existing in the *Second International*. He challenged dogmatism and other opportunistic trends in defence of the purity of Marxism, and raised it to a higher stage of development, that of Leninism, at a time when capitalism was in its death throes and proletarian revolution topped the order of the day of the world proletariat. Such works by Lenin as *What Is To Be Done? Two Tactics of Social-Democracy in the Democratic Revolution*; *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism*; *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*; *The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade*

1. V. I. Lenin. *On Marx, Engels and Marxism*.

Kautsky; The State and Revolution; "Left-Wing" Communism, an Infantile Disorder and a series of other writings added to the theoretical wealth of Marx's doctrine in the realm of philosophy, political economy and scientific socialism as well as to the strategy and tactics of the proletariat.

Lenin showed the essence and features of imperialism and its serious contradictions which make it the highest stage of capitalism. Examining the development of capitalism in the epoch of imperialism he formulated the law of the uneven development of capitalism and came to the extremely important conclusion that the proletarian revolution can perfectly triumph at first in a number of countries or even in one single country. He laid special stress on the question of revolutionary violence and dictatorship of the proletariat whose task, he pointed out, is to fight the class enemy inside and outside the country, to build a new society, the classless, communist society. The important mission of the proletariat is to work out and put into effect "a new organization of labour of a standard higher than capitalism" and its most complex long-term duty is to transform the millions of small producers and thereby to prevent the resurgence of capitalism.

He also pointed out that for the proletarian revolution to triumph, a close alliance with the masses of the peasantry at home and with the proletariat of all countries and oppressed peoples of the world is indispensable. His war-cry "*Proletarians of all countries and oppressed peoples, unite!*" has become the clarion call rallying all revolutionary forces on the earth in the battle against the common enemy, imperialism, and for national independence, democracy and socialism.

He built the Russian Bolshevik Party, a new-type party of the proletariat, and led the Russian proletariat and working people to success in the Great October Socialist Revolution (1917) and in the setting up of the first proletarian dictatorship state in the world. The October Revolution has ushered in a new epoch in man's history, the epoch of the collapse of capitalism and of the victory of socialism on a world scale.

He founded the *Communist International*, i. e. the *Third International*, to supersede the *Second International* which had degenerated after Engels's death, due to the betrayal of the revisionists Bernstein and Kautsky. The new body played an important part in the defence of the revolutionary spirit of Marxism, in the expansion of the international communist and workers' movement, in the preparation for the world proletariat to overthrow the imperialist rule and seize power.

After his death, Stalin, the disciple and continuator of Marx, Engels, and Lenin, held high the revolutionary standard of the proletariat. He fought implacably rightist and "leftist" opportunism and preserved the purity of Marxism - Leninism, while making an inventive use of it in the construction of socialism in the Soviet Union, and impelling forward world revolution. True to Marxism - Leninism, Stalin did everything in his power to strengthen the Party ideologically and organizationally, to maintain and consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, to carry out socialist industrialization, agricultural collectivization and cultural revolution, to enforce equal rights for all fraternal nationalities of the country, and at the same time to give all-out support to the revolution in various countries of the

world. As a result, the gains of the revolution were preserved and increased, and the Soviet Union was built into a powerful socialist state in the midst of capitalist encirclement.

In the Second World War, the Soviet Communist Party (Bolshevik) headed by Stalin led the exceptionally heroic fight of the Soviet Army and people to a glorious victory over fascism, thereby safeguarding the first socialist state in the world and paving the way for the triumph of the revolution in a series of countries in Eastern Europe and in Asia, and that of our August Revolution. The greatest historical event after the October Revolution was the Chinese Revolution whose success dealt a staggering blow at imperialist positions in Asia, and tilted the world balance of forces in favour of peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

Today, the world socialist system, which consists of thirteen countries in three continents, with a population of more than a thousand million, has been established. The movement of the working class and labouring people in the capitalist countries for democracy and social progress and the national liberation revolution in Asia, Africa and Latin America are vigorously growing. The colonial structure of imperialism is swiftly sliding towards disintegration with a momentum that no reactionary force can halt.

All this represents a tremendous achievement for Marxism-Leninism, for Karl Marx and, generally, for the founders of scientific communism, and those who have developed it in the new conditions of world history.

II

HOW HAS OUR PARTY APPLIED MARXISM-LENINISM IN VIET NAM?

Dear comrades,

During nearly a century of French colonialist rule, finding life impossible under the oppressive regime of the colonialists and the feudalists, our people had risen up to struggle courageously for the independence and freedom of the fatherland. For each one who fell, others rushed forward. But all national liberation movements before the birth of our Party had failed. One of the causes for this failure lies in the inability of former revolutionaries to develop the scientific world outlook of the proletariat, the most revolutionary class of our time, hence to work out an adequate programme capable of leading the Vietnamese revolution to victory.

Mankind has entered a new epoch which began with the Great October Socialist Revolution, that of transition from capitalism to socialism on a world-wide scale. The central force of our time is the working class.

The essential feature of our time is that the world socialist system is becoming the decisive factor in the evolution of human society.

"Today it is the world socialist system and the forces fighting against imperialism, for a socialist transformation of society, that determine the main content, main trend and main features of the historical development of society."¹

In our time, to be successful any truly profound revolution of the masses of the people must be led by the authentic revolutionary party of the working class, the Marxist-Leninist party. The role of leader of the revolution played by the working class was expounded 120 years ago by Marx and Engels in the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, the first revolutionary programme of the world working class.

Thanks to the resounding influence of the Great October Socialist Revolution and the dissemination efforts of Comrade Ho Chi Minh, the first Vietnamese to become a Marxist, Marxism-Leninism came to our country.

In 1930 the Indochinese Communist Party (now the Viet Nam Workers' Party) came into being, marking a great turning-point in the history of the Vietnamese revolution.

Applying Marxism-Leninism and holding firm to the revolutionary stand of the working class, our Party carried out a scientific analysis of the economic, political and social situation in our country and set forth a correct revolutionary programme which led the Vietnamese revolution steadily forward.

With the victory of the August Revolution, the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, the Vietnamese people's democratic state, came into being and the colonial system of imperialism was breached at its weakest link in Southeast Asia. This was

1. Declaration of the Meeting of Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties, Moscow, 1960.

the first victory of Marxism-Leninism in a colonial and semi-feudal country in Southeast Asia, and at the same time the greatest event in the history of the Vietnamese nation. For the first time the labouring people of our country became masters of their own land and devoted their talent and intelligence to building a new life.

After the August Revolution, and following nearly nine years of resistance, the Vietnamese people defeated the war of aggression of the French colonialists helped by the American imperialists, and at present they are recording great victories in the resistance to American aggression, for national salvation.

Following the victory of the resistance against the French colonialists, North Viet Nam advanced to the stage of socialist revolution, and the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam became the firm outpost of the socialist camp in Southeast Asia.

That our Party has led the Vietnamese revolution from one victory to another and recorded such tremendous achievements is due to the fact that it has applied Marxism-Leninism in a creative manner to the concrete conditions prevailing in Viet Nam and charted a correct revolutionary course for our country's working class and people. This is the *line of the people's national democratic revolution advancing toward the socialist revolution in Viet Nam.*

THE PEOPLE'S NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION

First of all, our Party took the view that Viet Nam was a colonial and semi-feudal country. Agriculture occupied the major part of the national economy. Foreign imperialists

relied on the feudal landowner class to oppress and exploit our people. The peasantry accounted for about 90 per cent of the population. For those reasons, in Viet Nam two fundamental contradictions had to be solved: *first*, that between the Vietnamese people and the imperialists who had robbed them of their country; and *second*, that between the broad masses of the people, the peasants especially, and the feudal landowner class. The essential contradiction, for the solution of which all forces should be concentrated, was that between the Vietnamese people on the one hand, and the imperialist aggressors and their lackeys on the other. Imperialism was relying on the feudal landowner class to rule over our country; on the other hand, the feudal landowner class was acting as an agent of the imperialists and relied on their protection to maintain its interests and privileges. That is why two tasks were set for the Vietnamese revolution:

1. To drive out the imperialist aggressors and win national independence — its anti-imperialist task.
2. To overthrow the feudal landowner class, carry out land reform, and put into effect the watchword "Land to the Tillers" — its anti-feudal task. These two tasks were closely linked together and could not be separated: to drive out the imperialists one had to overthrow the feudal landowners; conversely, to overthrow the feudal landowners, one had to drive out the imperialists.

Who in Vietnamese society was to overthrow the imperialists and feudalists? It was the four classes among the people: the working class, the peasantry, the petty bourgeoisie and

the national bourgeoisie. Essentially, however, it was the working class and the peasantry, for they constituted the great majority of the population, were the most heavily oppressed and exploited and had the greatest revolutionary capabilities. Leadership of the Vietnamese revolution must be exercised by the working class, for it is the most advanced and the most thoroughly revolutionary class; the working class alone is qualified for leading the Vietnamese revolution to total victory.

In short, the tasks of the revolution were to overthrow aggressor imperialism and the feudal landowner class with a view to winning national independence, and thus to put into effect the people's democratic rights, give land to the tillers, and turn Viet Nam from a colonial and semi-feudal country into a truly democratic and independent country. This revolution was carried out by the people under the leadership of the working class on the basis of the worker-peasant alliance. In our Party's view, this was the *people's national democratic revolution*, i.e., the new-style bourgeois democratic revolution in our country.

The Vietnamese people's national democratic revolution in fact involved two revolutionary movements which bore close relationship to each other, had influence on each other and pushed each other forward — the national liberation revolution and the agrarian revolution (or land reform). Because of the close collusion between the imperialists and the feudal landowner class to maintain their rule, it was impossible to overthrow the imperialists alone without striking at the feudalists, their agents. Moreover, the peasantry constituted the greatest force of the revolution; without the

participation of the broad masses of the peasantry, the people's national democratic revolution could not achieve success. In the process of the people's national democratic revolution, in order to mobilize the immense forces of the peasantry and consolidate the worker-peasant alliance, our Party advocated land reform, the overthrow of the feudal landowner class, the abolition of the regime of feudal land ownership, the implementation of the slogan "Land to the Tillers" and the satisfaction of the peasants' claims to land.

The close relationship between the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal tasks was a matter of revolutionary strategy. To separate these two tasks might lead the people's national democratic revolution to failure. However, they were not to be carried out abreast on an equal footing. This was an important experience of our Party in providing strategic guidance.

Why shouldn't the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal tasks be carried out abreast on an equal footing? Our country was a colonial country, so the imperialist yoke was weighing heavily on the Vietnamese people. The imperialist aggressors were the most powerful and truculent enemy of our entire people, of our nation. Only by overthrowing the imperialists could we win national independence, realize the people's democratic liberties and give land to the tillers.

Imperialism and the feudal landowner class were the two main targets of the people's national democratic revolution, the two main enemies to overthrow, but the more essential target, the more essential enemy was imperialism. In the people's national democratic revolution both tasks — the anti-imperialist and the anti-feudal — were essential, but the

anti-feudal task must yield to the anti-imperialist. That is why in the first stage of the people's national democratic revolution, the spearhead of the revolution must be directed essentially against the imperialist aggressors and all forces should be concentrated in order to overthrow them.

To overthrow the imperialist aggressor, stress should be laid on the question of national liberation. An anti-imperialist national united front should be founded, and the fire of revolutionary struggle should be concentrated on the imperialist aggressors and the feudalists, their devoted agents, in other words the king, mandarins and village tyrants.

In the people's national democratic revolution, the problem for our Party was to isolate the most dangerous enemy — the imperialist aggressors and their devoted servants, the feudalists — to divide the ranks of the latter, strip the former of their allies and weaken their prop, so as to overthrow them more easily. For this reason, it must rally all forces struggling against the imperialists and their lackeys, and carry out a policy of broad national union. The broader the anti-imperialist national united front, the more useful it was to the revolution. But the essential point was that it should be *based on a firm worker-peasant alliance and put under the close leadership of our Party*. Not only should it include all the classes of the people, all the fraternal nationalities living on Vietnamese soil, all the democratic parties, all the patriotic political and religious bodies, but also all the democratic personalities and patriotic notables of the feudal landowner class.

For those reasons, the anti-feudal task had to be carried out step by step. In implementation of the above-mentioned

policy of the anti-imperialist national united front, our Party divided the agrarian task into the three following stages :

a) First : to confiscate all the lands of the imperialists and the Vietnamese traitors and distribute them to the poor peasants ; to re-distribute the communal lands in a just and fair manner.

b) Second : to reduce land rent and interest rates : to order a moratorium of debts and to cancel all debts to landowners ;

c) Third : to carry out land reform, abolish feudal land ownership, confiscate, requisition or buy out lands belonging to the landowner class and distribute them to landless or land-poor peasants and put into effect the slogan "Land to the Tillers."

While applying this strategy of the people's national democratic revolution, we committed shortcomings and errors of a local and partial character. However, revolutionary realities over nearly forty years have proved that our Party's line of the people's national democratic revolution and its guiding principles concerning strategy and tactics are correct. It was for these reasons that the August Revolution (1945) triumphed and the resistance against the French colonialists (1945 - 1954) ended in victory.

Thus, in the first stage of the people's national democratic revolution, we did not yet carry out land reform. But in the process of the people's national democratic revolution, because of its requirements and in order to consolidate the worker-peasant alliance, at some given time land reform had to be

carried into effect, feudal land ownership abolished, and the political and social basis of the imperialists in our country destroyed.

The working class must provide firm leadership to the people's national democratic revolution and cannot share it with any other class, least of all let it fall into the hands of the national bourgeoisie. Experiences supplied by the revolution in our country have proved that only under the leadership of the working class could the people's national democratic revolution fulfil the two anti-imperialist and anti-feudal tasks as embodied in these major slogans :

— To overthrow aggressor imperialism and its agents, the feudalists ;

— To found the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam ; to realize the people's democratic freedoms (including freedom of religion) ;

— To confiscate all properties of the imperialist aggressors and the Vietnamese traitors and hand them over to the people's power ;

— To abolish all taxes and corvées imposed by the imperialists and feudalists ; to establish a just and fair taxation ;

— To reduce land rent and interest rates, advance toward land reform, carry into effect the slogan "Land to the Tillers" ;

— To decree an eight-hour workday, raise wages and set a minimum wage ; to promulgate labour legislation ;

— To build and develop a national and democratic economy, culture and education ;

- To found a revolutionary army of the people, set up a system of military service and organize national defence ;
- To promote equality between men and women ;
- To promote equality among all nationalities ;
- To establish friendly relations with the socialist countries and all other countries which respect the independence and sovereignty of Viet Nam ;
- To support the movement of revolutionary struggle of the working class and people of other countries ; to defend world peace.

THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION

Following the great victory at Dien Bien Phu (1954) the North of our country was wholly liberated, while the imperialist and feudal regime was maintained in the South. Our Party's policy was to shift the North onto the stage of socialist revolution while continuing the struggle against imperialism and its servants so as to fulfil the tasks of the people's national democratic revolution in the South and advance toward the reunification of the country.

At that time two great problems were posed to our Party : Should we wait for the reunification of the country to be achieved before engaging in socialist revolution ? Should the North go through the stage of capitalist development before advancing to socialism ? To both questions, our Party's answer was : No.

After the fulfilment of the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal tasks, the North should switch over to the stage of socialist

revolution without any delay, without having to wait for national reunification. We stand for "uninterrupted revolution". President Ho Chi Minh said :

"...Following the restoration of peace, the North of our country switched over from the people's national democratic revolution to the *socialist revolution*. The immediate task of our entire people is to strive to build and consolidate the North, bring it gradually to socialism and at the same time struggle for national reunification with a view to building a peaceful, reunified, independent, democratic, and prosperous Viet Nam".¹

The North is fully capable of bypassing the stage of capitalist development and advancing directly to socialism, for the following reasons :

1. The entire revolutionary cause of the people in the North is under the direct leadership of the Viet Nam Workers' Party, a genuine Marxist-Leninist party, on the basis of a strong worker-peasant alliance ;

2. The completion of the people's national democratic revolution in the North has created the basis for the shift to the socialist revolution ;

3. Following the victory of the resistance against the French colonialists and the liberation of the North, the people's democratic dictatorship in the North is fully capable of fulfilling the historical task of the dictatorship of the proletariat ;

1. Ho Chi Minh Speech at the opening meeting of the Eighth Session of the First National Assembly, April 1958.

4. The people in the North are highly patriotic and industrious; they know how to rely on their own means and are determined to build a new life for themselves in accordance with the Party's line;

5. Socialist construction in our country benefits from the wholehearted assistance of the fraternal socialist countries in all fields.

In fact, following the victory of the resistance against the French colonialists, the wholly liberated North entered the period of transition to socialism.

Our Party's *general line* during the period of transition to socialism is as follows:

"...To take the North toward socialism rapidly, vigorously and steadily, to build an abundant and happy life in the North, to consolidate the North and turn it into a strong base for the struggle for peaceful national reunification and to contribute to the strengthening of the socialist camp and to the preservation of peace in Southeast Asia and the world.

"To reach this goal, we must make use of the people's democratic state power to fulfil the historical tasks of the dictatorship of the proletariat, to carry out socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts, small trade and private capitalist industry and commerce; to develop the state economic sector, to carry out socialist industrialization by giving priority to the rational development of heavy industry, while striving to develop agriculture and light industry; to push ahead the socialist revolution in ideology, culture and technique, with a view to transforming our country into

a socialist country with modern industry, modern agriculture and advanced culture and science".¹

With a view to the implementation of this general line, our Party's policy is on the one hand to *strengthen dictatorship over the enemy of the people*, repress the counter-revolutionaries, maintain order and security; on the other, to *develop democracy with regard to the people*, put their democratic rights into effect in a correct fashion, gradually build and consolidate socialist legality, and create conditions for the people to participate in a concrete manner in the management of the state. At the same time, our Party advocates the carrying out of the following three revolutions : *revolution in relations of production, technological revolution, and ideological and cultural revolution.*

In the initial period of the socialist revolution, we consider *socialist transformation* the central task. Concurrently we begin building the material and technical basis of socialism, starting with key points. In socialist transformation, we regard agricultural co-operation as the central link : at the same time we carry out socialist transformation with regard to handicrafts, private capitalist industry and trade, and small trade. Socialist ownership takes on two forms : ownership by the entire people, and ownership by the collective. At present, socialist relations of production have won absolute supremacy in the national economy and have become a factor urging forward socialist construction in the North of our country.

The revolution in relations of production should not be confined to transforming the ownership of means of

1. Resolution of the Third National Congress of the Viet Nam Workers' Party on the task and line of the Party in the new period, 1960.

production but should also include the system of management and distribution. The aim of the transformation of relations of production is to establish the collective ownership of the labouring people over the essential means of production as well as production and distribution, thereby developing socialist democracy, and promoting the labouring masses' spirit of initiative and creativeness in production work.

After the basic completion of the transformation of relations of production in the system of ownership, the *technological revolution* holds a key position. It must effectively serve socialist industrialization. We must carry out *socialist industrialization* and wage a *technological revolution* in order to make our economy truly independent and sovereign. We must set up a modern Vietnamese industry capable of transforming the present production, which relies mainly on handicraft labour, into a large-scale mechanized production, quickly developing the productive forces and incessantly increasing labour productivity.

In the process of socialist industrialization, we correctly combine industry with agriculture, regarding heavy industry as the corner-stone of the entire national economy and agriculture as the basis on which to develop industry. We give rational priority to the national development of heavy industry. At the same time we pay attention to the promotion of agriculture and light industry. We stress the development of centrally-run industry while attaching great importance to that of regional industry.

The technological revolution pushes socialism forward. In our country it is carried out in accordance with the principle : *two-way advance*, i.e., on the one hand, advance gradually

from handicrafts to semi-mechanization, then on to mechanization; and on the other, take a short cut by applying modern technique right away. The latter is conditional on receiving assistance from the fraternal socialist countries and on gradually training enough technicians and skilled workers to master modern technique.

Parallel to these two revolutions and with a view to effectively serving them, we carry out an *ideological and cultural revolution*. In the field of *ideology* we must foster and strengthen proletarian ideology, fight all forms of bourgeois ideology, criticize petty-bourgeois ideology and continue to do away with all vestiges of feudal and other erroneous ideologies. In the field of *culture*, we inherit in a critical way the national culture, and build for Viet Nam a new culture, socialist in content and national in character.

Our ideological and cultural revolution should fulfil the following tasks :

— To educate our people and make them fully understand Marxism-Leninism and the Party's line and policies : to turn these line and policies into revolutionary actions by the masses ; to bring about political and moral unity among our people.

— To instil socialist ethics and revolutionary feelings into our cadres and people so as to imbue them with socialist consciousness as regards labour and social property ; to infuse into them patriotism and proletarian internationalism ; to imbue them with revolutionary heroism and bring into full play our people's tradition of persevering and indomitable struggle ; to make everybody enthusiastically engage in patriotic emulation and carry into effect President Ho Chi

Minh's behest: "Be loyal to the country and devoted to the people, fulfil all tasks, overcome all difficulties, defeat all enemies".

— To pursue to a completely successful end the struggle against illiteracy, especially in the mountain regions; to develop culture, education, literature and art, science and technology; to raise the cultural and technical level of our cadres and people ceaselessly so that everybody may apply his knowledge to the building of socialism and to the resistance against American aggression, for national salvation.

— To pursue the remoulding of former intellectuals and train a new generation of intellectuals sprung from the workers and peasants and absolutely dedicated to socialism.

At present, in the North of our country the struggle between the socialist path and the capitalist path is still going on until a definite answer can be given to the question, "Which will win?" This will be a protracted, difficult and complex struggle. Drives such as the repression of counter-revolutionaries, the development of democracy as regards the people, the transformation of relations of production, the technological revolution, the ideological and cultural revolution, constitute the content of the struggle between the two paths in the North of our country.

While carrying on the socialist revolution in the North, our Party keeps full grasp of the universal laws of the "process of socialist revolution and the construction of socialism" set forth in the Moscow Declaration of 1957, to which is added the law of "socialist industrialization" in keeping with the conditions of Viet Nam, a backward

agricultural country advancing toward socialism without passing through the stage of capitalist development. These laws are as follows :

— To achieve and consolidate the leadership over the labouring people of the working class whose nucleus is the Marxist-Leninist Party.

— To carry out the proletarian revolution in one form or another.

— To set up the dictatorship of the proletariat in one form or another.

— To bring about and consolidate the alliance between the working class and the fundamental masses of the peasantry and the other labouring strata.

— To abolish the system of capitalist ownership and set up a system of collective ownership of the basic means of production.

— To carry out a gradual socialist transformation of agriculture.

— To achieve socialist industrialization.

— To develop the national economy in a planned fashion, aimed at building socialism and communism and raising the living standards of the labouring people.

— To carry out socialist revolution in the ideological and cultural fields and train an intelligentsia which will be large in number and faithful to the working class, the toiling people and the cause of socialism.

— To do away with national oppression and bring about equality among the nationalities.

— To safeguard the fruits of socialism, to counter sabotage by internal and external enemies.

— To realize solidarity between our country's working class and the working class in all other countries ; to carry into effect proletarian internationalism.

In sum, the people's national democratic revolution and the socialist revolution are two revolutionary strategies which follow two different courses of development. However, these two courses succeed each other without any interruption and are even closely connected with each other. For instance, a task belonging to one course may originate from the previous one ; or a task belonging to one course may be completed only in the following one. The people's national democratic revolution is the basis of the socialist revolution which constitutes its necessary development.

THE PROBLEM OF VIOLENCE IN THE VIETNAMESE REVOLUTION

Dear comrades,

Marxism-Leninism considers that "the fundamental question of every revolution is the question of power". Only by using the masses' revolutionary violence to smash the counter-revolutionary violence of the exploiting ruling classes can power be won by the people and a new society be built. Never will an exploiting class withdraw of its own consent from the political scene, renounce its power, and forsake the oppression and exploitation of the labouring people.

Marx considered violence as "the midwife of all old societies about to bring forth a new one". Developing Marx's

thinking Engels carefully analyzed the "role of violence in history" in his famous work *Anti-Dühring*. Lenin, the greatest heir to Marx and Engels, said : "This view of violent revolution lies at the root of *all* the teachings of Marx and Engels"¹. "The bourgeois state *cannot be superseded* by the proletarian state (dictatorship of the proletariat) through the process of withering away, but as a general rule, only through a violent revolution"².

One fundamental criterion which helps distinguish between Marxist-Leninists and opportunists of all hues is *whether or not they stand for the use of mass revolutionary violence to smash the state machinery of the exploiting classes (the bourgeoisie and the landowner class) and to set up a proletarian dictatorship state.*

The two declarations issued at the meetings of representatives of communist and workers' parties, held in Moscow in 1957 and 1960, mentioned the possibility of either peaceful or non-peaceful transition to socialism. Our Party agrees to this point of view. But at the same time it stresses that at present in many capitalist countries, state-monopoly capitalists have embarked on the path of militarization and fascistization in varying degrees, and are openly using violence to repress the working class and the labouring people. "That is why we must assert that the use of revolutionary violence to smash the state machinery of the bourgeoisie and set up a proletarian dictatorship state is a universal law with regard to the revolutionary struggle of the working class in the

1. V. I. Lenin, *The State and Revolution*.

2. *Ibid.*

capitalist countries in the present conditions”¹. The possibility of a peaceful transition to socialism is very valuable, but could happen only very rarely. For this reason, while providing leadership for the revolution, the Communists should stand ready to face both the possibility of a non-peaceful and that of a peaceful transition, but they should “essentially prepare for the non-peaceful possibility”²; in no case should they nurture illusions about an easy peaceful transition. The working class and people of colonial and neo-colonial countries should particularly guard against such illusions.

Since its birth, always faithful to the Marxist-Leninist concept of violent revolution, taking correct stock of the extremely reactionary nature of the imperialists and feudalists and the strength of the militant solidarity of the people, first and foremost, of the workers and peasants, our Party has *viewed the path of violent revolution as the only correct path leading to the overthrow of the enemy of the class and the nation, the seizure of power by the people, the safeguarding of the revolutionary power, and victory for the revolution in our country.* President Ho Chi Minh said :

“In the hard and difficult struggle against the enemy of the class and of the nation *it is necessary to use revolutionary violence to oppose counter-revolutionary violence, seize power and defend it.*”³

Indeed, in such a colonial and semi-feudal country as ours formerly, the imperialists and their agents oppressed our

1. Resolution of the 9th Plenum of the Viet Nam Workers' Party Central Committee (1963).

2. *Ibid.*

3. Ho Chi Minh, *The Great October Revolution Paves the Way for the Liberation of the Peoples.*

people in an extremely savage manner and did not allow them the least democratic freedom. They ceaselessly engaged in terroristic actions and repressed the revolutionary movement in an infinitely barbarous fashion. That is why our Party was very soon imbued with the Marxist-Leninist concept of violent revolution and has persistently kept to the road of violent revolution, which is the only correct one not only to seize power but also to safeguard revolutionary power. This is substantiated by the August Revolution, the former resistance war against the French colonialists, the present one against the American imperialists, the operations against the bandits in the past and all repressive measures against counter-revolutionaries in the North over the past years.

The whole wealth of experience gained by the Vietnamese revolution bears out the truth contained in Marxism-Leninism about violent revolution and repudiates all illusions about "peaceful transition" and all reformist compromising and legalist tendencies...

About the form of revolutionary violence, President Ho Chi Minh pointed out : "Adequate forms of revolutionary struggle should be adopted in keeping with the concrete situation ; forms of armed and political struggle should be correctly and skilfully combined to win victory for the revolution".¹

Under the leadership of our Party, the Vietnamese revolution has always used both forms — political struggle and armed struggle — to stage insurrections and win power :

1. Ho Chi Minh, *The Great October Revolution Paves the Way for the Liberation of the Peoples*.

it has used both forces — the masses' political forces and the people's armed forces — to smash the state machinery of the imperialists and their agents and win power for the people. Armed forces combined with political forces, armed struggle combined with political struggle — *such is the fundamental form of revolutionary violence in our country.*

Right at the birth of our Party, a revolutionary tide of the masses surged all over the country, culminating in the Nghe-Tinh Soviets in 1930-1931. The worker and peasant masses in the two provinces of Nghe An and Ha Tinh rose up to overthrow the colonial administrators and the mandarins and village tyrants, and set up worker-peasant power in a number of rural areas. Although the uprising failed, it strongly awakened the revolutionary spirit of the people throughout the country. It brought out initial experiences on the combination of the two strategic tasks — the anti-imperialist and the anti-feudal — on the combination of the workers' struggle and that of the peasants, on the realization of worker-peasant alliance under the leadership of the working class, on the combination of the revolutionary movement in the countryside with that in the cities, on the combination of political and armed struggle, and so forth.

From 1936 to 1939, in face of the danger of fascism and of aggressive war by the fascists, and preparing for favourable opportunities to fight the enemy, our Party took as a basis for action the building of the masses' political forces. It skillfully combined illegal and legal actions, including the use of "Chambers of the people's representatives" and "Colonial councils", etc., to trigger off a seething movement of political struggle from urban to rural areas. This was directed against

the colonial reactionaries, king, mandarins, village tyrants, and for democratic freedoms, an improvement of the standard of living, against fascism and for the defence of world peace.

In the Second World War, the problem of armed insurrection was urgently set forth. Our Party advanced from political struggle to the mobilization for armed struggle, from the masses' political organizations to the building of paramilitary forces of the people (self-defence units for national salvation, self-defence combat units, guerilla units of the National-Salvation Troops and the Liberation Troops). It properly combined the two forms of political and armed struggle during the years of preparations for the insurrection, during the pre-insurrection period and right in the course of the August 1945 General Insurrection. The August Revolution arose from the brilliant success of close co-ordination of political and armed forces in the countryside and the towns, of political and armed struggle with a view to winning total power for the people. That revolution was the product of the experience gained in the three revolutionary movements led by our Party: the movement for a national-democratic revolution in 1930-1931, the Democratic Front movement in 1936-1939 and the national liberation movement in 1939-1945. It was the re-staging of the Nghe-Tinh Soviets on a nation-wide scale. The victory of the August Revolution is the victory of the Marxist-Leninist concept of revolutionary violence applied by our Party in a creative manner to the concrete conditions prevailing in our country.

During the nation-wide, all-sided and protracted resistance war against the French colonialist aggressors (1945-1954),

the people's revolutionary violence was embodied in the combination of armed and political struggles, with armed struggle predominating. On account of our Party's correct leadership and our people's ardent patriotism, people's war developed strongly, growing in scale and in strength and gaining ever more victories. The resounding Dien Bien Phu victory brought our resistance against the French colonialists to glorious success. It restored peace in Indochina on the basis of international recognition of the independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of Viet Nam, and also of Cambodia and Laos.

At present, the American imperialists are pursuing a war of aggression in the South of our country and are waging a war of destruction, mainly through air attacks, against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. Confronted with this situation, all our compatriots across the country must use revolutionary violence to oppose the counter-revolutionary violence of the American imperialists and their lackeys so as to liberate the South, defend the North, and proceed to peaceful national reunification.

To combine military struggle with political struggle, such is the fundamental form of revolutionary violence in the South at present. This form is a product of the synthesis and enrichment of the experience gained in the August Revolution and the resistance war against the French colonialists. It has been used not only against the American imperialists' "special war" but also against their "limited war." Advancing from political demonstrations co-ordinated with armed propaganda in the years 1954-1959 to the concerted uprisings of 1960 and the present development of

people's war, our Southern compatriots have combined military and political struggles on a large-scale and have attacked the enemy militarily and politically and through propaganda and agitation work among their troops.

The offensive and uprising started early this year in the South is a new step in the development of the close co-ordination of military and political forces, of armed and political struggles, of military attacks and popular uprisings in both urban and rural areas, plains and mountains. It has opened a new period in our people's resistance against American aggression, for national salvation, and created conditions for our Southern compatriots to destroy ever more enemy forces, smash the puppet army, overthrow the puppet administration, crush the American imperialists' will of aggression, and seize power for the people.

At present, our people are combining military, political and diplomatic struggles to oppose the American imperialists.

With a view to conducting political struggle in combination with armed struggle, on the one hand our people have organized a National United Front which includes political parties and mass organizations, such as trade-unions, peasant associations, youth organizations, women's organizations, patriotic religious bodies, etc. On the other hand, they have built people's armed forces comprising regular troops, regional troops, self-defence militia and guerilla units, and people's armed police (when power has been won either in the whole country or in given regions).

The experience gained by the Vietnamese revolution over nearly forty years shows that the path of violent revolution is the only correct one to win national independence, people's

democracy and socialism. The fundamental form of violence in the Vietnamese revolution is the close combination of political and armed struggles, with either of them predominating according to the concrete situation prevailing in each period or each region.

Does our Party's line — combining military and political struggles to win power — mean a compromise between armed struggle and peaceful transition? Absolutely not! Our Party's line for winning power is the line of revolutionary violence, the fundamental form of which is the combination of armed and political struggles. In Viet Nam this line has been proved and is being proved a correct one. In our opinion, under the present circumstances when imperialism and militarism hold sway, to stand for a *peaceful transition* in the hope of seizing power is to nurture reformist illusions. A genuinely profound and broad revolution of the popular masses aimed at winning power should as a matter of course combine political struggle (for instance, general political strikes, school strikes, market strikes, office employees' strikes, political meetings and demonstrations, armed demonstrations for a show of strength, etc.) and armed attacks. A protracted people's war should all the more embody the combination of armed and political struggles in many forms.

With regard to the combination of political and armed struggles the Vietnamese revolution has gathered the following essential experiences :

1. In the course of the revolution, one must absolutely mobilize the masses to wage political struggle in many forms, thereby educating, encouraging and organizing them ; develop the Party and the masses' political organizations (to build

a "mass political army"). Only at a certain point, when conditions are favourable, should one build the people's revolutionary armed forces and trigger off an armed struggle. The masses' political organizations form the basis of the people's armed forces. Only in such a way will the fish (the people's armed forces) have water (the grass-roots mass organizations) in which to swim.

2. One must raise the combination of military and political struggles to a fairly high level: combination of actions before, during and after the insurrection; during the insurrection for winning power just as in the war for liberation; in rural and urban areas as well as between rural areas and urban areas; on the operational, tactical and strategic planes in the war of liberation. The highest form of combination is that of general offensive with general insurrection.

3. Revolution in any country is essentially the doing of the people of that country. Nobody can accomplish it in their place. Revolutionary armed struggle in any country is first and foremost the doing of the broad masses in that country under the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist party. The assistance extended by the revolution in other countries is very precious, very important but it cannot replace the revolutionary struggle waged by the people in their own country. Such assistance can have influence only through that struggle.

THE PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC DICTATORSHIP

Marxism teaches that after seizing power, the working class must build a state of its own, the State of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The task then facing the working class is a most heavy one. It must seek to break up the resistance of the exploiting

classes, and to liquidate every attempt on their part to restore the power of capital. It must rally all the labouring strata around the working class in order to carry out socialist transformation and socialist and communist construction, and to bring about a classless society. It must concentrate its efforts on the setting up and strengthening of the defence forces in order to shatter every imperialist attempt at unleashing war and aggression. It must provide all-sided support and assistance to the revolutionary struggle of the working class, the labourers and the oppressed peoples in other countries for the triumph of socialism and communism throughout the world.

To fulfil these heavy tasks the working class must necessarily establish the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Marx said : "Between capitalist and communist societies lies the period of the revolutionary transformation of the one into the other. There corresponds to this also a political transition period in which the state can be nothing but the *revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat*."¹

Lenin also pointed out : "The essence of Marx's teaching on the state has been mastered only by those who understand that the dictatorship of a single class is necessary not only for every class society in general, not only for the *proletariat* which has overthrown the bourgeoisie, but also for the entire *historical period* which separates capitalism from classless society, from communism."²

1. K. Marx, *Critique of the Gotha Programme*.

2. V.I. Lenin, *The State and Revolution*.

Applying the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat to Russia during its two revolutionary stages — democratic revolution and socialist revolution — Lenin had the following view on dictatorship in the democratic revolution :

“A decisive victory of the revolution over tsarism is the *revolutionary democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry*... And such a victory will be precisely a dictatorship, *i.e.* it must inevitably rely on military force, on the arming of the masses, on an insurrection, and not on institutions of one kind or another, established in a lawful or peaceful way. It can be only a dictatorship, for the realization of the changes which are urgently and absolutely indispensable for the proletariat and the peasantry will call forth the desperate resistance of the landlords, of the big bourgeoisie and tsarism. Without a dictatorship it is impossible to break down that resistance and to repel the counter-revolutionary attempts. But of course it will be a democratic, not a socialist, dictatorship. It will not be able (without a series of intermediary stages of revolutionary development) to affect the foundation of capitalism.”¹

However, the working class does not stop at the stage of bourgeois democratic revolution, but should advance to socialist revolution. When bourgeois democratic revolution develops into socialist revolution, the dictatorship of the working class and the peasantry (worker-peasant dictatorship) will switch over to the dictatorship of the proletariat. The working class will then use dictatorship to liquidate capitalist ownership and establish collective ownership of

1. V. I. Lenin, *Two Tactics of Social-Democracy in the Democratic Revolution*.

the basic means of production, achieve socialist transformation and socialist construction, and eliminate exploitation of man by man.

In his *Two Tactics of Social-Democracy in the Democratic Revolution*, Lenin elaborated a comprehensive theory on the *switch of bourgeois democratic revolution to socialist revolution*.

The historical condition giving birth to worker-peasant dictatorship is the emergence of a new-type bourgeois democratic revolution directed by the working class, which differs from the old-type bourgeois democratic revolution conducted by the bourgeoisie, and engenders a transition state leading to the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Indeed, in the countries which carry out the new-type bourgeois democratic revolution, the worker-peasant dictatorship is a transition state due to grow into the dictatorship of the proletariat, of which it constitutes a basis and for the establishment of which it paves the way. *In the history of human society the worker-peasant dictatorship falls under the category of the dictatorship of the proletariat.*

Lenin's theory on the worker-peasant dictatorship is related to his well-known proposition on the realization of the leadership of the working class on the basis of the worker-peasant alliance in the bourgeois democratic revolution. It concerns the transformation of the bourgeois democratic revolution into the socialist revolution and on the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat in order to build socialism and communism.

In Viet Nam, following the success of the August General Insurrection, the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam came

into being and the people's democratic dictatorship was established. In fact, it was a worker-peasant dictatorship which, led by the working class, relentlessly fought against the imperialist aggressors and their lackeys — the representatives of the feudal landlords and the comprador bourgeoisie.

In our country the tasks of the people's democratic dictatorship in the stage of the people's national democratic revolution were :

— To smash the rule of the imperialists and their lackeys, the feudalists, to set up and consolidate the Democratic Republic, to establish and further the people's democratic regime, and put into effect genuine democratic freedoms for the people.

— To organize the people's all-out and protracted resistance against the French colonialist aggressors.

— To carry out land reform, abolish feudal land ownership, realize the slogan "Land to the Tillers" while still leaving intact the foundations of capitalism.

— To build and develop a national and democratic economy and culture.

— To prepare for the switch to socialist revolution politically, economically and ideologically.

— To strengthen solidarity between our people and those of the socialist countries, support the revolutionary struggle of the world's peoples and safeguard world peace.

Only by accomplishing these tasks could our dictatorship of people's democracy actually play its role as a worker-peasant dictatorship.

After our victory over the French colonialists, the North of our country, which had been completely liberated, entered the stage of socialist revolution; consequently since then our people's democratic dictatorship has assumed a new role: it fulfils the historical task of the dictatorship of the proletariat and, in essence, is a dictatorship of the proletariat.¹

The tasks of our dictatorship of people's democracy in the stage of socialist revolution are precisely the general tasks of the dictatorship of the proletariat applied as follows to the concrete conditions of our country:

"To break up the resistance of the class enemy whom the revolution has already overthrown, and foil their schemes and actions aimed at restoring the power of the bourgeoisie.

1. The question of worker-peasant dictatorship and proletarian dictatorship was asserted at the Second and Third Party National Congresses in the following terms:

"At present the Vietnamese state is in its form a democratic republic and in its content a dictatorship of people's democracy, *i.e.*, democracy toward the people and dictatorship against the enemy and their puppets.

"Our people's democratic dictatorship is carrying out the historical task of worker-peasant dictatorship. It smashes the rule of the imperialist aggressors and the traitors, the puppets; it establishes and consolidates the people's democratic regime; it puts into effect land reform, abolishes feudal land ownership, while still leaving intact the foundations of capitalism; it develops the national economy; it consolidates the leadership of the working class and the worker-peasant alliance; it strengthens solidarity between our people and the forces of peace, democracy, national liberation and socialism throughout the world.

"When the people's national democratic revolution develops into a socialist revolution, the dictatorship of people's democracy will become a dictatorship of the proletariat. The basic task of dictatorship having then changed, its essence also changes".

(*On the Vietnamese Revolution*. Report of the author at the Second Party National Congress, February 1951).

"While achieving the national democratic revolution the people's democratic state carries out the historical task of the worker-peasant dictatorship. Since the restoration of peace, the North enters the transition period toward socialism, and the people's democratic state carries out the historical task of proletarian dictatorship".

(*Some Problems on the People's Democratic State*, speech by Comrade Pham Van Dong at the Third Party National Congress, September 1960).

“To rally the various strata of the people around the working class in order to carry out socialist transformation and socialist construction and pave the way for the complete abolition of all classes.

“To build, consolidate and strengthen the defence forces with a view to shattering every external enemy’s attempt to unleash war and aggression, and struggling against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism.

“To support and help in every respect the revolutionary struggle of the working class, the labourers and the oppressed peoples in the capitalist countries ; to consolidate and develop co-operation with the fraternal socialist countries.”¹

The present content of the dictatorship of people’s democracy in the North of our country is democracy toward the people and dictatorship against the enemy of the people and of socialism.

As regards *democracy*, we must see to it that the labouring masses actually wield power and participate in state management. Socialist democracy is a most perfect democratic system, a truly democratic one, a million times more democratic than the bourgeois democratic regime. In a socialist democratic regime manual and brain workers are really emancipated from all forms of oppression and exploitation ; they become the real masters of their destinies, and actually take part in state management. Socialist democracy is both political and economic. In a socialist democratic regime not only are democratic rights guaranteed to every citizen in the political field, but on the basis of socialist ownership, in the two

1. Resolution of the Ninth Plenum of the Viet Nam Workers’ Party Central Committee (1963)

forms of ownership of the entire people and collective ownership, the people's material and cultural living standards rise unceasingly, and every citizen will enjoy more and more material and moral conditions to best exercise his democratic rights. Democracy in economic matters is actually realized right in the process of production and distribution. Democracy in economic management forms an important aspect of socialist democracy.

As far as *dictatorship* is concerned, we must enforce the dictatorship of the majority — the labouring people — against the minority — the counter-revolutionaries and the exploiters, who resist transformation. Ours is a declared dictatorship, one that aims at gradually abolishing classes to advance toward a classless society, a communist society, in which the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat will wither away.

In a socialist democratic regime, the enemies of the people and of socialism are denied democratic freedoms. The state forbids them to misuse the slogan of "democratization of the regime" to weaken or liquidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, belittle or negate the leadership of the working class and the Communist Party over the revolution, put into effect the "peaceful evolution" strategy step by step, drive the country into the path of bourgeois liberalism and back to the capitalist path. At the same time, we must oppose every manifestation of bourgeois nationalism, the enemy of proletarian internationalism, which isolates our country and pushes it into the arms of world imperialism.

On the other hand, one must fight bureaucracy, commandism, paternalism and the cult of personality for they run

counter to the spirit of socialist democracy, most adversely affect the people and the state, and are often used by the reactionaries to oppose the revolution.

Our Party holds that our dictatorship of people's democracy does not mean an end to, but the *continuation of class struggle in new forms, by new means, after the seizure of power by the working class*. To this effect, the working class must ceaselessly strengthen its leadership on the basis of the worker-peasant alliance, "the highest principle of the dictatorship of the proletariat." Concurrently, it must unite with the other strata of the people. Our people's democratic dictatorship must therefore rely mainly on the worker-peasant alliance and also on the National United Front.

The people's democratic dictatorship must unquestionably use violence against the counter-revolutionaries and exploiters. From this arises the necessity constantly to consolidate the machinery of repression of the people's democratic state: the People's Army, People's Security Forces, People's Procuratorate, People's Tribunals, etc. At the same time, the Party must always pay attention to broadening democracy toward the people. It must guarantee their right as collective masters, establish, strengthen and perfect socialist legality, and ensure that the people's elected bodies fulfil their functions as the highest state organs at all levels. Among Party and State cadres, a struggle must be waged against bureaucracy and commandism toward the people, and within the Party, against encroaching upon the functions of the state organs.

Lenin said: "The dictatorship of the proletariat... is not only the use of force against the exploiters and not even

mainly the use of force. The economic foundation of this use of revolutionary force, the guarantee of its effectiveness and success is the fact that the proletariat represents and creates a higher type of social organization of labour compared with capitalism. This is the essence. This is the source of the strength and the guarantee of the inevitable and complete triumph of communism.”¹

“Its quintessence (that of the dictatorship of the proletariat — *T.C.*) is the organization and discipline of the advanced detachment of the working people, of their vanguard, their sole leader, the proletariat, whose object is to build socialism, to abolish the division of society into classes, to make all members of society working people, to remove the basis for any kind of exploitation of man by man. This object cannot be achieved at one stroke. It requires a fairly long period of transition from capitalism to socialism, because the re-organization of production is a difficult matter, because radical changes in all spheres of life need time, and because the enormous force of habit of petty-bourgeois and bourgeois dealings can be overcome only by a long and stubborn struggle.”²

To build a new society and advance toward socialism and communism, the working class must strive to promote its spirit of organization and discipline. It must set a brilliant example of courageous and creative activity in production, of socialist attitude toward labour and social property, and remould and steel itself in this process. At the same time it must patiently educate and persuade millions and millions

1. V.I. Lenin, *A Great Beginning*.

2. V.I. Lenin, *Greetings to the Hungarian Workers*.

of small producers (peasants, handicraftsmen, small traders and small owners) in order to involve them in this great task.

Lenin said: "The dictatorship of the proletariat is a persistent struggle — bloody and bloodless, violent and peaceful, military and economic, educational and administrative — against the forces and traditions of the old society."¹

Therefore, after seizing power for the people, the Communists must firmly grasp not only the machinery of repression, but also the organs in charge of ideological work, information, propaganda and training, and never let bourgeois and opportunist elements hold sway to mislead public opinion and propagate anti-Party and anti-revolutionary ideas. The Communist and workers' parties in power must constantly strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat. We hold that *in the socialist camp, whenever and wherever there exists a vague understanding of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, a loose grasp of it, or a weakening of it in one way or another, a belittling or renunciation of the leadership of the party of the proletariat, the counter-revolutionaries will not fail to raise their heads and socialism will degenerate.*

Concerning the forms of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, there have been thus far the following three: the Paris Commune, the Russian Soviet and the People's Democracy in a number of Asian and East European countries. The dictatorship of the proletariat in our country takes the form of people's democracy. Lenin said: "The transition from capitalism to communism certainly cannot

1. V.I. Lenin, *Left-Wing Communism, an Infantile Disorder*.

but yield a tremendous abundance and variety of political forms, *but the essence will inevitably be the same: the dictatorship of the proletariat.*"¹

The dictatorship of the proletariat comes into being and evolves in a variety of forms, depending on the concrete historical conditions of each country, on the level of its economic development, on the relation of forces between the classes, on its national characteristics, on its traditional development of state power. It also depends, to a certain extent, on the political situation and the distribution of forces in the world.

THE PARTY'S STRATEGY AND TACTICS

From the examination of the foregoing problems we can see to some extent how our Party has applied the strategy and tactics of Marxism-Leninism to lead the Vietnamese revolution to victory. It is necessary, however, to make a fairly systematic exposé of this question which constitutes an important one relating to the science of leadership in the revolutionary struggle of the working class.

Revolutionary strategy consists in determining the principal enemy on whom to concentrate forces in order to overthrow him at a given stage of the revolution (which boils down to determining the direction of the main blow of the revolutionary forces). It discerns the allies of the working class at each stage, and elaborates a plan to align the revolutionary

1. V.I. Lenin, *The State and Revolution*.

forces, win over allies, correctly use direct and indirect reserve forces and utterly isolate the enemy. It consists in delivering the main blow at the main immediate enemy, and struggling for the implementation of this plan throughout the particular stage of the revolution.

Revolutionary tactics consists in defining the guiding principle to be followed by the working class at each period of the ebb and flow of the revolution. It chooses forms of struggle and organization, and propaganda and agitation slogans, suitable for each period, each situation. It replaces old forms and slogans by new ones, or combines these forms of struggle and organization to secure success for each drive or struggle.

Concerning revolutionary strategy, our Party has concretely analysed the specific situation in our country at each stage of the revolution so as to establish who is the enemy we must defeat, which is the leading force and which is the motive force of the revolution, who are the allies of the working class — close, remote, trustworthy, temporary, wavering, conditional and other allies. Only with such a clear realization of the situation, can it be possible to rally the broadest forces under the leadership of the working class, storm the enemy's strongholds, smash him and win success for the revolution.

Revolutionary strategy is the science of discerning the enemy, the motive force of the revolution and the allies of the working class at each strategic stage or in each period of strategic significance, in order to muster all the revolutionary forces, win over allies and isolate the enemy to overcome him.

Regarding the question of *discerning the enemy*, the experience supplied by the Vietnamese revolution has shown that to lead it to victory, our Party must first of all make out the enemy to overthrow at each strategic stage, (or, as it occurs, in each period of a given stage) *constantly have in view the concrete, present enemy rather than the enemy in general*, and distinguish the principal from the secondary enemies. It must isolate the principal enemy so as to knock him down, take advantage of the contradictions plaguing the hostile ranks to divide them to the highest possible degree, and focus the fire of revolutionary struggle on the principal and immediate enemy.

In the *people's national democratic revolution*, the strategic enemy to overthrow is aggressor imperialism and its agent and support, the feudal landlord class. But all through this revolutionary stage or in each of its periods, which imperialism and which category of landlords must be overthrown?

In our country, in the period from the birth of the Party to the year 1940, the *imperialist enemy* was French colonialism. At the time of the Democratic Front (1936-1939), the Party pointed out that it was the French fascists and the French colonial reactionaries in Indochina. From August 1940 to March 1945, after the Japanese fascist militarists had brought their troops to Indochina and the French had shared power with them, the immediate enemy of our people was the Japanese and French fascists. From March 1945, it was the Japanese fascists, who had then toppled the French and were singly occupying Indochina. In our protracted resistance war (1945-1954) the imperialist enemy was again French colonialism, and at the same time United States

imperialism, for the latter lent assistance to the former and urged it to reconquer our country. Since our great victory at Dien Bien Phu, the imperialist enemy to overcome is American imperialism, which, having ousted the French, has committed aggression on the South and unleashed a war of destruction against the North.

As for the *Vietnamese feudal landlord class*, we should, first and foremost, understand that it is also among the enemies of the people's national democratic revolution in our country. Nevertheless, in each period, we should clearly realize which section of it must be eliminated first. For instance, from the founding of the Party to the Sixth Plenum of the Central Committee (December 1939), it was the king, the mandarins and village tyrants, *i.e.*, the feudal faction in power, agent of French colonialism. And following the Sixth Plenum, it was the traitorous feudalists and puppets at the service of the Japanese and French fascists. Thus, we did not at that point suppress the feudal landlords as a class, but divided them and isolated their most reactionary section in order to fight it along with its Japanese and French masters. Later, as the people's national democratic revolution forged ahead, and the resistance to French colonialism required the implementation of land reform, the consolidation of the worker-peasant alliance and the fostering of the people's capabilities to push our struggle ahead, we put forward the task of suppressing the feudal landlord class and of abolishing the right of the feudalists to land ownership.

As far as the division of the enemy's ranks is concerned, at the period of the Democratic Front (1936-1939), our

Party did not set forth the task of overthrowing French imperialism or French colonialism as a whole, but only the French fascists and colonial reactionaries, *i.e.*, the most dangerous concrete enemy of the Vietnamese people at that time.

With regard to the feudal landlord class, after the August Revolution we planned to carry out the land policy in the three stages detailed above, and in implementing the land reform we applied different measures — confiscation, requisition, or forcible purchase of landlords' land, and offer of land by the landlords — depending on the political attitude of individual landlords. This was to divide the landlord class to the highest possible degree, to paralyse its resistance to a certain extent, and to win over landlords who were taking part in the resistance and their families.

At present, in *South Viet Nam* where the task of the *people's national democratic revolution* is being accomplished, the policy of the National Front for Liberation is to spearhead its struggle against the U.S. aggressors and their agent, the puppet administration (now the Thieu-Ky administration). This administration represents the most reactionary pro-American section of the landlord class and the comprador bourgeoisie in the South.

In the *socialist revolution in the North*, the enemy to overthrow is, aside from the American imperialist aggressors and their lackeys in the South, all the forces in the North which oppose socialist transformation and socialist construction. These are exploiting elements resisting transformation, spies, commandos, bandits, reactionaries disguised as religious people, reactionary parties and factions, and so on. The national bourgeoisie is the object of transformation.

However, as during the stage of the people's national democratic revolution it had stood in the National United Front to fight imperialism, and as it continued to acknowledge the leadership of the Party and implemented the policy of socialist transformation when we shifted to the socialist revolution, our Party and Government still regard it as a member of the Viet Nam Fatherland Front and have adopted the policy of peaceful transformation towards it.

An important problem tackled by our Party has been to avail itself of the contradictions in the ranks of the enemy of the revolution: contradictions between different imperialist powers, between imperialism and the feudal landlord class, among the landlords themselves, etc. To turn these contradictions to account, to aggravate them while at the same time closing the ranks of the revolutionary forces, constitutes a major question of strategic direction.

How has our Party utilized the contradictions in the enemy's ranks? Some striking examples: In the Second World War we made use of the differences between the French and Japanese fascists, between the Pétain faction and the French capitalist and colonialist factions opposing Pétain and the Japanese, between the landlord class and the French and Japanese fascists (on jute growing¹ and forced purchase of paddy), between the bullied small landlords and the ruling landlords. Now we are taking advantage of the contradictions in the enemy's ranks in the same way.

1. Between 1940 and 1945 the Japanese fascists and the French colonialists plundered our people's rice through forced purchase and compelled them to destroy their food-crops in many areas and plant jute instead in order to meet Japan's war needs. (*Pub.*)

Another problem of no less importance concerning strategic direction is how to concentrate the revolutionary forces on the enemy's weakest points at the moment he is the most exposed so as to secure success. Attack must be launched with the determination to fight and win. Nevertheless, *under certain circumstances*, we may shift to the defensive to gain time, discourage the enemy, muster fresh forces and prepare for new attacks.

As regards the *motive forces and the allies of the revolution*, in the people's national democratic revolution, the working class, the peasantry, and the petty bourgeoisie formed the motive forces, the working class being the leading force. Together with the peasantry, the petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie, the working class constituted the revolutionary forces. And with the peasantry, it made up the fundamental forces of the revolution, the peasantry being the "natural", the most faithful and closest ally of the working class. Though wavering by nature, the petty-bourgeoisie, which suffered from ruthless oppression and exploitation by the imperialists and the feudalists, was the trustworthy ally of the working class. The Vietnamese national bourgeoisie was economically bullied and politically oppressed by imperialism and feudalism but had economic ties with the latter and, to a certain extent, with the former. Moreover, it exploited the working class and feared its development. This was why it showed a two-faced, wavering attitude. Notwithstanding this, it was an ally of the people's national democratic revolution, unlike the comprador bourgeoisie which had always been an opponent of the revolution in our country.

Those are the allies of the Vietnamese revolution at home. Who are its allies abroad? The working class and the people of the socialist countries, the working class, the labouring people and the oppressed nations the world over. An important experience drawn from our revolution is that our people must enter into close alliance with the working class and the labouring people of the imperialist powers which have invaded our country (France, Japan, the United States) to counter the common enemy — imperialism. The successful implementation of this alliance policy engenders more forces to oust the imperialist oppressors and aggressors and achieve national independence. The Vietnamese people, therefore, must always distinguish the imperialists who oppress and invade their fatherland from the people of their countries; they must guard against blind nationalism, *i.e.*, regarding both as birds of a feather.

Concerning the motive forces and the allies of the revolution, the problem facing the working class and the Party is as follows: revolution is carried out by the masses; acting single-handed, neither the vanguard detachment of the working class (the Party), nor the working class itself can bring revolution to victory. This requires the participation of the broad masses of the people. Thus, the working class must discern not only the enemy but also the revolutionary forces, the motive forces of the revolution at each stage, and the allies in a given revolution with a view to rallying broad revolutionary forces, securing allies, uniting all those who can be united, winning over all those who can be won over, and neutralizing all those who can be neutralized if winning

them over proves impossible. All this aims at utterly isolating the immediate concrete enemy and mustering all revolutionary forces to smash him.

With regard to the alliance policy, we should bear in mind that there are long-term alliances for a whole strategic stage, temporary alliances for a definite period in a given stage, alliances for common action, and alliance aimed at neutralization.

The National United Front against imperialism in our country is a form of organization to *unite* revolutionary forces, and at the same time a form of *long-term alliance* between the various popular strata, political parties, mass organizations and democratic personalities, intended *to achieve united action* on the basis of the Political Programme of the Front.

The experience supplied by the revolution in our country has shown that the broader the National United Front, the better ; it is essential, however, that *the Front should possess a clear-cut political programme and that united action should be achieved by the members of the Front so as to put this programme into effect. The Front must rest on the basis of a strong worker-peasant alliance and be placed under the close leadership of a Marxist-Leninist party.* Only in this way can the triumph of the revolution be ensured.

By taking part in the Front, the Marxist-Leninist party aims at uniting all forces among the people to realize the Front's programme (minimum programme) at each stage of the revolution. However, the Party must always preserve its independence and possess a programme of its own (maximum programme) so as to ensure its leadership over the revolution

on the basis of the worker-peasant alliance. It cannot share this leadership with any party and must absolutely guard against letting the direction of the National United Front fall into the hands of the national bourgeoisie, otherwise the Party would inevitably become an appendage of the latter and the national democratic revolution would be doomed to failure.

At present, the most dangerous enemy of the Vietnamese people is United States aggressor imperialism and its lackeys. To defeat this enemy, defend the North and achieve socialist construction here, to liberate the South and realize the reunification of their country, the Vietnamese people must implement a *policy of broad union against American aggression*. The people in the North must unite within the Viet Nam Fatherland Front, those in the South within the Viet Nam National Front for Liberation and the Viet Nam Alliance of National, Democratic and Peace Forces. The people across the country must unite and fight shoulder to shoulder for national salvation.

U.S. aggressor imperialism is also the common enemy of the peoples of Indochina and the world. Therefore, the Vietnamese, Lao and Khmer peoples should unite to resist U.S. aggression, recover and safeguard their independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity. The Indochinese Peoples' Conference held in Phnom Penh a few years ago may be regarded as the embryo of the future Indochinese peoples' united front against U.S. imperialism.

The world's peoples should also unite to oppose U.S. aggressor imperialism and defend their national independence and peace. It is very gratifying to see that their

widespread movement for supporting the Vietnamese people against U.S. aggressor imperialism has generated favourable conditions for the formation of the world people's united front against U.S. imperialism.

Now, let us touch on the Party's tactics.

While the purpose of revolutionary strategy is to overthrow the enemy at a given stage of the revolution, revolutionary tactics only aims at winning success in a given struggle or movement. Tactics is an integral part of strategy and contributes to ensuring its success.

Tactics change with the ups and downs of the revolution, with its offensive and defensive moves.

The purpose of tactics is to choose forms of struggle and organization, and propaganda and agitation slogans, suitable for the ebb and flow of the revolution so as to assemble the broad masses of the people, to educate and lead them to revolutionary struggle in the most effective manner. Usually, whenever the situation changes, we must adopt new forms of struggle and organization, new propaganda and agitation slogans, in order to push ahead the mass movement, in time, rally fresh forces or preserve existing revolutionary forces, in preparation for new fights. When the revolutionary tide surges up, we must use *transitional forms* of struggle and organization to make it advance "in a day as in twenty years". In periods of recession, the forms of struggle and organization, mobilization slogans and working methods must be altered with a view to preserving our forces and maintaining our contact with the masses. So long as we have not yet seized power, we must cleverly combine illegal activities

with legal — or semi-legal — ones, the former being always given the main place. In favourable circumstances, we must take advantage of the existence of legal organizations to rally the masses and lead them to struggle for their daily interests. Even then, we must develop the illegal organizations of the Party and the masses. In the most difficult conditions, we must strive to take advantage of legal and semi-legal possibilities to carry on our activities. We must simultaneously undertake underground work right in the enemy's mass organizations, for, as Lenin said, the Communists must be present wherever the masses are, and work for the revolutionary cause. And in whatever difficult circumstances we should know how to guide the masses to wage economic and political struggle, and whenever conditions permit, start armed struggle. We should set forth judicious slogans in good time to fan the struggle of the masses. In the whole chain of our work we should discern the main link and use it as a lever to impel all our other activities. Tactical direction should avoid rightist and "leftist" deviations, maintain close contact with the masses, prove capable of rallying them, and raise their political consciousness. It should defy and overcome all difficulties and obstacles, and discover the proper way to push ahead the mass movement.

Those are some of our Party's experiences in the application of revolutionary tactics.

At the time of the Party's founding and of the revolutionary high tide in 1930-1931, the main problem facing the Vietnamese revolution lay in the unification of the communist

forces in the country, the building of a new-type party of the working class and the realization of the worker-peasant alliance. Therefore, after the Unification Conference (February 3, 1930) the Party went on with its policy of sending cadres to the masses, the factories and the countryside where they worked to build Party branches and mass organizations. The paper *Tien len*¹ was published to unify the Party ideologically and organizationally, to mobilize the worker and peasant masses for the struggle, achieve united mass action and, in the Nghe-Tinh Soviet movement, to combine political and armed struggles for the seizure of power in a number of localities.

In the period of the Democratic Front (1936-1939) the Party exerted the utmost efforts to take full advantage of every legal and semi-legal opportunity for carrying on propaganda, organizing the masses and leading them in the fight for democratic freedoms and better living conditions. Concurrently it developed the bases of its illegal organizations and prepared to cope with every eventuality. With the outbreak of the Second World War and the resulting step-up of terroristic repression by the French colonial reactionaries, the Party immediately switched over to illegal activities.

During the Second World War our people underwent a triple, most ruthless oppression and exploitation by the Japanese and French fascists and the native feudalists. Our Party led them to combine economic and political struggle with armed struggle, and at the same time changed its

1. Forward (Tr.)

slogans. For instance, it laid emphasis on the "national liberation" slogan, withdrew the "confiscate landlords' lands for distribution to poor peasants" slogan and set forth this one: "Confiscate the imperialists' and Vietnamese traitors' lands, reduce land rent and interest rates, proceed towards the realization of the motto: Land to the Tillers." Organizationally, the Party set up associations for national salvation among the masses, built up self-defence combat units and guerilla units, started armed struggle and made effective preparations for an armed insurrection to seize power.

After the March 9, 1945 coup staged by the Japanese fascists, the Party proceeded to an analysis of the developments occurring in the ranks of the enemy and of its own allies.¹ It very rapidly defined the immediate tasks and the new strategic and tactical orientations. With regard to tactical direction in particular, the Party put forward this urgent task and slogan of paramount importance: "Storm the grain stores, check famine." This fanned up the flames of revolutionary struggle by the masses, and mobilized them to stage demonstrations and seize the fascist-held grain stores, thus meeting this earnest demand of millions of people: the distribution of paddy and the elimination of famine. Thanks to this, the movement against the Japanese fascists and their puppet agents, and the preparation for insurrection advanced by leaps and bounds, while national salvation organizations and armed and para-military units also grew up rapidly.

1. Cf. Directive of the Standing Bureau of the Central Committee: *The Japanese-French Clash and Our Action*. (March 12, 1945).

From April 1945 many provinces succeeded in setting up *Liberation Committees*, a form of ante-power that appeared when our entire people were making strenuous exertions in preparation for the general insurrection.

The August 1945 Revolution marked the success of the Party and the Viet Minh Front in combining political and armed struggles to wrest power. An extremely favourable situation prevailed at that time : the Soviet Army had knocked down the most seasoned main forces of fascist Japan — the Kwantung Army, — which compelled that country to surrender unconditionally and placed her occupation troops in Indochina in the position of a beheaded snake. Consequently, our task of waging armed struggle had been considerably eased and was crowned with success. The skill of our Party with President Ho Chi Minh at the helm, lay in that it managed to avail itself of this golden opportunity which “occurred only once in a thousand years” to mobilize the masses for general insurrection and seizure of power, and to proclaim the founding of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam before the arrival of Allied forces in Indochina to disarm the Japanese troops.

In the resistance war against the French colonialists, our people continued to combine armed struggle with political struggle, the former being given priority. Political struggle assumed multifarious forms, such as workers' strikes, school strikes, market strikes, meetings and demonstrations in the zones temporarily occupied by the enemy. In the liberated zones it unfolded in different forms against the French aggressors, and for the implementation by the landlords of the

land policy of the Party and Government. From 1953 the bitter armed struggle at the front was closely combined with the mobilization of the peasant masses in the rear areas against the landlords for a radical reduction of land rent, advancing towards the realization of the slogan : Land to the Tillers.

Above are some aspects of our Party's tactics from its founding to our victory at Dien Bien Phu. Since then the application of revolutionary tactics in both parts of our country has become very diversified : in the North they serve the strategy of socialist revolution and in the South that of people's national democratic revolution. But together they serve our resistance to American aggression, for national salvation. The North has been completely liberated while the South comprises liberated and temporarily-occupied zones. The North is a people's power led by the working class, but in the South there are two sharply conflicting powers — the growing people's power in the liberated zones and the shaky, declining U.S.-puppet power. These different conditions determine not only the tactics but, more importantly, the strategy of the revolution in each part of the country as well. One must realize this, in order to grasp the substance of the Political Programme of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation, as well as the basic reason why the N.F.L. has set forth the slogan "All for the front, all for victory" while in the North ours is "All for victory over the U.S. aggressors."

The foregoing is an outline of our Party's art of leading the revolutionary struggle waged by the working class and people in our country.

PARTY BUILDING

Reviewing the revolutionary history of our country over nearly forty years, we feel most gratified by, and proud of, the fact that our Party has valiantly, cleverly and clear-sightedly weathered all storms and brought the Vietnamese revolution to the present brilliant successes.

This has many reasons, a basic one being our correct application of Marxism-Leninism in the building of our Party, in *making it a new-type party of the working class, possessed of high combativeness, a vanguard theory which guides its path, a close-knit organization and strict discipline, and the closest ties with the masses.*

President Ho Chi Minh has said, "The penetration of Marxism-Leninism into the working-class movement and the patriotic movement led to the founding of the Indochinese Communist Party in early 1930."

"The founding of the Party was a turning-point of paramount importance in the history of the Vietnamese revolution."¹

Though coming into existence in a colonial and semi-feudal country with a small and young working class, and a peasantry which accounts for a very large proportion of the population, our Party has been constantly striving to *preserve and strengthen its class and vanguard character.*

The Vietnamese working class is small in number and subjected to oppression and exploitation on three sides: by imperialism and native feudalism and capitalism. Yet it

1. Ho Chi Minh, *Thirty Years of Activity of the Viet Nam Workers' Party.*

represents the advanced productive forces and is therefore the most revolutionary class since its birth. It is perfectly able to lead the Vietnamese revolution to victory : to complete the task of national liberation, achieve people's democracy and build socialism and communism in Viet Nam. Born and growing up in a new epoch of man's history — the epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism on a world-wide scale — the Vietnamese working class, shortly after its development into a class, succeeded in organizing a new-type party of its own and soon grasped the weapon of Marxism-Leninism to fight and defeat all enemies of the class and the people. In these favourable conditions it has engaged in a relentless fight against colonialism, feudalism and the bourgeoisie. In the crucible of this revolutionary struggle it has rapidly matured politically and become worthy of its leading role.

As a sizable number of Party members are of peasant and petty-bourgeois stock, and in order to strengthen the class character of the Party, we have attached importance to inculcating the doctrine of Marxism-Leninism upon cadres and Party members, to raising their class consciousness and to imbuing them with the revolutionary qualities and virtues of the working class. At the same time we unceasingly combat unproletarian ideologies. During the years 1930 and 1931, our Party sent a number of cadres and Party members to factories, mining areas and plantations where they lived and toiled with the workers in order to carry on propaganda, lead the struggle there, and foster their own proletarian feelings. On the other hand, it paid attention to admitting

outstanding workers into its ranks and appointing cadres and Party members of worker stock to its leading bodies.

By applying in a creative manner the Marxist-Leninist principles on Party building to the concrete conditions of Viet Nam, we have been concerned to make ours a party worthy of the Vietnamese working class and people, the exponent of the vital and long-range national interests. Our country being formerly a colonial and semi-feudal one, the peasantry and the petty-bourgeoisie suffered from most ruthless oppression and exploitation. For this reason they are ardently patriotic, attached to the cause of national liberation, and their most revolutionary elements always turn to the Party. We, therefore, pay attention to accepting the best elements of the labouring people into the Party. Simultaneously we attach particular importance to the education and remoulding of cadres and Party members in accordance with the stand of the working class. Concurrently we seek the elimination of erroneous, rightist or "leftist" tendencies while enlarging the ranks of the Party and tackling the work of cadre administration.

In Party building we stress both the ideological and organizational aspects. The class and vanguard aspects of the Party find their expression primarily in the fact that it takes Marxism-Leninism as the ideological basis and the guide to all its actions. *The Party must achieve unity in its ranks ideologically and in action, on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and of its line and policies.*

On the internal plane we give the first place to the political and ideological education of cadres and Party members, to the fostering of their revolutionary qualities and virtues.

We use criticism and self-criticism as a weapon to counter all influence of unproletarian ideologies. We criticize petty-bourgeois ideology, fight the influence of bourgeois and other erroneous ideologies, and strengthen solidarity and unity within the Party.

At the same time we attach great importance to party building from the organizational point of view, because the Party's political and ideological unity must be guaranteed by its organizational unity. The work of developing the Party must abide by the guiding principle according to which *quality takes precedence over number, thereby guaranteeing soundness and solidity to its organizational structure*. We put into practice the principle of democratic centralism, so that the Party becomes a monolithic bloc in both will and action and possesses a close-knit organizational structure and tight discipline. We properly handle the relationship between the individual and the collective, between the part and the whole, and between the upper and lower levels. *We oppose sectarianism and factionalism*, parochialism, paternalism, arbitrariness, waywardness, anarchism, indiscipline and so on. We build and consolidate the Party also through mass movements for the fulfilment of political tasks in each period, and by stimulating the masses to take part in Party building. This enhances the sense of responsibility of Party members towards the masses and binds the masses to the Party.

An important question relating to the strengthening of the class and vanguard aspects of the Party is the consolidation of basic Party organizations and the raising of their standard. The basic organizations form the foundation of the Party, where Party members participate in the Party's life and

struggle. Consequently, whether its fighting capacity and leading role are great or not, whether it maintains good contact or not with the masses, depends to a large extent on its cells and basic organizations. Our Party's present drive for building "four-good" * cells and basic organizations aims precisely at strengthening its class and vanguard character and at promoting the vanguard and exemplary role of cadres and Party members at the grassroots so that the Party's basic organizations continue to deserve being the nuclei exercising leadership over the masses.

It is necessary to reinforce the over-all and exclusive leading role of the Party in every field of social activity and to fight resolutely against any effort to weaken its leadership in any field. In the North where our people have taken over power, we must handle correctly the relationship between the Party on the one hand, and the people's democratic power and the organizations of the National United Front on the other. This ensures the leadership of the former while avoiding that it acts in the latter's stead. On the contrary, we shall in this way bring into play the functions of the organs of power and of the mass organizations and, through their agency, further tighten the link between the Party and the broad masses and put in full operation the latter's considerable strength and initiative, thus pushing ahead the revolutionary cause of the masses.

* The "four goodnasses" are :

1. Good at guiding the people in production work, in standing ready to fight, and in fighting.
2. Good at helping the people in obeying the law and in the implementation of Party and State policies.
3. Good at caring for the masses' livelihood and doing mass work.
4. Good at consolidating the Party and strengthening its ranks. (*Pub*).

In short, our Party constantly strengthens its fighting capacity and leading role in order to guarantee complete success to our people's revolutionary cause.

In Party building we have acquired the following valuable experiences :

1. Party building must be conditioned by political tasks and tightly linked to them : we must grasp the Party's line and policies to apply them in an active and creative manner. We must incessantly confront both line and policies with the real situation, with the requirements of the masses and the revolution so as to complete them and make them adequate. Ideological and other work concerning Party building, including the selection of cadres, must be carried out on the basis of a thorough understanding of the Party's line and policies.
2. Party building must be closely linked to the revolutionary movement of the masses and it is through the practice of revolutionary struggle that new Party members must be recruited. In order to improve the Party membership continuously, we must, on the one hand, recruit the most active and conscious elements from among the working class. On the other hand we must attract outstanding elements from among the labouring people who have distinguished themselves in the protracted and arduous struggle against aggressor imperialism and in the patriotic emulation movement for socialist construction. Simultaneously with the recruitment of new members, we must in good time expel from the Party provocateurs and anti-Party, factious and politically and morally degenerate elements.
3. It is necessary to combine the mobilization of the masses with Party building and to stimulate the masses to take part

in Party building. For instance we should provide them with the opportunity to criticize cadres and Party members and introduce meritorious people whom we shall educate and admit into the Party, etc. In this way we make the masses love and safeguard the Party.

4. It is necessary to combine closely the ideological and organizational aspects in Party building. Both of these aspects must be heeded. However, as our Party has now developed into a large and strong mass party, we should pay special attention to the ideological aspect. Only in this way can the Party possess a great fighting capacity and always preserve its vanguard role.

From the examination of the above major problems of the Vietnamese revolution we have seen that our Party with respected and beloved President Ho Chi Minh at its head, has creatively applied Marxism-Leninism to the concrete conditions of our country in order to elaborate correct lines and policies and take our working class and people from one victory to another. This is the greatest and surest guarantee for our people's complete success in defending and building socialism in the North, liberating the South, achieving peaceful reunification of the fatherland, and in building a peaceful, reunified, independent, democratic and prosperous Viet Nam, while making an active contribution to the struggle of the world's people for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

III

LET US MARCH FORWARD UNDER THE BANNER
OF MARXISM - LENINISM AND ACCOMPLISH
OUR IMMEDIATE TASKS WITH GLORY

Dear comrades,

We are commemorating the 150th birthday of the great Karl Marx in the midst of a series of resounding victories of our armed forces and people in both North and South in our resistance against U.S. aggression, for national salvation.

I. TO STEP UP VIGOROUSLY OUR RESISTANCE AGAINST
U.S. AGGRESSION UNTIL COMPLETE VICTORY

The South Vietnamese armed forces' general offensive and people's uprisings which erupted on the night of January 30, 1968, were crowned with tremendous and all-round success, one of considerable strategic significance. They heralded a new stage in our resistance and have had no parallel in the history of our people's liberation war, in both their scope and intensity.¹

1. As announced by the 8th Special Communique of the Command of the South Viet Nam People's Liberation Armed Forces, in six months of offensive and uprising since the beginning of this year the South Viet Nam P.L.A.F. and people killed, wounded or captured 380,000 enemy troops, including 133,000 U.S.

Since the start of the offensive and uprisings early this year, revolutionary war has been brought into the U.S.-puppets' lair, the cities, and has upset and shattered their two-prong strategy, the "search and destroy" and "pacification" programmes. It has driven them deeper into strategic defensive and forced on them the "mobile defensive" strategy with the "clear and hold" programme. The puppet army and administration, tools on which the United States depends in its aggressive war in South Viet Nam, are heading for disintegration and collapse. Contradictions between the American people and the U.S. aggressors, among the U.S. rulers themselves, between the United States and its hirelings, etc. have grown more acute. The U.S. invaders' will to aggression has been shaken.

On the other hand, their considerable successes early this year have paved the way for the South Vietnamese people's military and political forces to make startling progress, in size as well as in quality. The liberation armed forces, the political parties and mass organizations in the National Front for Liberation, have been growing at a rapid rate. The creation of the Viet Nam Alliance of National, Democratic and Peace Forces indicates that the ranks of those who fight

and satellite troops; disbanded tens of thousands of puppet troops; wiped out or heavily depleted 4 regiments, 16 armoured squadrons, one multi-battalion paratroop force, 123 battalions and 516 companies of the U.S.-puppets; shot down or destroyed on the ground over 4,400 aircraft of all types, blasted 8,730 military vehicles, including 4,560 tanks and armoured cars; sank or set ablaze 580 ships, combat launches and transport vessels; burnt down nearly 500 depots of ammunition, petrol and other war material; blew up over 550 bridges; razed 1,200 military posts; destroyed over 700 heavy guns; brought revolutionary war into the enemy's rear, which upset and frustrated all U.S.-puppet strategic schemes. In many places, puppet administrations and organizations have been overthrown and revolutionary power established. Over a million people and hundreds of whole communes have been liberated.

U.S. aggression, for national salvation, have swollen with new adherents from the areas temporarily controlled by the enemy, more particularly from the towns. The anti-US and anti-Thieu-Ky national united front has been expanding. Revolutionary power at provincial level has been established in Thua Thien, Gia Lai, Kontum and in many districts and chiefly in villages in the form of People's Revolutionary Committees. The Front's prestige has reached a record high.

Our Southern fellow-countrymen's waves of offensive and uprising initiated at the beginning of this year have been dealing deadly blows at the corrupt US-puppet regime. They have created the conditions for the increasing success and ultimate total victory of the South Vietnamese armed forces and people.

These offensives and uprisings are skilful and daring strategic strikes of the Vietnamese people in their people's war. They result from the growth of the integrated forces of people's war and demonstrated the great effectiveness of the principle of the combination of political and armed struggles; of military action, political action and agitation among enemy troops; of military offensives and mass uprisings in the towns and the countryside, in the plains and in the mountains; of the wiping out, depletion and disbandment of enemy manpower on the one hand, and the vigorous development of revolutionary forces and extension of the people's power on the other. They show the team work in combat of the three categories of armed forces, of the various services, and the simultaneous use of diverse fighting techniques of a revolutionary war in a backward agricultural country whose people are endowed with a long tradition of

gallant resistance against foreign invasion, a fervid love for the fatherland, a fairly deep political consciousness, and benefit from a closeknit organization and unrelaxing leadership. This success has supplied a splendid substantiation of Engels' prediction that a people who want to gain independence should not be content with *ordinary* means of warfare. Mass insurrection, revolutionary war and guerilla units everywhere — these are the sole means by which a small people can get the better of a bigger one, and a small army can resist a stronger and better organized one¹.

In concert with their Southern countrymen's continued attacks and uprisings, the stepped-up resistance of the armed forces and people in the North against the US imperialists' war of destruction has also achieved remarkable results. So far, they have shot down over 3,000 modern US aircraft, killed or captured over one thousand US air pirates and sent to the bottom or set ablaze nearly 100 enemy warships and commando boats. In the gruelling trial of the war, the socialist system of the North has displayed a vigorous vitality. United as one man, and resolved to preserve the gains of the socialist revolution and to pursue the laying of the material and technical foundations of socialism, its people have been carrying out combat and production abreast, while giving all-out assistance to their Southern kinsmen's liberation war, fulfilling the duty of the great rear area toward the great front. The North's economic and defence potential keeps growing, the militant solidarity of its people and their determination to fight and defeat US aggression have been

1. Marx-Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 4.

strengthened. Basically US imperialism has been thwarted in its aims in its war of destruction against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam.

Its failure is evident : But bellicose and stubborn by nature, it has not brought itself to renounce its aggressive schemes against our country. It still nurtures the dream of imposing neo-colonialism on South Viet Nam, turning it into a US new-type colony and military base and wrecking socialist construction in North Viet Nam, and preparing for a new world war.

To this end, and as immediate steps, it is making all-out efforts to replenish its troop strength in South Viet Nam with US and satellite manpower, rebuild the puppet administration and army, intensify its war of aggression in order to recover its lost positions. Concurrently, it is striking with redoubled fury at the former Fourth Interzone in the North whilst continuing its "peace" hoax with the aim of fooling public opinion or simultaneously prosecuting the war while seeking an advantageous political settlement.

Though its scheme is cunning and vicious, its capacity is not unlimited, and its position and strength are on the decline. Its announcement of "limited bombing" is in itself a confession of heavy failure in both parts of our country. It is at the same time an indication of its insidious scheme to concentrate attacks by its badly battered air force on an important part of the territory of the D.R.V.N., to smooth away the internal dissensions of US political circles and secure more men and money for the Viet Nam war. It is intended to throw dust into the eyes of world and US public

opinion with false professions of peace, and seeks to put a furbished face on Johnson and his confederates for the coming presidential election.

In its April 3, 1968 statement, the Government of the D.R.V.N. exposed the U.S. move, reaffirmed our people's principled position and declared its readiness to appoint a representative who would contact his American counterpart and ascertain the unconditional cessation of all bombings and other war acts by the U.S.A. on the whole territory of the D.R.V.N. This course of action would open the way to the discussion of other issues of concern to both parties.

At present, official talks between the representatives of the D.R.V.N. and the U.S.A. have started in Paris. However their progress has been hampered by the trickiness and stubbornness of the American side which deliberately denies the truth and tries to turn white into black. Not only does it seek to obscure the dividing line between the aggressor and the victim of aggression, but it also wilfully keeps contending that the U.S. troops are in South Viet Nam to defend "freedom" against "aggression" from North Viet Nam, and honour U.S. commitments to the "Government of the Republic of Viet Nam" (i.e. the puppets, traitors to the country and hirelings of the U.S.A.). Meanwhile, the American side dodges the key issue, namely, the ending by the United States of the bombing and all other war acts throughout the D.R.V.N. territory. Each time it is driven into a corner, it unfailingly sets forth its "reciprocity" term, which makes the talks mark time.

Popular feeling in Viet Nam and in the world is running very high against the U.S. aggressors' behaviour. Minister

of State Xuan Thuy has exposed U.S. duplicity, and the D.R.V.N. Third National Assembly (4th Session) accordingly disposed of U.S. arguments in these terms:

"As the U.S. imperialists have sent troops from their country to commit aggression against South Viet Nam, have been violating the Geneva Agreements on Viet Nam and daily bombing, strafing and massacring Vietnamese and laying waste Viet Nam, it is up to them to bring their war of aggression to an end, to withdraw all U.S. and satellite troops from South Viet Nam, to dismantle all their military bases there and leave the Vietnamese to settle their own affairs. The U.S. aggressors' "commitments" to a handful of Vietnamese traitors in their pay have been dismissed by the whole Vietnamese people and entire progressive mankind as unlawful, absurd and invalid.

"The D.R.V.N. is an independent and sovereign country. As the U.S. government has been carrying out aerial and naval bombardments and strafings against it, it is incumbent on the U.S.A. to put an unconditional and permanent end to its bombings and all other acts of war throughout the D.R.V.N. territory. It is not entitled to demand any "reciprocity" whatsoever.

"The Vietnamese people are one nation, Viet Nam is one country. Wherever on the Vietnamese territory there are foreign aggressors, the Vietnamese must fight shoulder to shoulder to drive them out.

"To join forces for the liberation of the South, the defence of the North and the ultimate peaceful reunification of the fatherland is the sacred duty of the thirty-one

million Vietnamese in both parts of this country. No one has the right to prevent the Vietnamese people from fulfilling it, the U.S. imperialists — the aggressors — least of all.”

Our entire people's task of prime importance and urgency is to mobilize all our energies to defeat the U.S. aggressors and their agents, liberate the South, defend the North and ultimately reunify the country. It consists of the following concrete great undertakings :

a) *In the South* : To keep up our effort to defeat the U.S. “limited war” and to foil the U.S.-puppet “clear and hold” strategy ; to give powerful and steady impetus to our people's offensive and uprising ; to see to it that the violence of our blows grows in proportion to the magnitude of our successes, and that as much enemy manpower as possible will be wiped out. We will thus develop vigorously our people's political and military strength, bring about the disintegration of the puppet army, cause the overthrow of puppet rule, and make all-out efforts to establish the revolutionary power of our people in the South. On this basis we will crush the enemy's will of aggression and achieve total victory.

b) *In the North* : To concentrate our powers on the emulation drive in production, on fighting and on the other spheres of activity, to bring the State plan to fruition, to go on increasing the D.R.V.N.'s economic and military potential. To inflict resolutely complete failure on the U.S. war of destruction. To strive to carry out simultaneously the defence and the construction of the North and fulfil its duty as the great rear area toward the great Southern front and to go on with the building of the material and technical

basis of socialism, concurrently with effective preparations for economic rehabilitation and development after the restoration of peace.

For the satisfactory accomplishment of the above tasks, it is imperative to carry out a successful political mobilization of the whole people under the slogan "*All for our victory over the U.S. aggressors.*"

We must generate a dynamic evolution in the thinking and behaviour of all our Party members, army men and people. We must make abundantly clear to everyone the new situation and our tasks in the resistance against U.S. aggression, for national salvation, the essence of this new stage, the developing process of the South Vietnamese forces' and people's offensive and uprising, and the significance of the great successes they have achieved. We must bring about full realization by all of the enemy's schemes and tricks, and of our people's duties and enormous capacities. We must be constantly on our guard, combat pacifism and never deflect from this guiding principle: "Fight a protracted war and mainly rely on ourselves". Everyone must be made to grasp the scientific character and creativeness of the anti-US line for national salvation of our Party and the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation as well as place unqualified confidence in the Party's and President Ho Chi Minh's leadership. On that basis, let a strong impetus be given to the revolutionary mettle of the masses; let revolutionary heroism be cultivated, and the determination to fight and win of all our Party members, armed forces and people be stiffened.

The key to the success of the political drive lies in its ability to touch off a stirring *patriotic emulation movement*

in every branch of activity, every unit and every locality for record highs in production, in combat and in other work; it also lies in its capability to focus the thought and activities of all on translating into reality the watchword "*All for our victory over the U.S. aggressors.*"

The road to victory of our people's resistance against U.S. aggression, for national salvation, is still beset with many difficulties and sacrifices. But we have inflexibly made up our minds to turn into deeds this sacred exhortation of President Ho Chi Minh :

"Nothing is more precious than independence and freedom.

"To safeguard the independence of our fatherland, to fulfil our duties to all peoples struggling against US imperialism, our people and army, united as one man and fearless of sacrifices and hardships, will resolutely fight on until they gain complete victory."

Our resistance against U.S. aggression, for national salvation, is very hard but very glorious and bound to win complete success, because our people enjoy the leadership of a Marxist-Leninist party with a correct and creative revolutionary line and people's war line. Our people are by tradition staunch and indomitable fighters. Our entire nation is united and of one mind, and is prepared to "make every sacrifice rather than bow to foreign rule and be enslaved". Our people's political and armed forces are tremendous, their ability to wage people's war is considerable, and their rear area, the socialist North, solid and powerful. Moreover, their cause enjoys the increasing sympathy, support and assistance of the fraternal socialist countries and the world's people, including progressive American people.

2. TO CONTINUE SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION AND TO COMPLETE SOCIALIST TRANSFORMATION

Over the past years, in spite of furious American air strikes, the socialist system in the North has gained in vigour and continuously increased its vitality in the crucible of the war.

A rifle in one hand, a hammer or a plough in the other, our people have been carrying out abreast the intensification of production and the resistance against the U.S. war of destruction, the uninterrupted socialist transformation and socialist construction, and the strengthening of the North into the solid rear base of the whole country.

In agriculture the salient feature at present is the drive for "five tons of paddy and two pigs per cultivated hectare per year and one hectare under crop per farmer". Meanwhile industry distinguishes itself with a nascent local industry which is rapidly expanding. Despite fierce enemy raids, our communications and transport have constantly been kept open and have made extraordinary efforts. In war conditions, circulation and distribution of goods has been satisfactorily maintained and has contributed to boost production and meet the main needs of our people and armed forces in production, in the fighting and in everyday life.

Apart from those economic achievements, our people's successes in culture, education, public health, science and technique have also been outstanding.

These are eloquent illustrations of the superiority of the socialist system in North Viet Nam.

A new period has opened in our resistance against U.S. aggression, for national salvation. Inspired by the slogan "All for our victory over the U.S. aggressors" the armed forces and people in the North must resolutely march forward and, together with our gallant Southern countrymen and combatants who have been mounting series of attacks and uprisings, deal more telling blows at the aggressors and their hirelings and take our struggle to complete victory.

A strong and solid rear base is one of the permanent factors of victory in a war. The urgent requirements of our present resistance imperatively call for the comprehensive consolidation of the socialist North in order to inflict total defeat on the war of destruction, fulfil our duty toward the great front, and stand ready to deal with an eventual U.S. adventurist escalation of the "limited war" to the North.

Therefore, the immediate task of the people in the North is economic construction combined with resistance against U.S. aggression, for national salvation.

In economic construction, we shall *go on laying the material and technical basis of socialism* with a view to the strengthening of the new relations of production, the vigorous development of production, the satisfaction of the people's material and cultural needs and the reinforcement of the defence potential. To fit the situation created in both parts of the country by our resistance to U.S. aggression, and in conformity with the long-term orientation of socialist industrialization, we have made a timely shift in economic construction and cultural development. We shall build and develop the economy in each important strategic area accordingly, and eventually enable it to be partly self-sufficient in

food, clothing, housing, education, health preservation, and in serving production, construction and combat.

In *agriculture*, we shall strive to develop production, boost intensive cultivation to obtain higher yields, reach the short-term objective of five tons of paddy and two pigs per cultivated hectare per year, and one hectare under grain per farmer. We must supply adequate food for our troops and people to fight successfully, and create favourable conditions for the development of industry and handicrafts.

In *industry*, we shall continue to give good protection to its central branches, restore, maintain, and expand their production, while stimulating the building and development of local industry and handicrafts, in order to serve satisfactorily industrial and agricultural production, communications and transport, the fighting and the people's life.

Special attention must be paid to *communications and transport*, which have to be kept going in all circumstances to meet the increasing demands of the front and the rear, of production, the fighting and the people's life.

Circulation and distribution of commodities must be improved to help production effectively and serve the living of the people; distribution must be done in strict observance of the principle "to each according to his work," in a just, rational and democratic way, so as to prevent speculation, embezzlement and abuse, and to contribute to the fostering of the resistance force and socialist construction.

Efforts must be made to develop education and culture, train technicians and skilled workers and push forward scientific and technical research and survey of natural resources, etc.

To accomplish these tasks it is necessary to step up the *patriotic emulation drive* in each factory, farming co-operative, unit and branch, in co-ordination with the political mobilization of the whole people.

Our present economic construction and cultural development must meet the demands of the war; at the same time we must make effective preparations for the healing of the wounds of war, the rehabilitation and vigorous development of the economy in peace time, thus engaging in short-term construction while preparing for long-term construction to be carried out when circumstances permit. However, the central task at present is to meet the growing needs of the resistance of the whole people in order to secure total victory over the U.S. aggressors.

While exerting ourselves to fulfil yearly state plans, we must speed up the elaboration of a future long-term plan for national economic and cultural development.

Parallel to the laying of the material and technical foundations of socialism, due attention must be paid to the *completion of socialist transformation and the pursuit of the struggle between the two paths*. Socialist construction and socialist transformation are closely connected: the former strengthens, develops and perfects the new relations of production brought about by the latter which, in return, provides the former with favourable conditions to forge ahead.

The resolution of our Party's Third Congress clearly pointed out:

"In view of the concrete situation in the North, in the first period of socialist revolution, we take socialist transformation as the central task, while taking the first steps in socialist

construction. When socialist transformation has secured a victory of a decisive character, we must switch over to socialist construction as the central task, undertaking socialist industrialization and simultaneously completing socialist transformation."

Marxism - Leninism points out that for a fairly long period of time after their overthrow, the exploiting classes still nurture the intention to stage a comeback, and this design will develop into a scheme to restore the lost "paradise"; the force of habit in millions of small producers is formidable and small production daily and hourly generates capitalism.

As early as 1919, Lenin said :

"It (Soviet power — T.C.) sets itself the task not only of definitively wiping out the landlords and the capitalists — a task that we have nearly accomplished — but also of building a society in which there would be no place for the landlords or the capitalists. It happened more than once in the history of revolutions that these elements were wiped out, but that in a fairly short time from among the kulaks, the wealthy peasants and the speculators emerged new capitalists who oppressed the workers even more than the former landlords and capitalists. Therefore, the problem we must solve is not only to wipe out the former capitalists but also to prevent the emergence of new ones so that the power of the toilers, of those who live on their labour, could be fully, thoroughly and perfectly consolidated."¹

In our country, after completing in the main the socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts and private

1. V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 38.

capitalist trade and industry, we direct our attention to the building of the material and technical basis of socialism.

Inspired by the ever-consolidating new relations of production, our working class and co-operative peasantry have been bringing into full play their creativeness and fortitude in labour, overcoming every difficulty, zealously emulating each other in raising production, practising thrift, fearless of all privations and hardships caused by the U.S. war of aggression. The superiority of socialism and our growing political and moral unity account for the achievements of our people in the North over the past few years. However, aside from our successes and good points which are predominant, there have been shortcomings and defects in one respect or another. For example, since the North began to cope with the U.S. war of destruction, economic management and control of the market have been somewhat relaxed and this state of things has made possible the small producers' spontaneous growth. In co-operative farms, the members have not been able fully to exercise their right as masters of the organization, and embezzlement and lack of democracy, rather widespread in production and distribution, has damped the zeal of peasants. The management of collective land and the application of the "three fixed norms" policy¹ have not been free from shortcomings and faults.

A similar situation has also been prevailing in handicraft co-operatives. A few members of the former exploiting classes and profiteers, taking advantage of the war conditions, have

1. This policy consists in assigning to each co-op production team fixed norms in output, work points and production costs for a crop or for a whole year. It does not apply to the co-op members' households. (*Pub.*)

relapsed into exploitation of labour in altered forms. On the other hand, hooligans and speculators joining hands with a few degenerates from state offices or factories have been stealing raw materials, materials and goods from State warehouses and selling them on the free market at exorbitant prices, causing disturbances to some extent. The struggle between the two paths is going on in new and rather complex forms. Consequently, we must attach due importance to consolidating the socialist economic sector (State-run and collective economies), strengthening economic and financial management, bringing into full play the economic impact of State enterprises in production and distribution, and combating corruption, waste and bureaucracy. We must improve the distribution of goods in a fairer, more rational and more democratic way, with due regard to both the work done and the basic needs of the people, and with a view to better serving production, the fighting and the people's living. Meanwhile, socialist transformation must be completed to clear the way for the steady advance of socialist economy.

In the countryside, it is necessary to stimulate and guide the co-operatives in the democratic elaboration of their statutes, internal regulations and various regimes and the expansion of the work for further democratization of the co-operatives so as to assert their members' right as collective masters, and to ensure respect for their political, economic and social rights; to combat embezzlement, waste and bureaucracy; to check all attempts to appropriate collective land and property; to correct the mistakes committed in the application of the "three fixed norms" policy. These tasks will help consolidate agricultural co-operatives, and encourage

everyone to vie with one another to boost production. In the meantime, the strengthening of supply and marketing co-operatives and credit co-operatives should not be neglected, for it helps tighten the control of the market and improve the granting of credits to co-operative members and eliminate usury which is still practised secretly here and there in our countryside. As regards the co-operative members' family economy, it is advisable to provide it with sound guidance toward a wholesome development so as to help them increase their income, while ensuring that it will not interfere with the co-operatives' management of labour and with the continuous strengthening of the collective economy.

In cities, and provincial and district towns handicraft co-operatives must be reinforced politically, ideologically, organizationally and professionally. The small producers' negative practices in the spontaneous expansion of their businesses must be ended, and a new orientation in line with the Party's and Government's policies must be given to these co-operatives' operations. As for the small traders, we must resolutely educate them and help them shift to production or organize them into "service groups," thus giving them employment to earn honest incomes.

Regarding bourgeois who have been admitted into joint State-private enterprises, we must continue raising their political and ideological standards, give them and their dependents jobs with decent wages to make it possible for them to go on with their reformation and become genuine labourers of a socialist country.

Those who steal State or collective property, or engage in speculation and disturb the market must be made to realize

their mistakes and mend their ways. If the offences are serious enough, they should be duly punished according to the law.

To accomplish those tasks is to apply correctly the revolutionary socialist line of Marxism-Leninism, to continue implementing the Revolution of the Party's Third National Congress and pave the way for the North's steady advance toward socialism and for the reinforcement of the great rear base of our resistance against U.S. aggression, for national salvation.

3. TOGETHER WITH THE WORLD'S PEOPLES, TO STRUGGLE
FOR PEACE, NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE,
DEMOCRACY AND SOCIALISM

Since Marx's and Engels's *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, the history of mankind has followed the trend they mapped out.

The Great October Socialist Revolution ushered in the epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism on a world-wide scale. Its triumph and the founding of the Soviet Union, the first socialist state, converted Marx's scientific socialism from a fine dream of progressive humanity into a tangible reality.

In the Second World War, the victory of the Soviet Union over fascist Germany, Italy and Japan saved mankind from fascism, and created extremely favourable conditions for the peoples under fascist rule — the Vietnamese people included — to gain independence and freedom. National democratic

revolution and socialist revolution triumphed in a series of countries in the Eastern and Western hemispheres. Most remarkably, the Chinese revolution, which was successful in a vast country with nearly one-fourth of the earth's population, has been a source of powerful inspiration and stimulus for the revolutionary movement of the world's working class and oppressed peoples. The socialist system has established itself and has been expanding. Under the impact of staggering blows from the national liberation movement, the colonial system of imperialism has collapsed by big chunks.

The victory of socialism in one-fourth of the world, the powerful growth of the national liberation movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America, the expansion of the workers' movement and the struggle for peace and democracy in the capitalist and many other countries are weakening the position of world capitalism.

After the Second World War, the market of world capitalism has shrunk, and its inner contradictions have sharpened: its general crisis has been worsening. Monopoly capitalism has all the more rapidly switched to state-monopoly capitalism. Relying on the power of the bourgeois state to regulate the economy, and turning to account the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution to renew their equipment and step up rationalization of production, the state-monopoly capitalists have intensified the exploitation of labour and caused the physical and mental exhaustion of the workers.

In their desperate attempt to cope with socialism which has secured increasing success in the world, with the

growing struggle of the working class and people at home, and with that of the colonial peoples, the state-monopoly capitalists are resorting to their usual tricks, i.e. terror and deception; the scope and form of these have changed and their insidiousness has increased. Concurrently with fascist repressive and terroristic measures, they stage the "people's capitalism" farce designed to create in the workers illusions about "class co-operation" and "common enjoyment of profit" and to tie them to the capitalist way of life. As regards the colonial peoples, under the rising pressure of the national liberation movement they have had to operate a change-over from old-type colonialism to new-type colonialism, substituting the fetters of the latter for the chains for the former. In some places the neo-colonialism of one imperialism just supersedes the colonialism of another. In others, neo-colonialism gains a foothold through economic, military, cultural and technical aid. In others still, it simply resorts to violence; coups d'état and war.

Along with so-called "people's capitalism" and innovations of neo-colonialism, the state-monopoly capitalists also aid, abet and utilize modern revisionism and reformist socialism to drive a wedge into the international communist and workers' movement, sow the seeds of reformism and compromise, weaken the revolutionary struggle of the working class, the labouring people and the oppressed nations.

Concerning the socialist countries, they are doing their best to utilize and widen the divergences in opinion among some fraternal countries. Through the agency of revisionists and intellectuals who resist reformation, they are seeking

the gradual realization of their "peaceful evolution" plot under the "freedom", "democracy", "nation", etc., signboards (for instance in Czechoslovakia). They are infiltrating spies and commando-saboteurs into, or staging military aggression to various extent against, such countries as the People's Democratic Republic of Korea years ago and the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam at present.

The most bellicose imperialists have gone so far as brazenly to start "special war" or "limited war" in an attempt to stamp out the national liberation movement in some colonial and dependent countries and change these into neo-colonies and strategic bases to serve the imperialists' search for more extensive markets and preparations for a new world war.

The aggressive war in Viet Nam is an important part of the global strategy of US imperialism, the leading and most bellicose imperialism. What is in fact the real purpose of its Viet Nam war? Clearly, it is seeking by all means the permanent partition of Viet Nam, the establishment of neo-colonialism in South Viet Nam, the transformation of the latter into a US neo-colony and military base, the checking of the impact of socialism from China and North Viet Nam on Southeast Asia, the use of Viet Nam as a testing ground for US strategies, tactics and new weapons to be utilized in the suppression of revolutionary movements in different countries and in preparation for a world conflagration.

But the present international situation no longer permits imperialism to rule the roost. The relation of forces has been altered in favour of socialism, national independence, democracy and peace. World imperialism headed by the USA

and its reactionary vassals are weakening and declining irresistibly. The universal drive for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism is gaining momentum and magnitude and has achieved substantial successes. The world revolutionary forces are rising and *on the offensive*. Applying an offensive strategy, the forces of socialism, national liberation, democracy and peace are in a position to crush every war policy and eventually all the war plans of imperialism step by step and smash the capitalist system piece by piece in order to wipe it off the earth.

The Vietnamese people's present resistance against US aggression, for national salvation, is an important part and the culmination of the world peoples' movement against imperialism headed by the United States. It shows that the US brand of imperialism is merely neo-fascism at its most wicked, and also that it is actually not strong. In today's historical conditions, a people, even a small one, if closely united and firmly resolved to liberate themselves by following a sound political and military line, are perfectly in a position to defeat the imperialist aggressors, even such wealthy and well-armed ones as the United States imperialists. It is for their country's independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity and for universal peace, national independence, democracy and socialism that the Vietnamese are fighting US imperialism. They take boundless pride in discharging their duty as vanguard fighters in the forefront of the world peoples' revolutionary struggle against their most fiendish foe, US imperialism, the international gendarme. If the latter is using the Vietnamese battlefield as a testing ground for its "special war", "limited war", and

up-to-date armoury, the Vietnamese people and, through their agency, the world peoples are also drawing lessons from the matchless strategy and tactics of people's war, its fighting techniques, and the wide range of its weapons, from the most primitive to the most sophisticated ones (the most powerful being morale). These lessons will help us defeat the imperialists and their henchmen.

To cope with the vicious scheme and overbearing behaviour of the bellicose imperialists led by the United States, we are for the establishment of a world peoples' *united front against US aggressor imperialism, for national independence and peace*. This front takes for its foundations the socialist countries, the international workers' movement and the national liberation movement. It includes the governments and peoples of the socialist countries, the newly-independent countries which really oppose American imperialism, international democratic bodies¹ and organizations which are at present engaged in armed struggle against imperialism and its underlings for national independence, democracy and world peace.

We are gratified to see that in the process of supporting the Vietnamese people's resistance against US aggression, such a front has in fact been taking shape, and is isolating US imperialism to an ever-higher degree.

We express our sincere thanks to the peoples of the fraternal socialist countries and of the world, and also to progressive American people for their warm support for our struggle against US aggression. We pledge ourselves to make

1. Excluding naturally fake peace and democratic organizations dominated by US imperialism and the reactionary circle of its flunkies.

the greatest exertion to defeat the US aggressors and their agents, in fulfilment of our noble national and international duties, and to prove worthy of the trust put in us by our brothers and friends around the world.

We stand for the restoration and reinforcement of solidarity in the socialist camp and in the international communist and workers' movement *on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism*. We see this as a step to further strengthen our force directed against the imperialists and their henchmen and to keep in check all their military schemes and actions or their "peaceful evolution" plot against the socialist countries, to foil their repression and undermining of the international communist and workers' movement and the national-liberation movement, to thwart the plan for the preparation of a new world conflict by the bellicose imperialists, and to bring about increasing success for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

4. TO MAKE ALL-OUT EFFORTS IN THE STUDY OF MARXISM-LENINISM

Only a party armed with a vanguard revolutionary doctrine can lead the revolution to victory. In order to strengthen the leadership of our Party — the main guarantee of the success of our revolution — every cadre and every Party member must strive his hardest to grasp Marxism-Leninism and apply it with imagination to Viet Nam's conditions.

Does a good grasp of Marxism-Leninism mean knowing by heart the propositions and principles put forward in its

classics? No, for it is “not a dogma but a guide to action”. To grasp it means to *understand its substance and essence, to link theory to practice, to apply its doctrine creatively to the concrete situation of our country in the search for sound solutions to problems of our revolution* at each stage of its development and in the differing contexts of class struggle and national struggle.

The union of theory and practice can only be achieved by the Marxist-Leninist scientific method of investigation and analysis of the international and home situation. This will show us the way to apply Marx’s and Lenin’s tenets to the concrete conditions of our country and work out correct lines, guiding principles and policies capable of ensuring the victory of the Vietnamese revolution.

Such an exertion can only be brought to fruition by a spirit of independence and sovereignty in the application of Marxism-Leninism and in the elaboration of the Party’s programme and policies. The lessons drawn from the fraternal parties’ experience must be learned selectively, and critically, and neither automatic copying nor servile imitation is the right course of action.

The understanding of Marxism-Leninism means a steady grasp of its universal truth coupled with the ability to enrich it with fresh experiences drawn from our own and the world revolutionary movements, to increase its theoretical stock with bold new propositions and conclusions, and to contribute to its vigorous growth in every aspect. Lenin said :

“We do not regard Marx’s theory as something complete and inviolable. On the contrary, we are convinced that it

has only laid the foundation stone of the science which socialists must develop in all directions if they wish to keep pace with life.”¹

Why does the present world conjuncture require such a development of Marxism-Leninism ?

The socialist system has been established, and is expanding and becoming the decisive factor for the development of human society. The ever richer experiences of its socialist revolution and construction must be summed up and improved.

On the other hand, the colonial system of imperialism is disintegrating. The experiences drawn from the national liberation revolution and the path of development followed by the countries newly freed from the imperialist yoke are raising momentous topical questions.

Imperialism in the form of state-monopoly capitalism, its new policies and tricks to coax, split and suppress mass movements at home and revolutionary movements in the colonies, and concurrently to grapple with the socialist camp and the international communist and workers' movement, the global strategy of U.S. imperialism and its allies — these are problems which should be carefully and penetratingly scrutinized to find effective ways of coping with them.

The revolutionary movement of the world working class and peoples is on the offensive. The forms of extensive and bitter struggle of the world working class and the multifarious strategic and tactical lessons supplied by this struggle must also be summed up to improve guidance of the movement.

1. V.I. Lenin, *Our Programme*, Collected Works.

Moreover, the scientific and technological revolution now going on in the world has brought about achievements of tremendous importance for humanity. Discoveries of great consequence in the use of nuclear energy, in the conquest of the cosmos, in cybernetics, in biology, etc., are elucidating a host of philosophical problems and opening up new vistas for man to tame nature.

The practical situation described above spells out the necessity for Marxist-Leninists to direct their energies towards reviewing the experiences acquired in class struggle, in the man-versus-nature contest, in the achievement and preservation of revolutionary power and in the construction of a new society. It is also necessary to generalize them and reach theoretical conclusions, so as to prove that Marxist-Leninist principles remain valid while contributing to the development of Marxism-Leninism with new propositions.

It is a tough job of great magnitude and merit, in which every Marxist-Leninist party must zealously take part.

Though the 1957 Moscow Declaration and the revolutionary principles of the 1960 Moscow Statement have recapitulated the experiences gained by the international working class in its revolutionary struggle after the Second World War into valuable propositions, these are undoubtedly inadequate to the needs of the rapidly-rising revolutionary tide of the world working class and people.

Our Party must sum up the experiences supplied by the Vietnamese revolution and arrive at theoretical conclusions to enrich Marxism-Leninism as regards, among other problems, colonialism and neo-colonialism, people's national democratic revolution in a colonial and semi-feudal

country, socialist revolution in a backward agricultural country which progresses toward socialism without going through the stage of capitalist development, people's war and armed insurrection of the masses, people's democratic dictatorship, strategy and tactics of the revolutionary struggle of the working class, Party building, the Front, the Army, State power, and so on.

Our Party must *play its part in the fight to preserve the purity of Marxism-Leninism* against revisionism which is at present the main threat, and dogmatism and sectarianism as well. It must make a clear-cut distinction between the imaginative application of Marxism-Leninism to the specific conditions of a given country and the world on the one hand, and the trick of modern revisionism of different complexions seeking to garble Marxism-Leninism, wreck its principles and weaken the revolutionary struggle of the world working class and people, on the other.

This fight must be directed against two targets: on the one hand, against every brand of rightist and "leftist" opportunism, modern revisionism, dogmatism, etc., in the international communist and workers' movement. On the other, against all distortions and misrepresentations of Marxism by theoreticians in the pay of the capitalists, against bourgeois doctrines which clash with ours or which claim to "complement" it: neo-Thomism, existentialism, bourgeois nationalism, the "convergence" theory, "neo-Marxism", and so forth.

Naturally, our Party has to make an effective contribution to this long-term and complex struggle. To this end, we must pay attention to the study of Western reactionary

philosophies now gaining currency in South Viet Nam and serving the purposes of the aggressive policy and neo-colonialism of imperialism, particularly U.S. imperialism, in order to fight them in an appropriate and efficient manner.

Our battle in the ideological and theoretical fields must be fought with patience, endurance, continuity and the incisiveness of militant Marxism. We Communists cannot be absent from these battlefields, not even for a short while. Regrettably, for one reason or another, there have been many shortcomings in our ideological and theoretical work. Unquestionably, a strenuous effort is required to set them right.

As our Party's line and policies are the result of the union between Marxist-Leninist theory and the realities of the Vietnamese revolution, it is necessary to couple the study of Marxist-Leninist tenets with the study of the Party's line and policies. This measure will bring home to our cadres and Party members the originality and scientific soundness of the Party's line and policies and make them grasp Viet Nam's realities, and, consequently, strengthen their confidence in the leadership of the Central Committee and President Ho Chi Minh. Experience has taught us that when our cadres and Party members study the classical works of Marxism-Leninism in combination with the Party's line and policies, and work among the masses, they understand these line and policies better and their theoretical and political standards rise rapidly and steadily.

The following immediate tasks are to be fulfilled, as a strong stimulus to the study of Marxism-Leninism and an endeavour to grasp it :

a) To keep up the systematic teaching of our doctrine to cadres and Party members, which must go by the following guiding principles: co-ordination between theory and practice, between the study of Marxism-Leninism and the Party's line and policies on the one hand, and the cultivation of their revolutionary qualities and virtues and the improvement of their cultural, technical and professional standards, on the other; concurrently, to arrange for them to take part in mass campaigns for the implementation of decisions and policies of the Party and Government.

b) To step up the Party's theoretical work, direct it to important subjects relating to the Vietnamese revolution and the international communist and workers' movement. To develop *independent thinking* in accordance with the Marxist-Leninist viewpoint, to guard against the influence of revisionism and dogmatism in theoretical work.

c) To press on with the summing up of the experiences of the Vietnamese revolution accumulated during nearly forty years by our working class and our people, under the leadership of our Party, the architect of their successive victories.

"The summing up of experiences is a method of coupling theory with practice, using theory to analyse practice and drawing theory from the analysis of practice. It is a good method for the raising of the theoretical level of Party cadres and members. It is also a good method for combating all tendencies to dogmatism and empiricism, for enhancing ideological unity within the Party"¹.

1. Political Report, Third National Congress of the Viet Nam Workers' Party, 1960.

Dear comrades,

As we commemorate Karl Marx's 150th birthday, we are glad to realize that Marxism-Leninism is an exceptionally sharp weapon for the working class in its struggle to overthrow capitalism and establish a communist, classless society, free from the exploitation of man by man, from the oppression of one people by another, a society in which labour is an honour for everyone, and mankind will enjoy genuine peace, freedom and happiness. We are glad to realize that our Party, headed by President Ho Chi Minh, has been creatively applying Marxism-Leninism to the specific conditions of our country to formulate correct lines and policies for the Vietnamese revolution and lead the Vietnamese working class and people from one victory to another.

We are glad to fight under the banner of Marxism-Leninism, the banner of the Viet Nam Workers' Party and President Ho Chi Minh, the great leader of our Party and people, and an eminent disciple of Karl Marx in Viet Nam.

Enthusiastic and confident, let us close our ranks, resolutely uphold our Party's line and policies and valiantly march forward to defeat the American aggressors and their henchmen, liberate the South, defend the North, proceed toward the peaceful reunification of our fatherland, thereby bringing about a peaceful, reunified, independent, democratic and prosperous Viet Nam.

Enthusiastic and confident, let us, shoulder to shoulder with Marxism-Leninism the world over, resolutely fight to safeguard the purity of Marxism-Leninism and for the defence of the socialist camp, and make our contribution to the world peoples' struggle against imperialism led by U.S. imperialism, for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

Let us pledge undying gratitude to Karl Marx and march along the path he charted!

All for victory over the U.S. aggressors!

Let us do our best to build socialism in the North!

Long live peaceful, reunified, independent, democratic and prosperous Viet Nam!

Long live invincible Marxism-Leninism!

Long live the Viet Nam Workers' Party!

Long live President Ho Chi Minh!