

TRU'ÔNG - CHINH

FORWARD
ALONG THE PATH
CHARTED BY
K. MARX



HANOI — 1969

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**FOREIGN LANGUAGES PUBLISHING HOUSE
HANOI — 1969**

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FORWARD

ALONG THE PATH

CHARLES F. HARRY

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PUBLISHER'S NOTE

On the 150th birthday of Karl Marx, the founder of scientific communism, the greatest leader and teacher of the world working class, comrade Trưòng-Chinh, member of the Political Bureau of the Viet Nam Workers' Party, on behalf of the Central Committee, delivered an important speech entitled "Let us pledge undying gratitude to Karl Marx and unswerving adhesion to his line" at a meeting of cadres convened to commemorate this event.

Comrade Trưòng-Chinh's speech deals with fundamental theoretical problems. It proves that the Viet Nam Workers' Party, with President Ho Chi Minh at its head, has creatively applied Marxism-Leninism to Viet Nam's concrete conditions. The Party has thus led the Vietnamese working class and people to the victory of the 1945 August

*Revolution and the protracted resistance war
against the French colonialists (1945-1954),
and to ever greater successes in the building
of socialism in the Democratic Republic of
Viet Nam and the resistance war against
American aggression, for national salvation.*

*This is a translation of comrade TrưỜng-
Chinh's speech that we present to the reader.*

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Dear Comrades,

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

Together with the workers and labouring people of all countries, the oppressed peoples and all progressive mankind, we commemorate Karl Marx's 150th birthday at a time when his doctrine has won glorious successes in the world and in our country.

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

1. Karl Marx, an ardent revolutionist, 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 our immediate tasks with splendid success

I

KARL MARX, AN ARDENT REVOLUTIONIST, THE FOUNDER OF SCIENTIFIC COMMUNISM

Karl Marx was born on May 5, 1818 in Treves, 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 *Rheinische Zeitung* together with the radical bourgeois leaders in Rhineland and later on became its editor-in-chief.

The democratic tendency of the *Rheinische Zeitung* and its influence among the masses frightened the Government of the Kingdom of Prussia into prohibiting the paper.

Though for a short period, his contribution to the *Rheinische Zeitung* exerted a strong impact on Marx's thinking. Engaged in intense political activities, he had the opportunity to get better understanding of the political life in Germany and of the wretched condition of the labouring masses there. Discussions in

the *Rheinische Zeitung* on many problems relating to the labouring people's material interests set for Marx the task of elaborately investigating various questions of political economy and of correctly determining the relationship between the state and law on the one hand, and the conditions of social material life on the other. *A Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Law* that Marx completed in autumn 1843 marked his first change in world outlook, from an idealistic to a materialistic one, and from revolutionary democratism to communism.

Immediately after the closing down of the *Rheinische Zeitung*, Marx decided to go abroad and publish a revolutionary paper meant to be circulated in Germany.

In October 1843, he went to Paris. Here he published the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbucher*. 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 the workers' quarters in Paris suburbs, contacted the 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 had 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 ingenuous soil of the people the emancipation of the *Germans* into *men* will be accomplished."

This proposition and many others show us how the philosopher and revolutionary fighter had merged in Marx, and how the young intellectual full of revolutionary ardour and thirst for truth had reposed firm confidence in the historical mission of the proletariat! And since then he devoted all his energy and abilities to its emancipation.

While in Paris Marx gave up idealism and revolutionary democratism to adopt materialism and communism, in the English industrial centre of Manchester Engels followed a similar path. From then on the collaboration between the two men grew ever closer so that the work that each had achieved in his lifetime 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, and 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 grouping

workers from Germany and many other countries as well, and completely reshaped it. Then the *League of the Just* was renamed *Communist League*. The Second Congress of the League convened in late 1847 unanimously passed the principles of the Program 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, consecrating the Marxian doctrine as the comprehensive revolutionary doctrine of the proletariat.

Said Lenin 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 the class struggle and of the epoch-making revolutionary role of the proletariat — the creator of a new, communist society.”*

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

The February Revolution (1848) which broke out in France had a resounding echo in the neighbouring

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

countries. Afraid, the Belgian Government arrested Marx and drove him out of Belgium. He moved to Paris where he worked actively to impel 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 here. In June the same year, he published the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, the sole organ voicing the viewpoint of the proletariat in the democratic movement in Europe at that time. In this paper he profoundly analysed the tremendous events of the 1848-1849 revolutionary years, laid bare every scheme and manoeuvre of the reactionary forces and the bourgeoisie, guided and encouraged the masses in their struggle. But the Revolution failed and the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* was prohibited. Marx was indicted by the Prussian Government and banished on May 1849. He went back to Paris but was again driven out by the French Government some time later. He then left for London where he was to complete the main work of his lifetime: the *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 the *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..." *

In the early sixties of the 19th century, the proletarian movement again surged up powerfully, so 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 soul. He himself drew up 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 unproletarian socialist theories, and secure triumph for Marx's revolutionary theory in this movement.

After the failure of Paris Commune (1871) the *International* could no longer operate efficiently. In application of the resolution of the Hague Congress (1872), it temporarily withdrew from the political scene. The *First International* had fulfilled its historical mission and opened a period of extensive development of 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

* F. Engels: *Marx's Capital*

be strengthened. By giving instructions and critical advices, Marx and Engels paid constant attention to 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 Program* and Engels' *Anti-Dühring* were precisely written with this aim.

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

Dear Comrades,

Where does Marx's genius lie? In the fact that *he has supplied opportune and precise solutions to the great problems of the epoch mooted by progressive mankind.*

By the middle of the 19th century, world capitalism had reached a rather high degree of development, and social productive forces had gone through a fairly flourishing growth. On the one hand, large-scale industry in its expansion had impoverished various segments of the labouring people and, on the other, had turned out a great amount of commodities for which there were limited markets. The clash between over-production and the destitution of the working

people reflected the intensifying conflict between the social productive forces and the capitalist relations of production, between Labour and Capital.

From spontaneous actions, wrecking of machinery, the proletariat progressed to the awareness of its class rights and gradual self-organization for a bitterer fight against the rule of the bourgeoisie. The struggle of the proletariat, chiefly of the French proletariat, had had a strong impact on the shaping of Marx's scientific socialism.

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

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

In *philosophy*, Marx resolutely scrapped idealism which was constantly wedded to religion, and was discerningly critical of mechanistic materialism, which was non-dialectical, explained the universe but did not try 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*, which is the science of the general laws of motion of nature, society and thoughts, the most perfect, exhaustive and comprehensive evolution theory, the theory of man's knowledge of the objective world.

Marx's dialectical materialism has provided the proletariat and mankind with a marvellous means of cognition.

Applying dialectical materialism to cognition of human society, he has completely revolutionized man's conception of world history. Earlier, idealism had attributed historical changes to the doings of man's thought and the most important historical developments to outstanding heroes. Disposing of such an erroneous view, he proved that material world was an objective reality existing independently of human consciousness and that the latter was only the reflection of the former. Social material life, social being, exists prior to social spiritual life, and does so independently of man's consciousness, whereas the latter is only a reflection of that objective reality. It is the conditions of the material life of a society which determine its social tenets, political, legal, literary, artistic views, political set-up and so on. Economy is the basis of society, on which are founded its political, legal, philosophical, ethical, literary, artistic, etc systems.

In the conditions of the material life of society, what is the main decisive factor which moulds its face? The mode of production of material wealth.

This latter is produced to help human beings subsist by making use of the instruments of production, which, together with the producers, makes up the social productive forces. As individual labour cannot alone produce material wealth, collective production is necessary, connections should be established between 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 and destroys the outdated relations of production, 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 experienced in the main the following relations of production: primitive communal, slave, feudal and capitalist.* Marx and Engels have shown that when the ownership of the means of production was instituted, the process also created exploiting and exploited classes. Since a class society emerged, the history of man has been that of class struggle. The masses of the people have been the genuine makers of history, and class struggle, the motive force which impels forward its

* Whether Asian relations of production might belong to a different category from that of the Western ones and what are in fact those "Asian modes of production" Marx mentioned, are questions to be carefully considered before serious answers can be found.

development. The appearance and survival of classes are 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 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 prehistory of human society to a close."

Marx's historical materialism has demonstrated that under capitalism the growth of the productive forces reaches such a level as renders the 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 hand of the proletariat with a most incisive weapon which is not only capable of *interpreting the universe*, but what is more important, of *changing it*.

In *political economy*, Marx's most significant invention is his *surplus value* theory. This supplies the most thorough explanation of the relations between Capital and Labour, and dissects the process 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 saw the light first in

England, those two economists had come to the conclusion that only labour 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 to correctly explain the source of the capitalists' wealth.

For nearly half a century, Marx carried out research on the economic system of the capitalist society, starting from its simplest cell, the commodity, to reach large-scale mechanized industry, and succeeded in formulating the economic law of the motion of the capitalist society. And this is the conclusion he arrived at; 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 time of social labour needed for its manufacture. The proletarian who sells his labouring power to the capitalist is only paid a wage which corresponds 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 original accumulation, the emergence of capitalism in the course of history, means essentially savage and ruthless despoliation of small producers

by the bourgeoisie. Capitalism resulted from the elimination of small production, the abolition of small producers' private ownership based on individual labour and its replacement by the capitalist private ownership based on exploitation of 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 their capitalist integument. This integument is burst asunder. The knell of capitalist private property sounds. The expropriators are expropriated." *

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

For the first time in human history, he elaborated a sophisticated theory on *class struggle* and made the fullest use of it. In the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, Marx and Engels have written: "The history of all hitherto existing societies is the history of class

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

struggles (except the history of the primitive community — Engels added subsequently, T.C.)

“Freeman 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.” *

In 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 have 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

* K. Marx. and F. Engels: *Manifesto of the Communist Party*.

in the face of Modern Industry; the proletariat is its special and essential product." *

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

He has also blazed the only trail for the proletariat toward 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 of that of nineteenth-century France, Marx has 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 the 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*..." **

After analysing the economic and political conditions of the capitalist society, Marx has concluded that between the latter and the communist society,

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

** Marx-Engels: *Marx to J. Weydemeyer*

there will be a period of revolutionary transformation, when the state must be the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat. Therefore, *the path to communism must necessarily pass through the dictatorship of the proletariat*. Meantime, he has 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 by which goes 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 as well as that between the towns and the countryside; classes no longer exist, the state is no more; man is comprehensively developed; labour becomes a need and habit of 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 need."

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 its class 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 of hardships and privations as well.

All through his life, he always stood in the forefront of the fight of the proletariat, devoting his heart and soul to its organization, education and guidance in its revolutionary effort to overthrow the bourgeoisie. Not only was Marx a thinker, but also and first and foremost a revolutionist.

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 Prudhon 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 Russia's Bakuninan anarchism to bourgeois nationalism on the questions of war and colonies, etc. It was in this process that Marxism grew and was tempered into the matchless 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 the steady alliance between the proletariat and the masses of the peasantry, to enlist the latter's wholehearted support for its revolutionary attempt to topple capitalism and to build a new society; to

co-ordinate its drive with democratic and national-liberation movements; to constantly and thoroughly 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; timely to shift fighting tactics to suit changes in the revolutionary situation and in the balance of forces between classes; to display unfailing loyalty to proletarian internationalism, etc.

Karl Marx has died, 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 three following 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, mobilize and make it possible to 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 has said: "The Marxian 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, 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." *

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

Carrying on Marx's and Engels' 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 still existing in the *Second International*, while challenging dogmatism and other opportunistic trends in defence of the purity of Marxism, and raised it to a higher stage of development, that of Leninism, i. e., at a time when capitalism

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

started writhing in its death throes and proletarian revolution had been put first and foremost on the order of the day of the world proletariat. Such Lenin's works 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 Kautsky; The State and Revolution; "Left-Wing" Communism, an Infantile Disorder*, and series of other writings of his have added to the theoretical wealth of Marx's doctrine in the realm of philosophy, political economy, scientific socialism as well as of strategy and tactics of the proletariat.

Lenin has shown the essence and features of imperialism and its serious contradictions which make it the supreme stage of capitalism. Dissecting the development of the latter in the epoch of imperialism he has hit upon the law of uneven development of capitalism and come to the most momentous conclusion that proletarian revolution can perfectly carry the day, 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 has made it abundantly clear, 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 latter 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 millions of small producers and thereby to prevent the resurgence of capitalism.

He also pointed out that for proletarian revolution to triumph, a close alliance with the masses of the peasantry at home, with the proletariat of all countries and oppressed peoples all over the world is indispensable. His "*Proletarians of all countries and oppressed peoples, unite!*" war-cry 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 founded 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 universal scale.

He fathered the *Communist International*, i. e. the *Third International* to supersede the *Second International* which degenerated after Engels' death, due to the betrayal of the revisionists Bertein 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 departure from life, Stalin, disciple and heir to Marx, Engels and himself, held high the revolutionary standard of the proletariat, fought implacably

bly rightist and "leftist" opportunism, 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 meantime to give all-out support to revolution in various countries of the world. As a result, the gains of revolution have been preserved and increased, and the Soviet Union has been built into a powerful socialist state in the midst of the capitalist encirclement. 2

In the Second World War, the Soviet Communist (Bolshevik) Party headed by Stalin led the fight of almost incredible heroism of the Soviet Army and people to a splendid victory over fascism, thereby preserving the safety of the first socialist state in the world and paving the way for the triumph of revolution in a series of countries in Eastern Europe and in Asia, and of our August Revolution. A historical development which comes next only to the October Revolution in significance was the Chinese Revolution whose success was tantamount to a staggering blow at imperialist positions in Asia, and has 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 set-up of imperialism is swiftly sliding towards its desagregation with a momentum that no reactionary force can halt.

All that represents a tremendous achievement of Marxism-Leninism, which can also be ascribed to Karl Marx and, generally, to the founders of scientific communism, as well as 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 under 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 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 program capable of leading the Vietnamese revolution to victory.

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

"The time has come when the socialist states have, by forming a world system, become an international force exerting a powerful influence on world development...

"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." *

parti | 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 program 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,

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

our Party carried out a scientific analysis of the economic, political and social situation in our country and set forth a correct revolutionary program 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 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 the master 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 national people's democratic revolution advancing toward the socialist revolution in Viet Nam.*

THE NATIONAL PEOPLE'S 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 valets 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 their interests and privileges. That

is why two tasks were devolved upon 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 Tiller" — its anti-feudal task. These two tasks are closely linked together and cannot be separated: to drive out the imperialists one must overthrow the feudal landowners; contrariwise, to overthrow the feudal landowners, one must 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, but essentially 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 over the Vietnamese revolution must belong to 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, putting into effect the people's democratic rights, giving land to the tillers, and turning Viet Nam from a colonial and semi-feudal country into a truly

democratic and independent one. 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 *national people's democratic revolution*, i.e., the new-style bourgeois democratic revolution in our country.

The Vietnamese national people's 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). On account 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 national people's democratic revolution could not achieve success. In the process of the national people's 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 carrying into effect of the slogan "Land to the Tiller" 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

national people's 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 national people's democratic revolution, the two main enemies to overthrow, but the more essential target, the more essential enemy was imperialism. In the national people's 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 national people's 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 aggressors, stress should be laid on the question of national liberation, an anti-imperialist national united front be founded, the fire of revolutionary struggle be concentrated on the imperialist aggressors and the feudalists, their

devoted agents, in other words the king, mandarins and village tyrants.

In the national people's democratic revolution, the problem for our Party was to isolate the most dangerous enemy — the imperialist aggressors and their devoted valets, 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 sprung from 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 rents 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 watchword "Land to the Tiller".

While applying the above-mentioned strategy of the national people's democratic revolution, we committed shortcomings and errors of a local and partial character, but revolutionary realities over nearly forty years have proved that our Party's line of the national people's 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 national people's democratic revolution, we did not yet carry out land reform. But in the process of the national people's 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 national people's 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 revolution in our country have proved that only under the leadership of the working class could the national people's 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 rents and interest rates, advance toward land reform, carry into effect the slogan "Land to the Tiller";

- 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 regime 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 valets so as to fulfil the tasks of the national people's 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 has said :

"... Following the restoration of peace, the North of our country switched over from the national people's 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, unified, independent, democratic, prosperous and strong Viet Nam." *

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 close leadership of the Viet Nam Workers' Party, a genuine Marxist-Leninist party, on the basis of a steady worker-peasant alliance;

2. The completion of the national people's democratic revolution in the North has created a premise 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;

4. The people in the North are highly patriotic and industrious; they know how to rely on their own

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

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 has 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 an advanced culture and science."*

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 three following 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* as the central task; concurrently we begin building the material and technical basis of socialism, starting with key points. In socialist transformation, we consider agricultural co-operation as the central link; simultaneously we carry out socialist transformation with regard to handicrafts, private capitalist industry and trade, and small trade; socialist ownership takes on two forms: ownership of the entire people, and ownership of the collective. At present, socialist relations of production have won absolute supremacy in the national economy and have

* 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.

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

After the completion in the main of the transformation of relations of production in the regime of ownership, the *technological revolution* holds a key position. It must effectually serve socialist industrialization. We must carry out *socialist industrialization* and wage a *technological revolution* in order to make our economy truly independent and sovereign, 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, considering heavy industry as the cornerstone 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, on condition that we receive assistance from the fraternal socialist countries and can gradually train enough technicians and skilled workers to master modern technique.

Parallel to the above-mentioned two revolutions and with a view to effectually 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, 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, 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 could be given to the question, "Which will win?" This will be a protracted, difficult and complex struggle. Such drives 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 essential masses of the peasantry and the other labouring strata.
- To abolish the regime of capitalist ownership and set up a regime 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 standard 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 classes in all other countries; to carry into effect proletarian internationalism.

In sum, the national people's democratic revolution and the socialist revolution are two revolutionary strategies which follow two different courses of development. However, these two courses continue each other without any interruption and are even closely connected with each other. For instance, a task to be fulfilled in one course may originate from the previous one; or a task belonging to the latter may be completed only in the former. The national people's democratic revolution is the premise 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 ruling exploiting 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, forsake the oppression and exploitation of the labouring people.

Marx considers violence as "the midwife of all old societies about to bring forth a new one". Developing Marx's thinking Engels carefully analyzes the "role of violence in history" in his famous work *Anti-Dühring*. Lenin, the greatest heir to Marx and Engels, says: "This view of violent revolution lies at the root of all the teachings of Marx and Engels".* "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".**

One fundamental criterion which helps distinguish between Marxists-Leninists and opportunists of all hues is whether or not they stand for the use of masses revolutionary violence to smash the state machinery of the

* V.I. Lenin: *The State and Revolution*

** Ibid.

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 fascization in varying degrees, and are using the most impudent 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 capitalist countries in the present conditions." * 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"**;
in no case should they nurture illusions about an easy peaceful transition. The working class and

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

** Ibid.

and people of colonial and neo-colonial countries should particularly guard against such illusions.

Since its birth, always faithful to the idea of violent revolution of Marxism-Leninism, 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 the victory for the revolution in our country.* Says President Ho Chi Minh :

"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." *

Indeed, in such a colonial and semi-feudal country as ours formerly, the imperialists and their agents oppressed our 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 idea of violent revolution of Marxism-Leninism and has persistently stuck to the road of violent revolution, which was the only correct one not only to seize power but also to safeguard

* Ho Chi Minh: *The Great October Revolution Paves the Way for the Liberation of the Peoples*

the 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 body of experiences gained by the Vietnamese revolution has borne 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 has 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."*

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: 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

* Ho Chi Minh: *The Great October Revolution Paves the Way for the Liberation of the Peoples*

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 and 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, etc.

From 1936 to 1939, in face of the danger of fascism and of aggressive war by the fascists, and preparing for favourable opportunities in which to fight the enemy, our Party took as a basis for action the building of the masses' political forces, skilfully 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 against colonial reactionaries, the 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), properly combining 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 was the brilliant success of the close combination of political and armed forces in the countryside and the towns, of political and armed struggle with a view to winning the whole power for the people. That revolution was the synthesis of the experiences 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 idea of revolutionary violence of Marxism-Leninism 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 taking pride of place. 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 the resistance against the French colonialists to glorious success, and 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 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 valets so as to liberate the South, defend the North, and proceed toward peaceful national reunification.

To combine military struggle with political struggle, such is the fundamental form of revolutionary violence in the South at present. This is the synthesis and uplift of the experiences 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 simultaneous 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 attacked the enemy militarily, politically and through agitation work among their troops.

The offensive and uprising started early this year in the South is a new step in the development of close combination 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, mass organizations, such as trade-unions, peasant associations, youth organizations, women's organizations, patriotic religious bodies, etc; on the other, 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 experiences gained by the Vietnamese revolution over nearly forty years have shown 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, either of them taking pride of place 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 veritably 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 up to 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 bases for the people's armed forces. Only in such a way will the fish (the people's armed forces) have water (the grass-root 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 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 general offensive and general insurrection.

3. Revolution in any country is essentially the doing of the people of that country ; nobody can accomplish it in their stead. Revolutionary armed

struggle in any country is first and foremost the doing of the popular 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 that country; what is more, it can bring its effect into play only through that struggle.

DICTATORSHIP OF PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY

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

The task then facing the working class is a most heavy one: to break up the resistance of the exploiting classes, liquidate every attempt on their part to restore the power of capital: to 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; to bend energies on the setting up and strengthening of the defence forces in order to shatter every imperialist attempt at unleashing war and aggression; to 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 society 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**."

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." **

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 indispen-

* K. Marx: *Critique of the Gotha Program*

** V.I. Lenin: *The State and Revolution*

sable for the proletariat and the peasantry will call forth the desperate resistance of the landlords, of the big bourgeoisie and of 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. *''

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 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

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

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 premise 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 propositions on the realization of the leadership of the working class on the basis of the worker-peasant alliance in the bourgeois democratic revolution, on the transformation of the latter into the socialist revolution and on the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat 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, representatives of the feudal landlords and the comprador bourgeoisie.

Below are the tasks of the dictatorship of people's democracy in the stage of the national people's democratic revolution in our country :

— 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, materialize the slogan "Land to the Tiller" while 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 peoples and safeguard world peace.

Only by accomplishing these tasks can 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 switched over to the stage of socialist revolution; consequently, since then our dictatorship of people's democracy assumed a new role: it fulfils the historical task of the dictatorship of the

proletariat and, in essence, is a dictatorship of the proletariat. *

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:

* The question of worker-peasant dictatorship and proletarian dictatorship has been asserted at the Second and Third Party National Congresses in the following terms:

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

"*Our dictatorship of people's democracy 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 the feudal land ownership, while leaving intact the foundations of capitalism in our country; it develops 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 national people's 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 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, 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 break up the resistance of the enemy of the working class that the revolution has already overthrown, and foil their schemes and acts to restore the power of the bourgeoisie.

"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 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 capitalist countries; to consolidate and develop cooperation with the fraternal socialist countries"*.

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 regime, a truly democratic one, a million times more democratic than the bourgeois democratic regime. For in a socialist democratic regime

* Resolution of the Ninth Plenum of the Viet Nam Worker's Party Central Committee (1963)

manual and brain workers are really emancipated from all forms of oppression and exploitation, 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 the socialist ownership under the two forms of ownership of the entire people and collective ownership, the people's material and cultural living standard rises unceasingly, and every citizen will enjoy more and more material and moral conditions to best exercise his democratic rights. Democracy in economic matters is materialized 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 under 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. Therefore, our dictatorship of people's democracy must rely mainly on the worker-peasant alliance and also on the National United Front.

Dictatorship of people's democracy must unquestionably use violence against the counter-revolutionaries and exploiters. Hence, the necessity constantly to consolidate the machine of repression of the people's democratic state: People's Army, People's Security

Force, People's Procurate, People's Tribunal, etc. At the same time, the Party must always pay attention to broadening democracy toward the people, 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 complete triumph of communism," *

"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

* V.I. Lenin: *A Great Beginning*

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. " *

To build a new society and advance toward socialism and communism, the working class must strive to promote its spirit of organization and discipline, 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, while patiently educating and persuading millions and millions 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. " **

Therefore, after seizing power for the people, the communists must firmly grasp not only the machine of repression, but also the organs in charge of ideological work, information, propaganda and training, and

* V.I. Lenin : *Greetings to the Hungarian Workers*

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

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 or another way, 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.*

As to the forms of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, there have been thus far the three following: 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 but yield a tremendous abundance and variety of political forms, *but the essence will inevitably be the same: the dictatorship of the proletariat.*" *

The dictatorship of the proletariat comes into being and evolves under a variety of forms, depending on the concrete historical conditions of each country, on the level of its economic development, on the balance of forces between the classes, on its national

* V.I. Lenin: *The State and Revolution*

characteristics, on its traditional development of state power, and also, 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 a degree 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), in discerning the allies of the working class at each stage, and in elaborating a plan to align the revolutionary forces, win over allies, correctly use direct and indirect reserve forces, utterly isolate the enemy, deliver the main blow at the main immediate enemy, and struggle for the implementation of this plan throughout the said 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; in choosing forms of struggle and organization, and

propaganda and agitation slogans, suitable for each period, each situation ; in replacing old forms and slogans by new ones, or in combining these forms of struggle and organization to secure success for each drive or struggle.

Concerning revolutionary strategy, our Party has concretely analysed the concrete situation in our country at each stage of the revolution so as to make out who is the enemy we must defeat, which is the leading force and which is the motive force, which 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 adversary's ranks to divide them to the highest possible degree, and focus the fire of revolutionary struggle on this principal and present enemy.

In the *national people's 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, as from the moment the Party came into existence to the year 1940, this *imperialist enemy* was French colonialism. At the time of the Democratic Front (1936-1939), the Party pointed out that he was the French fascists and the French colonial reactionaries in Indochina. From August 1940 to March 1945, after the Japanese fascists-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, he was the Japanese fascists, who had then toppled the French and singly occupied 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 it assistance and urged it to reconquer our country. Since our great victory at Dien Bien Phu, the imperialist enemy to overcome is the American, which, having ousted the French, 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, apprehend that he is also among the enemies of the national people's 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 said plenum, it was the traitorous feudalists, puppets at the service of the Japanese and French fascists. Thus, we did not yet suppress the feudal landlords as a class, but divided them and isolated their most reactionary section to fight it along with its Japanese and French masters. Later, as the national people's 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 set the task of suppressing the feudal landlord class and of abolishing the right of the feudalists to land ownership.

As far as the differentiation of the enemy's ranks is concerned, at the period of the Democratic Front (1936-1939), our Party did not set 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, as from the August Revolution we planned to carry out the land policy in three stages as has been expounded above, and in implementing the land reform we applied different measures — confiscation, requisition, forced purchase and offer of land on the part of the landlords — depending on the political attitude of each of them. 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 taking part in the resistance and their families.

At present, in *South Viet Nam* where the task of the *national people's 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), which 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: exploiting elements resisting transformation, intelligence agents, commandos, bandits, reactionaries disguised as religious followers, reactionary parties and factions, and so on. The national bourgeoisie fell within the scope of transformation; however, as during the stage of the national

people's 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 regarded it as a member of the Viet Nam Fatherland Front and adopted the policy of peaceful transformation towards it.

An important problem tackled by our Party was 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, between the landlords themselves, etc. To turn these contradictions to account, to exasperate them, and at the same time close the ranks of the revolutionary forces, constitutes a major question concerning strategic direction.

How did our Party avail itself of 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 hemp growing* and forced

*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 hemp in their stead for meeting Japan's war needs in jute. (*Pub.*)

purchase of paddy), between the "unprivileged" small landlords and the ruling landlords; now we are taking advantage of the contradictions in the enemy's ranks in the same way.

Another problem of no less importance pertaining to strategic direction was how to concentrate the revolutionary forces on the enemy's weakest points at the moment he was the most exposed so as to secure success. Attack must be launched with the determination to fight and win. Nonetheless, it happened that *under certain circumstances*, we fell back 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 national people's 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 latter being the "natural", faithful and closest ally of the former. 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 lorded over, and politically oppressed, by imperialism and feudalism but had economic ties with the latter and, to a degree, with the former; moreover, it exploited the

working class and feared its development; that is why it showed a two-faced, wavering attitude. Notwithstanding this it was an ally of the national people's democratic revolution, unlike the comprador bourgeoisie which had been throughout an opponent of the revolution in our country.

Those were allies of the Vietnamese revolution at home. Which 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 lies in that our people must come into close alliance with the working class and the labouring people of the imperialist powers which had invaded our country (France, Japan, the United States) to counter the common enemy — imperialism. The successful implementation of this alliance policy engendered 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 their people back home and 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 the doing of the masses; single-handed neither the vanguard detachment of the working class (the Party), nor the working class itself can bring revolution to victory, which requires the participation of the broad masses

of the people. Thus, the working class must perceive 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 alliance for a definite period in a given stage, alliances for common action, and alliances 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 Program 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 program and that united action should be achieved by the members of the Front so as to put this program into effect. The Front must rely on the basis of a steady worker-peasant alliance and be placed under the close leadership*

of a Marxist-Leninist party. Only so can the triumph of the revolution be ensured.

Taking part in the Front the Marxist-Leninist party aims at uniting all the forces among the people to materialize the Front's program (minimum program) at each stage of the revolution. However, the Party must always preserve its independence, possess a program of its own (maximum program) 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 people's united front against U.S. imperialism.

The world 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 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 ensure its success.

Tactics changes 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 effectual manner. Usually, whenever the situation changes, we must adopt new forms of

struggle and organization, new propaganda and agitation slogans, in order to timely push ahead the mass movement, rally fresh forces or preserve existing revolutionary forces, in preparation for new fights. When the revolutionary tide surges up, we must use *transitory forms* of struggle and organization to make it advance "in a day as in twenty years". In period 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-illegal — 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; but even then, we must develop the illegal organizations of the Party and the masses. In the most difficult conditions, we must manage to profit by legal and semi-illegal possibilities to carry on our activities, and simultaneously undertake underground work right in the enemy's mass organizations, for, as Lenin said, the communists must be present wherever there exist the masses 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 put forth accurate 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 all difficulties and drawbacks, get them over and find out the proper way to push ahead the mass movement.

Those are 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 had to build Party branches and mass organizations. The paper *Tien Len* * 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, 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 utmost efforts to make the best of every legal and semi-illegal possibility for carrying on propaganda, organizing the masses and leading them

*Forward (Pub.)

in the fight for democratic freedoms and better living conditions, while developing the basis of its illegal organizations and preparing to cope with every eventuality. With the outbreak of the Second World War and the resulting step-up of terroristic repressions 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 slogans; for instance, it laid emphasis on the "national liberation" slogan, withdrew the "confiscate landlords' lands for distribution to poor peasants" slogan and put forth this: "confiscate imperialists' and Vietnamese traitors' lands, reduce land rents and interest rates, proceed towards the realization of the motto: Land to the Tiller." Organizationally, the Party set up associations for national salvation among the masses, built up self-defence combat units and guerilla units, started struggle and made effective preparations for an armed insurrection to seize power.

After the March 9, 1945 coup d'état 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 *, and very rapidly defined

* Cf. Directive of the Permanent Bureau of the Central Committee: *The Japanese and the French Fired at Each Other and Our Action* (March 12, 1945).

the immediate tasks and the new strategic and tactical orientations. With regard to tactical direction in particular, the Party put forward an urgent task and a slogan of paramount importance, "Take hold of grain storages, do away with famine", which fanned the flames of revolutionary struggle by the masses, and mobilized the latter into street demonstrations and for the seizure of the fascist-held grain storages, thus meeting an 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 preparations for insurrection advanced by leaps and bounds, while national-salvation organizations and armed and paramilitary units also grew up rapidly. Since April 1945 many provinces succeeded in setting up *Liberation Committees*, a form of ante-power that appeared in the conditions of our entire people 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 propitious situation prevailed at that time: the Soviet Army had knocked down the most seasoned main forces of fascist Japan — the Kwantung Army — which compelled her to unconditionally surrender 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 cleverness of our Party with President Ho Chi Minh at the helm, lay in that

it managed to avail itself of this golden opportunity which "offered once in a thousand years" to mobilize the masses for the general insurrection and the seizure of power, and to proclaim the founding of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam before the arrival of Allied forces in Indochina for disarming the Japanese troops.

In the resistance war against the French colonialists, our people went on combining 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 enemy temporarily-occupied zones. In the liberated zones it unfolded under different forms against the French aggressors, and for the implementation by the landlords of the land policy of the Party and Government; since 1953 the bitter armed struggle at the front was closely combined with the mobilization of the peasant masses in rear areas against the landlords for a radical reduction of land rents, in advance towards the materialization of the motto: Land to the Tiller.

Above are some traits 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 national people's 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 former is under a people's power led by the working class, and the latter under dual, 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 important, the strategy of the revolution in each part of the country as well. Failing to realize this, one could not grasp the substance of the Political Program of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation, nor such a concrete question as why the N.F.L. has put forth the slogan "All for the front, all for victory" while in the North ours is "All for our victory over the U.S. aggressors".

The foregoing are some summary features of our Party's art of leading the revolutionary struggle waged by the working class and people in our country.

PARTY-BUILDING

Looking back to 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 brilliant successes today.

This is due to many causes, an underlying 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 a high combativeness, a*

vanguard theory which lights its path, a closely-knit organization and strict discipline, and intimate ties with the masses.

President Ho Chi Minh has said, "The penetration of Marxism-Leninism in 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."*

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, though small in number and subjected to a triple oppression and exploitation by imperialism and native feudalism and capitalism, represents the advanced productive forces and is therefore the most revolutionary class since its birth, 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, not long after it

* Ho Chi Minh: *Thirty Years of Activity of the Viet Nam Workers' Party*, World Marxist Review, No 2, 1960 (Retranslated from the Vietnamese).

has developed into a class has succeeded in organizing a new-type party of its own and soon grasped the weapon of Marxism-Leninism to fight and defeat all class enemies and enemies of 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 grown up politically and become worthy of its leading role.

As a sizable number of Party members are of peasant and petty-bourgeois stock, to strengthen the class character of the Party, we have attached importance to dispensing theoretical knowledge on Marxism-Leninism to cadres and Party members, to raising their class consciousness and to inculcating in them the revolutionary qualities and virtues of the working class, while unceasingly combating 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 laboured with the workers in order to carry on propaganda, lead the struggle there, and foster their own proletarian feelings as well. 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 seen to making ours a party worthy of the Vietnamese working class and of the people at the same time, the exponent of the basic and long-range interests of the people. Our country

being formerly a colonial and semi-feudal one, the peasantry and the petty-bourgeoisie have suffered from most ruthless oppression and exploitation; so 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, and simultaneously attach particular importance to the education and remoulding of cadres and Party members in accordance with the stand of the working class, as well as to the elimination of erroneous, rightist or "leftist", tendencies in 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 characters 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 pay attention and give pride of place to the political and ideological education of cadres and Party members, to their acquisition of revolutionary qualities and virtues; we use criticism and self-criticism as a weapon to counter whatever influence of unproletarian ideologies; we criticize the petty-bourgeois ideology, fight the impact 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 will power and action, possesses a closely-knit organizational structure and rigorous discipline; we properly handle the relationship between the individual and the collective, between the part and the whole, between upper and lower levels, and *oppose sectarianism and factionalism*, parochialism, paternalism, arbitrariness, liberalism, 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, in order to enhance the sense of responsibility of Party members towards the masses and make the latter closely bound to the Party.

An important question relating to the strengthening of the class and vanguard characters of the Party is the consolidation of primary Party organizations and the raising of their standard. Primary organizations form the groundwork of the Party, the area of Party life and struggle of all its members. 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

branches and primary organizations. Our Party's present drive for building "four good's" * branches and primary organizations aims precisely at strengthening its class and vanguard characters and at promoting the vanguard and exemplary role of cadres and Party-members at the grass-roots, so that the primary party organizations deserve being the nuclei of leadership over the masses.

It is necessary to reinforce the over-all and exclusive leading role of the Party in every field of social activities, to resolutely fight any design to weaken its leadership in whatever domain. In the North where our people have taken over the 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, thereby both ensuring the leadership of the former and avoiding acting in the latter's stead. On the contrary, we must bring into play the functions of the organs of power and of the mass organizations and, through their intermediary, 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 good's" 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 law-abiding 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 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 these line and policies with the real situation, with the demands of the masses and the revolution so as to complete them and make them adequate. Ideological and other works 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 continually, we must, on the one hand, recruit the most active and conscious elements from among the working class and, on the other, attract outstanding elements from among the labouring people who have distinguished themselves in the protracted and arduous struggle against aggressor imperialism as well as 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, factional 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 to provide them with the opportunity to criticize cadres and Party members and introduce worthy people whom we shall educate to 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 now ours has developed into a large and strong mass party, we should pay special attention to the ideological aspect. Only so 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 esteemed President Ho Chi Minh at the head, has creatively applied Marxism-Leninism to the concrete conditions of our country in order to elaborate correct line and policies and bring our working class and people from one victory to another. This is the greatest and surest guarantee for our people to win complete success in defending and building socialism in the North, in liberating the South, in achieving peaceful reunification of the fatherland, and in building a peaceful, united, independent, democratic, prosperous and strong Viet Nam, while making an active contribution to the struggle of the world people for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

III

LET US MARCH FORWARD UNDER THE BANNER OF MARXISM-LENINISM AND FULFIL OUR IMMEDIATE TASKS WITH SPLENDID SUCCESS

Dear Comrades,

We are commemorating the 150th birthday of the great Karl Marx in the midst of 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 push up vigorously our resistance against U.S. aggression until complete victory

The South Vietnamese armed forces' generalized offensive and people's uprising which erupted on the night of January 30, 1968 were crowned with a tremendous and all-sided success, one of a considerable strategic significance. It heralded a new stage in our resistance and has had no parallel in the history of

our people's liberation war, as far as its size and intensity goes.*

Since the start of the offensive and uprising early this year, revolutionary war has been brought into the U.S.-puppets' lair, the cities, has upset and shattered their two-prong strategy, the "search and destroy" and "pacification" programs, driven them deeper into their strategic defensive and forced on them the "mobile defensive" strategy with the "clear and hold" program. The puppet army and administration, tools on which the United States depends in its aggressive war in South Viet Nam are nodding to their disintegration and collapse. Divergences between the American people and U.S. aggressors, among the U.S. rulers themselves, between the United States and its hirelings, etc. have

* 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. 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 shot ablaze 580 ships, combat launches and transports; burnt down nearly 500 storages of ammunition, petrol and other war material; blew up over 550 bridges; razed 1,200 garrisons and posts; destroyed over 700 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 in hundreds of villages have been liberated.

been going from bad to worse. The U.S. invaders' aggressive will 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 number 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 spells out that the ranks of those who fight U.S. aggression, for national salvation, have been swollen with new adherents from the enemy temporarily controlled areas, more particularly from the towns. The anti-U.S. 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 under 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 U.S.-puppet regime and have created prerequisites for the increasing successes and ultimate total victory of the South Vietnamese armed forces and people.

These offensives and uprisings have been strategic, dexterous and daring strikes of the Vietnamese people in their people's war. They resulted from the particular growth of the integrated force of people's war

and showed the excellent effectiveness of the principle regarding 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 wiping out, depletion and disbandment of enemy manpower on the one hand, and vigorous development of revolutionary forces and extension of the people's sway on the other; of team work in combat of the three armed forces, of the various services, and of 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 benefitting from a closely-knit organization and unrelaxed 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 — that is sole means with which a small people can get the better of a bigger one, and an army can resist a stronger and better organized one. *

In rhythmical correlation with their Southern fellow-country-men's continued attacks and uprisings the

* Marx - Engels : Collected Works, Vol. 6, Russian edition, 1957, p. 416

stepped-up resistance of the armed forces and people in the North against the U.S. imperialists' war of destruction has also been credited with remarkable results. So far, they have shot down over 3,000 U.S. up-to-date aircraft, put out of action and captured over one thousand U.S. air pirates, 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 kith and kin's liberation war, doing their devoir as the great rear toward the great front. The North's economic and defence potentials keep growing, the militant solidarity of its people and their determination to fight and defeat U.S. aggression have been strengthened. Basically U.S. imperialism has been thwarted in its design while waging the war of destruction against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam.

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

To this effect, and as immediate steps, it is bending all its energies to replenish and beef up its troop strength in South Viet Nam with U.S. 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, continuing its "peace" stunt whose purpose is to dupe public opinion or to simultaneously prosecute the war and seek 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 out the internal dissensions of U.S. political circles and secure more men and money for the Viet Nam war, to dust the eyes of world and U.S. public opinion with false professions of peace, and 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., which course of action would open the way to the discussion of other issues of both parties' concern.

At present, the official talks between the representatives of the D.R.V.N. and the U.S.A. have started in Paris, but their progress has been hampered by the trickiness and stubbornness of the American side which deliberately denies the truth and made white black. Not only does it obscure the dividing line between the aggressor and the victim of aggression, but it also wilfully keeps contending that U.S. troops' presence in South Viet Nam is to defend "freedom" against "aggression" from North Viet Nam, to 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 to a corner, it unfailingly put 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 brought to light U.S. duplicity, and the D.R.V.N. National Assembly (Third Legislature, 4th Session) relevantly disposed of U.S. arguments in these terms:

"As the U.S. imperialists have committed troops from their country to an 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 liquidate 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" at all.

"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 muster up 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 U.S.-puppet "clear and hold" strategy; to give a powerful and steady push 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 as possible enemy manpower will be wiped out to develop vigorously our people's political and military strength, to bring about the disintegration of the puppet army, to overthrow the puppet rule, to make all-out efforts at establishing the revolutionary power of our people in the South; and on this basis to crush the enemy's aggressive will and achieve total victory.

b) *In the North*, to bend our powers in the emulation drive in production, in the fighting and in the other spheres of activity, to bring the State plan to fruition, to go on increasing the D.R.V.N. economic and military potentials; to resolutely inflict complete failure on the U.S. war of destruction; to strive to carry out simultaneously the defence and the construction of the North and its obligations as the great rear toward the great Southern front, to go on with the building of the material and technical bases of socialism, concurrently with the effective preparations for economic rehabilitation and development after the restoration of peace.

For the satisfactory fulfilment of the above jobs, 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 change in the thinking and behaviour of all our Party members, armymen 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 to all the realization of the enemy's schemes and tricks, of our people's duties and enormous capacities: we must be constantly on our guard, combat pacifism and never deflect from the "fight a protracted war and mainly rely on ourselves" guiding principle. Every one must be made to grasp the scientific character and creativeness of the anti-U.S. line for national salvation of our Party and the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation as well as his unqualified confidence in the Party and President Ho Chi Minh's leadership. On that basis, let a strong impetus be given to the revolutionary mettle of the masses, 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 of focussing the thought and activities of all on translating into reality the "*All for our victory over the U.S. aggressors*" watchword.

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

" Nothing is more valuable than independence and freedom...

" For national independence, and in discharge of our obligation toward the peoples fighting U.S. imperialism, our entire people and armed forces, united as one man and defying all sacrifices and hardships, set themselves to bring their struggle to complete success. '

Our resistance against U.S. aggression, for national salvation, is an uphill task, full of glory and bound to win complete success, because our people benefit from the leadership of a Marxist-Leninist party and its correct and creative revolutionary line and people's war line. The Vietnamese are by tradition stubborn and indomitable fighters, and all to a man are prepared to "make every sacrifice instead of bowing to foreign rule or accepting servitude". Their political and armed forces are tremendous, their ability to wage people's war considerable, and their rear, the socialist North, solid and sturdy. 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 the teeth of U.S. furious air strikes at the North, its socialist regime has been gaining in vigour and continuously increasing 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 coupling the intensification of production with 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.

At present, agriculture is brought to prominence by its drive of " five tons of paddy and two hogs per cultivated hectare per year and one hectare under grain per farmer", whereas industry distinguishes itself with a nascent local industry which is rapidly expanding. Despite enemy fierce raids, our communications and transport have been constantly kept open thanks to extraordinary efforts. And in war conditions, circulation and distribution of goods has been satisfactorily maintained and contributing 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

They all supply an eloquent illustration of the superiority of the North's socialist system.

A new period has been ushered in in our resistance against U.S. aggression, for national salvation. Fired by the "All for our victory over the U.S. aggressors" spirit, the armed forces and people in the North must exert their energies more forcefully and, together with our gallant Southern fellow-countrymen and combatants who have been mounting series of attacks and uprisings, deal more telling blows at the aggressors and their hirelings and push up our struggle to complete victory.

A strong and solid rear base is one of the permanent factors of victory in a war. In view of urgent requirements our present resistance imperatively calls for the comprehensive consolidation of the socialist North to inflict total defeat on the U.S. war of destruction, to fulfil its obligations toward the great front, and to 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 *carry on the laying of the material and technical bases 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. As a readjustment to 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 soon enough operated a switch in economic construction and cultural development. We shall build and develop 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 give a strong impetus to agriculture, intensive cultivation for better yields, to reach the short-term objective of five tons of paddy and two hogs per cultivated hectare per year, and one hectare under grain per farmer, which attainment will supply adequate food and foodstuffs for our troops and people to fight successfully, and will help industrial and handicraft development.

In *industry*, we shall continue to protect with efficiency its central branches, restore, maintain and expand their production, while stimulating the building and development of local industry and handicraft, which is meant to serve satisfactorily industrial and agricultural production, communications and transport, the fighting and the people's living.

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

Circulation and distribution of commodities must be improved to effectively help production 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, fair and democratic way, so as to prevent speculation, embezzlement and abuse, and to contribute to the fostering of the resistance force and socialist construction.

Educational and cultural development must be kept up, as well as the training of technicians and skilled workers and scientific and technical researches and survey of natural resources, etc.

To accomplish the said tasks it is necessary to co-ordinate the stepping up of the *patriotic emulation drive* in each factory, co-operative farm, unit and branch with the political mobilization of the whole people.

Our present economic construction and cultural development must meet the demands of the war and at the same time make effective preparations for the healing of the wounds of war, the rehabilitation and vigorous development of economy in peace time, thus compounding short-term construction with long-term construction to be carried out when circumstances permit. However, the main emphasis is at present laid on the meeting of the growing needs of the resistance of the whole people, to make our total victory over the U.S. aggressors a certainty.

While exerting ourselves to fulfil annual state plans, we have to 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 pursuance of the struggle between the two paths. Socialist construction and socialist transformation are intimately connected: the former strengthens, develops and perfects the new relations of production brought about by the latter which, in return, provides the former with facilities to forge ahead.

The resolution of our Party's Third Congress has made it clear.

"In view of the concrete situation in the North, in the first period of the socialist revolution, we take socialist transformation as the central task, while taking the first step 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 nurture the intention to stage a come back, which design will take the form of a scheme to restore the lost "paradise"; the force of habit in millions of small producers is formidable and their mode of 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 — 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 that in the history of revolutions 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 much 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." *

In our country, after completing in the main socialist transformation in agriculture, handicrafts and private capitalist trade and industry, we direct our attention to the building of the material and technical bases of socialism.

Inspired by the consolidating 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 thriftiness, fearless of all privations and hardships caused by the U.S. war of aggression. The superiority of socialism, our growing political and moral unity can get part of the credit for the achievements of our people in the North over the past few years. However, aside from our successes and

* V.I. Lenin: *Collected Works*, (Translation from Russian, Vol. 29)

good points which are predominant, there have been shortcomings and mistakes in one respect or another. For example, since the North has fallen a victim to U.S. destructive raids, economic management and control of the market has 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 to exercise to the full their right as masters of the organization, and embezzlement and lack of democracy, rather widespread in production and distribution of proceeds, has damped the zeal of peasants. The management of collective land and the application of the "three assignments policy*" has 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 relapsed into exploitation of labour in altered forms: on the other hand, hooligans and food speculators joining hands with 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 some disturbances in the market. The struggle between the two paths is going on under new and rather complex forms. Consequently, we

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

must attach due importance to consolidating the socialist economic sector (state-run and collective economies), to strengthening economic and financial management, to bringing into full play the economic impact of state enterprises in production and distribution, and to combating corruption, waste and bureaucracy. We must improve the distribution of goods in a juster, fairer 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 oversee and guide the co-operatives in the drafting of democratic regulations and the expansion of the agitation for the democratization of co-operatives so as to assert their members' right as collective masters, and to ensure the respect of their political, economic and social rights; to right corruption, waste and bureaucracy; to check all tricks to appropriate collective land and property; to make good the mistakes committed in the application of the "three assignments policy". The above tasks will help consolidate agricultural co-operatives, and encourage every one to vie with one another to boost production. In the meantime, the strengthening of marketing co-operatives and credit co-operatives should not be neglected, for it will be also of use in tightening the control of the market and in improving the granting of

credit to co-operative members and in eliminating usury which is still practised secretly and sporadically. 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' handling of manpower and with the strengthening of collective economy.

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

Regarding bourgeois who have been admitted into state-private enterprises we must continue raising their political and ideological standards, supply jobs with decent wages to them and their dependants 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, but if the offences are serious enough, they should be duly punished by the law.

To accomplish those tasks is to apply correctly the revolutionary socialist line of Marxism-Leninism, to continue implementing the Resolution 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 of our resistance against U.S. aggression, for national salvation.

3. Together with the world peoples, to struggle for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism

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

The Great October Socialist Revolution has 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, have converted Marx's scientific socialism from a fine dream of progressive humanity into a glaring 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 which included the Vietnamese to gain independence and freedom. National democratic revolution and socialist revolution carried the day 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 seen the light and has been expanding. Under the impact of staggering blows from the national-liberation movement, the colonial system of imperialism has been collapsing 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 been exacerbated; its general crisis has been worsening. Monopoly capitalism has been speedily switching to state-monopoly capitalism. Relying on the power of the bourgeois state to regulate economy, and turning to account the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution to renew their equipments and push up rationalization of production, the state-monopoly capitalists have been intensifying exploitation of labour and causing the physical and mental exhaustion of the workers.

In their desperate attempt to cope with socialism which has been securing increasing successes in the world and the growing struggle of the working class and people at home, and of the colonial peoples, the state-monopoly capitalists are resorting to their usual

tricks, persecution and blandishment ; whose size and form have changed and whose insidiousness has been made more sophisticated. Concurrently with fascist repressive and terroristic measures, they stage the "people's capitalism" farce designed to create in the workers the "class co-operation" and "common enjoyment of profit" illusions, 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 of 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 aids ; in others again it simply resorts to violence : coups d'état and war.

Along with the so-called "people's capitalism" and novelties of neo-colonialism, the state-monopoly capitalists also aid and abet and utilize modern revisionism and reformist socialism to drive a wedge into the international communist and worker 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 trying the gradual realization

of their "peaceful evolution" plot under the "freedom", "democracy", "nation", etc. signboards (viz. in Czechoslovakia). They are infiltrating spies and commando-saboteurs into, or staging military aggression to various extent against, such countries as the Democratic People's Republic of Korea previously, 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" to stamp out the national-liberation movement in some colonial and dependent countries, and change them into neo-colonies and strategic bases of theirs in their 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 U.S. imperialism, the leading and most bellicose imperialism. What is in fact the real purpose of its Viet Nam war? Clearly, the permanent partition of Viet Nam, the establishment of neo-colonialism in South Viet Nam, transformation of it into a U.S. neo-colony and military base, checking the impact of socialism from China and North Viet Nam on Southeast Asia, use of Viet Nam as a testing ground for U.S. strategies, tactics and new weapons in view of the suppression of revolutionary movements in different countries and in preparation for a world conflagration.

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

imperialism headed by the U.S.A. and its reactionary vasselage are weakening and climbing down irresistibly. The universal drive for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism is gaining impetuous momentum and magnitude and has been achieving substantial successes. The world revolutionary forces are rising and *acting on the offensive*. The forces of socialism, national liberation, democracy and peace, keeping up their strategic offensive, 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 U.S. aggression, for national salvation, is an important part and the peak of the world peoples' movement against imperialism headed by the United States. It shows that U.S. brand of imperialism is merely neofascism at its most wicked, but actually it is not strong; in today's historical conditions, a people, however small, 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 as wealthy and well-armed as the United States imperialists. It is for their country's independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity and also for universal peace, national independence, democracy and socialism as well that the Vietnamese are fighting U.S. imperialism. They take boundless pride in having to discharge their duty as storm-troopers in the forefront of the world peoples' revolutionary struggle against their most fiendish foe, the international gendarme that U.S. imperialism

is. 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 instrumentality, the world peoples are also drawing lessons on 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, the most powerful of which is the morale, lessons which are most likely to help us vanquish 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 *united front of the world peoples against U.S. aggressor imperialism, for national independence and peace*. It takes for its foundations the socialist countries, the international worker 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 bodies * and organizations which are at present engaged in armed struggle against imperialism and its underlings for national independence, democracy and universal peace.

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

* Excluding naturally fake peace and democratic organizations dominated by U.S. imperialism and the reactionary ring of its flunkies.

We express our sincere thanks to the peoples of the fraternal socialist countries and of the world, and also to American progressive people for their warm support to our struggle against U.S. aggression. We pledge ourselves to make the greatest exertion to defeat the U.S. aggressors and their agents, in accomplishment of our noble national and international duty, and to live up to the trust of 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 worker movement *on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism*, 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 worker movement and the national-liberation movement, to thwart their plan for the preparation of a new world conflict by the bellicose imperialists, and to bring about increasing successes for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

4. To devote utmost efforts to the study of Marxism-Leninism

Only a party armed with a vanguard revolutionary doctrine can lead revolution to victory. In order to strengthen the leadership of our Party — the main warrant of the success of our revolution — every cadre and every Party member must devote utmost efforts

to mastering Marxism-Leninism and to applying it with imagination to Viet Nam's conditions.

Does its mastery means knowing by heart the propositions and principles put forward in its classics? No, for it is "not a dogma but a guide to action". Its mastery means the *grasp of its substance and essence, the wedding of theory to practice, its creative application 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, which will show us the way to bring into full play Marx's and Lenin's tenets in 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 in the elaboration of the Party's program and policies. The fraternal parties' lessons of experience must be learned selectively, and neither modelling nor servile imitation is the right course of action.

The mastery of Marxism-Leninism means a steady grasp of its universal truth coupled with the ability to enrich it with fresh experiences drawn from our and the world revolutionary movement, to increase

its theoretical stock with bold and new propositions and conclusions, and to contribute to its vigorous growth in every aspect. Lenin has said:

"We do not regard Marx's theory as something completed 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."*

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

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

On the other hand, the colonial system of imperialism is rushing toward its fall. The experiences drawn from the national-liberation revolution and the path of development followed by the countries newly freed from the imperialist yoke are a momentous topical question.

Imperialism under the disguise of state-monopoly capitalism and its new policies and tricks to coax, split and suppress mass movements at home and revolutionary movements in colonies, and concurrently to grapple with the socialist camp and the international communist and worker movement, the global strategy of U.S. imperialism and its allies — these

* V. I. Lenin : *Our Program*, Collected Works.

are problems which should be carefully and penetratingly scrutinized to find an effective antidote.

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

Moreover, the scientific and technological revolution now going on in the world has been making possible achievements of tremendous importance for humanity. Discoveries of great consequence in the use of nuclear energy, in cosmic conquest, 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 Marxists-Leninists to bend their energies on 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, as well as on generalizing them into theoretical conclusions, so as to prove that the Marxist-Leninist principles remain sound and to make contributions to the development of Marxism-Leninism with new propositions.

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

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 furnished by the Vietnamese revolution and arrive at theoretical conclusions to enrich Marxism-Leninism as regards, among others, colonialism and neo-colonialism, national people's democratic revolution in a colonial and semi-feudal country, socialist revolution in a backward agricultural country which progresses toward socialism bypassing the stage of capitalist development, people's war and armed insurrection of the masses, dictatorship of people's democracy, 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 difference between imaginative application of Marxism-Leninism to the specific conditions of a given country and the world and the trick of modern revisionism of different complexions to garble Marxism-Leninism, wreck its principles and weaken the revolutionary struggle of the working class and people in the world

This fight must be spearheaded against two targets: on the one hand, against every brand of rightist and "leftist" opportunism, modern revisionism, dogmatism, etc. in the international communist and worker movement, and 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, more particularly of U.S. imperialism in order to fight them in a timely and efficacious manner.

Our battle in the ideological and theoretical fields must be delivered 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 enough, for one reason or another, there have been many shortcomings in our ideological and theoretical work. Unquestionably, a strenuous effort is required to make them good.

As our Party's line and policies are the offspring of the union between the Marxist-Leninist theory and the realities of the Vietnamese revolution, it is necessary

to couple the study of the former's tenets with the study of the Party's line and policies, which measure will bring home to our cadres and Party members their originality and scientific soundness and Viet Nam's realities, and, consequently, strengthen the confidence of the rank and file in the leadership of the Central Committee and President Ho Chi Minh. Experience has taught us that such a step followed up by a period of mixing with the masses effectively helps toward a better grasp by the cadres and Party members of the Party's line and policies and a speedy and steady rise of their theoretical and political standards.

The following immediate tasks are to be fulfilled, as a strong fillip to the study of Marxism-Leninism and an endeavour after its mastery:

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

b) To push up the Party's theoretical work, direct it to burning subjects related to the Vietnamese revolution and the international communist and worker movement. To develop *independent thinking* from the

Marxist-Leninist viewpoint, to guard against the influence of revisionism and dogmatism in theoretical work.

c) To impel forward the summing up of the valuable experiences of the Vietnamese revolution accumulated during nearly forty years by our working class and our people, under the leadership of our Party, 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 of combating all tendencies to dogmatism and empiricism, of enhancing ideological unity within the Party." *

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

Dear Comrades,

In commemorating Karl Marx's 150th birthday, we are glad to realize that Marxism-Leninism is a most effectual 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 concrete conditions of our country to elaborate correct line 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 as we are, let us close our ranks, resolutely safeguard 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 country, and achieve socialist construction in our fatherland, thereby bringing about a peaceful, unified, independent, democratic, prosperous and strong Viet Nam.

Enthusiastic and confident as we are, let us, shoulder to shoulder with the Marxists-Leninists the world over, resolutely fight for the safeguarding of the purity of Marxism-Leninism and 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 has charted!

All for our victory over the American aggressors!

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

Long live peaceful, unified, independent, democratic, prosperous and strong Viet Nam!

Long live invincible Marxism-Leninism!

Long live the Viet Nam Workers' Party!

Long live President Ho Chi Minh!

