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HOC TAP ARTICLE ON 'BALANCE OF FORCES'

Hanoi HOC TAP in Vietnamese January 1964--5

(Unsigned article: "Balance of Forces and the Strategy of Offense")

(Text) The Vietnamese revolution is an integral part of the world revolution. The development of the world situation has a direct influence on the development of the Vietnamese revolution. Therefore, since its establishment and through the various phases of the revolution, our party has always based itself on our country's concrete situation and on the world situation to determine its strategy and tactics and, as a result, has lead the revolution to brilliant successes.

Classical summary

[At present an acute class struggle is being waged in all domains and everywhere between the socialist camp, the international working class, and the oppressed peoples and the imperialists headed by the United States, and the various kinds of reactionaries in order to settle the problem of "who will win over whom" on a worldwide scale. In order to achieve success in this struggle, delegates of communist and workers parties discussed and set forth the common strategies and tactics of the world revolution at the two conferences held in Moscow in 1957 and 1960.] The two Moscow declarations, which were unanimously passed by the two conferences of delegates of communist and workers parties, have become the common platform of the international communist movement. The revolutionary principles set forth in these two declarations have guided and are guiding the actions of Marxist-Leninist parties and the revolutionary forces in the world in their struggle against imperialism, headed by the United States, for the achievement of peace, national independence, democracy, and socialism.

[Because of their differing views on Marxism-Leninism, however, the communist and workers parties have different interpretations of the fundamental points contained in the two Moscow declarations. Therefore, in recent years, there has been disagreement within the international communist movement on a series of problems concerning the common strategies and tactics of the world revolution.]

Conscious of its responsibility to its class and its people and its responsibility to the world revolutionary movement, our party held the ninth session of its Central Committee to discuss a number of important international problems. Basing itself on Marxism-Leninism and holding firm to the revolutionary principles of the two Moscow declarations, the conference discussed and made a profound analysis of the present world situation and set forth our party's international

obligations with a view to consolidating the unity and unanimity within the party, to mobilize the whole party and all the people in order to implement successfully the lines set forth by the Third National Congress, and, at the same time, to contribute to the consolidation and strengthening of the unity and unanimity of the international communist movement and the socialist camp.

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One of the problems which all communists in the world, including Vietnamese communists, are often concerned about is the evaluation of the balance of friendly and enemy forces, and the balance of revolutionary and counterrevolutionary forces on a worldwide scale is a question of great importance to communist and workers parties because only by basing themselves on a correct evaluation of the situation of friend and foe can these parties determine the correct revolutionary strategies and tactics. At present, because the peoples in the northern and southern parts of our country are carrying out two different revolutionary strategies, the correct evaluation of the balance of friendly and enemy forces on a worldwide scale is, to our party, extremely important.

To evaluate the balance of friendly and enemy forces in the world today, we must not base ourselves on subjective desires or on an absolute idea about some certain factor in the forces of each side, but must stand on the viewpoint of Marxism-Leninism to make a thorough analysis of the actual objective situation and, as a result, draw conclusions of the revolutionary and counterrevolutionary forces.

The ninth conference of our party Central Committee acknowledged that, since World War II, the balance of revolutionary and counterrevolutionary forces in the world has continually changed in favor of the peoples of various countries. The historic victory of the patriotic, national, and Socialist Forces, headed by the Soviet Union, in World War II greatly weakened imperialism and a new revolutionary tide appeared in the world. The characteristics of this revolutionary tide have been that it has developed uninterruptedly and has drawn hundreds of millions of people in the world into the broad class struggle, and that they have continually attacked the fortresses of imperialism, headed by U.S. imperialism, from many sides and have continually broken them into pieces with an extremely mighty force.

After the end of the war, a series of people's democratic countries came into existence in Europe and Asia. The successful Chinese revolution has been of extremely important historical significance for the world, following the Russian October Socialist Revolution. The successful Chinese revolution and the success of the revolutions in Korea, Vietnam, Cuba, and Algeria have strongly encouraged oppressed peoples to rise up and wage struggle against imperialism for national independence.

The firmly rising national liberation movement has expanded from Asia to Africa and Latin America, and it has seriously shattered the old colonial system of imperialism. The movement of struggle waged by the workers class and the laboring people in capitalist countries against monopolist capitalism and for democracy and social progress develops on an increasingly larger scale. The broad popular peace movement is dealing strong blows to the aggressive and warlike policy of imperialism.

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The new revolutionary tide has brought about changes which have a historical significance and which have radically altered the face of the world. The greatest change is that, from this new revolutionary tide, the world socialist system was shaped, consolidated, and developed. The great victory scored by the Soviet people in the war to defend their fatherland has stimulated the class struggle of the workers class and the laboring peoples of various countries--particularly the national liberation movement--to develop strongly. Due to this rising revolutionary tide, the socialist revolution has scored successes in a series of countries in Europe and Asia and in Cuba in Latin America.

The socialist camp today comprises 13 countries: Albania, Poland, Bulgaria, Cuba, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary, the Soviet Union, Mongolia, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, the Chinese People's Republic, and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (alphabetically listed in Vietnamese--ed.)--having a population of over 1,000,000,000 occupying one-fourth of the area of the whole world, producing over one-third of the total industrial output of the world, having on hand a powerful defense force, and leading the world in the most important technical branches. This situation has fundamentally changed the balance of revolutionary and counterrevolutionary forces in the world. "The main characteristic of our era is that the world socialist system is becoming the major determining factor in the development of society." (Moscow Declaration, 1960--ROC TAP)

The decisive influence of the socialist camp on the development of society is not economic competition between the socialist system and the capitalist system. The motive force that pushed history to develop is the class struggle and the revolutionary armed struggle of hundreds of millions of people in the world against imperialism, headed by the United States, for peace, national independence, democracy, and socialism and not economic competition between the two systems. The 1960 Moscow Declaration clearly points out that, "the socialist system and the forces struggling against imperialism are deciding the main content, trend, and characteristics of the development of society in the present era in order to reform society along socialist lines."

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This means that the decisive effect of the socialist camp on the development of society rests in the fact that the socialist countries have correct lines aimed at strengthening and developing the forces of the whole camp in all respects and at carrying out the class struggle in all domains--political, economic, and ideological--against the imperialist camp in order to check and frustrate the imperialists' warlike and aggressive schemes and, at the same time, to help actively and to give all-out support to the national liberation movement and the revolutionary struggle movement in capitalist countries, thus stimulating the world revolution to develop and achieve success. The decisive role of the socialist camp on the development of society has also been manifested by the fact that, by the practical realities of socialist construction and by its aid, the socialist camp clearly points out the real path to socialism to peoples who have attained different levels of economic development.

At present the socialist camp has entered a new phase of development. The Soviet Union has entered the period of building the material and technical basis of communism. Some countries have entered the period of socialism at a high level. Other countries in the socialist camp are successfully building the material and technical basis of socialism. The growth of the socialist camp and its role on the development of society is an objective reality consistent with the rule of development of history. During recent years, as a result of the ~~imperialists~~ acts of sabotage, the role of the socialist camp has been partly limited, but the objective role and the great influence of the socialist camp on the development of human society cannot be erased. Many socialist countries have continuously helped the revolutionary movements in various countries under the capitalist system, and the existence and growth of the socialist camp constitutes a factor encouraging the revolutionary struggles of peoples of various countries under the capitalist system to develop and score success.

The second great change (since World War II--ed.) is that the national liberation movement is developing firmly and continually and is bringing about the rapid collapse of the old colonial system of imperialism. The historic victory scored by the Soviet Union in World War II, the success of the Chinese revolution, the coming into existence and ever increasing growth of the socialist camp, and the grave decline of imperialism--all these factors have produced the objective conditions favorable for the development and success of the national liberation movement. With the encouragement and support of the socialist camp and of the international workers movement, hundreds of millions of people in colonial and dependent countries in Asia, Africa, and Latin America have risen up to struggle against imperialism and colonialism and for national liberation. The national liberation movement has continually and strongly developed over the past 18 years, creating a revolutionary windstorm that caused the collapse of many great parts of the old colonial system of imperialism and achieving great victories. More than 50 colonial and dependent countries in Asia, Africa, and Latin America have gained political independence in varying degrees.

Faced with the strong development of the national liberation movement, the imperialists, headed by the United States, resort to every vicious and cunning trick to maintain their position and interests. On the one hand the imperialists exert efforts to maintain the old colonial system in places still under their control while, on the other hand, they carry out wars of aggression in countries where the national liberation movement is high (Vietnam, Algeria, and so forth--HOC TAP) in order to suppress the revolution or to associate themselves with the feudalist, reactionary, and bourgeois forces. They make concessions to the national bourgeois class, declare that they will "restore independence" to these countries and, at the same time, under the label of economic and military "aid" and through their political, economic, and military alliances, the "Alliance for Progress" programs, and so forth, they exert efforts to implement neocolonialism.

They also stage coups d'etat to overthrow those leaders who are determined to oppose imperialism and achieve national independence, and they put their lackeys in power. In nationalist countries, the more the bourgeoisie and capitalism develop, the more clearly their economic and political dependence on imperialism becomes and the heavier the exploitation by imperialism will be. Therefore, the struggle of the peoples in colonial, dependent, and nationalist countries against old and neocolonialism to regain and consolidate their national independence has not yet entered the period of completion, but is still in a difficult and desperate period. The spearhead of this struggle is concentrated more and more on U.S. imperialism, "the main fortress of colonialism at the present time."

In their struggle against imperialism and old and neocolonialism, to regain and consolidate national independence, the laboring people, particularly the workers and peasants, play the decisive role. The laboring people demand not only the liberation of the production force, but also the liberation of the laborer from all oppression and exploitation. Therefore, in nationalist countries in Asia, Africa, and Latin America, the struggle against imperialism and for the consolidation of national independence cannot be separated from the struggle between the two trends of development--capitalist and noncapitalist.

Following World War II the flames of national liberation first flared up in Asia, then they spread to Africa and Latin America, and today the entire regions of Afro-Asia and Latin America have become a revolutionary blaze. The violent attacks of the national liberation movement in these regions have not only caused the disintegration of the rear of imperialism, but they have also shattered the ruling foundation of the monopolist-capitalists in the "motherland," have rendered more acute the internal contradictions of imperialism, and have created more favorable condition for the development of the revolutionary movement in capitalist countries.

This is great support for the building of socialism and communism in the socialist countries and is an important contribution to the defense of world peace.

The third great change is that the world capitalist system, whose fortress is the imperialist camp, is in the process of acute decline and disintegration. Since the end of World War II the world capitalist system has been in a process of continual decline and disintegration. The general crisis of world capitalism has entered its third phase and develops more and more profoundly. The main characteristic of this period of general crisis rests in the fact that it appears in the following conditions:

1--The force of socialism has proved more and more to be more powerful than the force of imperialism; the world socialist system is becoming the factor deciding the development of society.

2--The revolutionary tide within the world capitalist system, particularly the national liberation movement, has violently attacked imperialism and caused the rapid collapse of the old colonial system.

3--The internal contradictions of capitalism have become very acute.

In imperialist and capitalist countries, the pauperization of the workers class and the laboring people and the bankruptcy of the middle class have become more and more serious as a direct consequence of the arms-race policy. Therefore, the contradictions between the monopolist-capitalist class and the workers class and other strata of the people have become more acute than ever. The movement of struggle against the arms-race policy and for the improvement of living conditions and the implementation of democratic rights develops strongly and continually. Under slogans of peace and democracy (in countries where U.S. troops are stationed, the slogan of national independence is added--HOC TAP), the workers class in many countries has succeeded in rallying numerous laboring people, the middle class, and democratic and patriotic forces in a united front which directs the spearhead of its struggle for democracy, social progress, and the defense of world peace against the monopolist-capitalist class.

Faced with the struggle movement of workers and laboring people, the monopolist-capitalist class has been forced to satisfy part of the masses' demands for a better life. At the same time they have resorted to deceitful measures, such as the so-called "people's capitalism," "democratized capitalism," and so forth, with the view of deceiving and cajoling the masses. On the other hand they have done their best to bribe the aristocratic workers and to support and encourage the reformist policies of the social-democrats and revisionists to sow discord in and to sabotage the workers movement.

These wicked measures of the monopolist-capitalists have lowered the revolutionary spirit of a part of the working class, thus causing the latter to fall into trade-unionism and draw away from the objectives of the struggle for socialism.

However, due to warlike, aggressive, and reactionary policies of the monopolist-capitalists, the treacherous face of the social-democrats and revisionists has been unmasked daily by the realities of life.

Thus, the majority of the working class and laboring people have more and more clearly realized that ~~only~~ by engaging in the revolutionary struggle aimed at checking and repelling monopolist capitalism and by advancing the overthrow of capitalist rule can they escape oppression and exploitation and build their own happy life.

The struggle for peace and democracy by the working class and laboring people in capitalist countries is an important movement which has the aim of checking and repelling the warlike and aggressive plan of the imperialists and it is, at the same time, a great support to the socialist camp and the national liberation movement.

Since the end of World War II, imperialist domination has been continually reduced, thus making increasingly serious the general crisis of capitalism. Development in the capitalist world has continually changed the balance of forces among imperialist countries. Thus, contradictions among imperialist countries and the monopolist capitalist cliques in these countries have become increasingly violent.

During the postwar years, relying on their great economic, financial, and military forces and taking advantage of the weakening of other imperialist countries, the U.S. imperialists controlled these countries. Hoping to achieve their dream of dominating the world, the U.S. imperialists did their best to restore the West German and Japanese militarists, hoping to use these forces to wage world war. But the economy of the imperialist countries in Western Europe--especially West Germany and France--and of Japan developed at a greater rate than that of the United States in recent years, thus greatly threatening the economic superiority and controlling role of the U.S. imperialists in the capitalist world. From a state of being controlled by the United States, today West Germany, France, and Japan have become rivals of the United States. A fierce struggle is taking place to capture markets in West Europe, Asia, Africa, and Latin America among the imperialists themselves and between the old and new colonialists.

The imperialists have allied with each other in the political, economic, and military fields to overcome part of the difficulties arising from their increasingly serious general crisis and to prepare for war against the socialist camp and against the national liberation movement. But because of clashes of interests, their blocs of alliance are filled with insurmountable contradictions.

U.S. imperialism, the core of the international reactionary force, is not strong, although it has great economic and military power. The development of the militarized economy of the United States reaches its peak in imperialist countries. But in the United States itself, the rotten state of capitalism manifests itself more obviously than anywhere else. Production capacities are not fully exploited. Unemployment is serious and permanent. The rate of production development is reduced daily. Inflation increases daily. The budget shows a growing deficit. Dollars are devaluated. Reserves in gold and foreign currencies are diminished daily. In the past 18 years the U.S. economy faced, on the average, an overproduction crisis once every four years.

The U.S. imperialists have set up thousands of military bases and positions throughout the world to prepare for war. Their warlike and aggressive policies, however, are resolutely opposed by all peoples of the world. Moreover, since their force is spread too widely, they cannot defend all their bases and positions and can be defeated by the local people. In the last 18 years, the U.S. imperialists and their allies provoked over 10 regional wars and invasions. But the result was that they were and are being defeated. The revolutionary forces in the world have won victory after victory. The U.S. imperialists and their allies have suffered heavy defeats in China, Korea, Vietnam, Cuba, Laos, Algeria, and elsewhere and are being defeated in South Vietnam.

In the past, relying on their monopoly and superiority in the field of nuclear weapons, the U.S. imperialists followed the policies of "real force" and "brinkmanship" and set forth the strategy of "massive retaliation." But due to the fact that the socialist camp is growing quickly and has achieved superiority in the field of nuclear weapons and to the fact that the national liberation movement is developing strongly, this military strategy has gone bankrupt. The U.S. imperialists have had to resort to the "versatile reaction" strategy--that is, the strategy of preparing for world war, provoking regional wars, and pursuing "special war"--in order to struggle against the revolutionary movement. Along with actively preparing for a new world war, the U.S. imperialists recently resorted to a "strategy of peace" to deceive the peoples of the world, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, to achieve the hope that, by establishing economic and cultural relations with socialist countries and relying on revisionists, they would be able to make "peaceful transformations" take place in socialist countries, thus causing these countries to regress ideologically and politically and gradually restore capitalism.

All the efforts of the imperialists, led by the U.S. imperialists, however, cannot help imperialism to escape collapse and disintegration. Because the internal contradictions of imperialism have become increasingly deep and the warlike and aggressive face of the imperialists has been unmasked, the peoples of the world have continuously engaged in revolutionary activities and resolutely struggled for complete liberation.

[ Basing itself on an analysis of the above major events, the ninth party Central Committee conference observed that, since the end of World War II, the world revolutionary force--embracing the socialist camp, oppressed people who are struggling for independence and freedom, and the working class and laboring people in capitalist countries--has become stronger than the force of imperialism, led by U.S. imperialism, and its reactionary lackeys.]

This observation is fully consistent with the conclusion of the 1960 Moscow Declaration: "The main results in the past few years were the strong development of the force and international influence of the world socialist system, the constant collapse of the colonial system under the attacks of the national liberation movement, the development of class struggle in the capitalist world, and the further decline and rottenness of the world capitalist system. On the international scene, the socialist force is becoming increasingly stronger than the imperialist force, and the force of peace is becoming increasingly stronger than the force of war." Under the condition that the balance of forces in the world has changed--the socialist force is becoming increasingly stronger than the imperialist force, and the force of peace is becoming increasingly stronger than the force of war--the correct strategy for the world revolutionary movement is the strategy of political attacks, repelling imperialism and destroying its organs one after the other in order to achieve peace, national independence, democracy, and socialism.

The application by the socialist camp of a strategy of attacking the enemy does not mean that the socialist camp follows an adventurous policy aimed at waging a world war so that it can have the opportunity of exterminating imperialism completely. Also, it does not mean that all the peoples in the capitalist world should rise and engage in armed uprising or revolutionary wars to exterminate imperialism when the conditions for a direct revolution have not appeared and when subjective and objective conditions insuring the success of the revolution have not been fulfilled. The strategy of attacking the enemy politically means that the socialist camp follows a correct policy and line aimed at reinforcing and developing its force in all fields while resolutely struggling to check and thwart all warlike and aggressive schemes of the imperialists and helping the world revolutionary movement to develop and triumph, helping the oppressed people to struggle against imperialism, exterminate old and neocolonialism completely, achieve and consolidate national independence, and develop the country along anticapitalist lines, helping the working class and laboring people in imperialist and capitalist countries to struggle to check and repel monopolist capitalism, achieve democracy and social progress, and create conditions to overthrow capitalism completely and build socialism, and help the world peoples' peace movement to struggle to defeat the warlike and aggressive policy of the imperialists.

Naturally, due to the fact that the revolutionary movement in various countries develops erratically, the balance of revolutionary and counterrevolutionary forces in certain places and at certain times is different. That is why the forms and means of struggle differ from country to country. At a certain moment and in a certain place the revolutionary force attacks the enemy with armed struggle or political struggle in connection with armed struggle. At another particular moment and in a certain place the revolutionary force attacks the enemy with economic and political struggles. At another particular moment and place the revolutionary force is even on the defensive temporarily and must conceal itself, waiting for a good opportunity. Here the counterrevolutionary force is temporarily stronger. But, generally speaking and on a world scale, it is clear that since the end of World War II up to the present, this has been a period of revolutionary development, a period in which the revolutionary forces launched continuous attacks against imperialism.

The development of the world situation since the end of World War II proves that the world revolutionary force has continuously attacked imperialism with fierce and resolute struggles:

The Chinese people overthrew the Chiang Kai-shek reactionary administration, a U.S. lackey, liberated the entire Chinese mainland, completed the people's democratic revolution, and advanced toward socialism. The Chinese and Korean peoples and forces triumphed over the U.S. imperialists and their allies in the aggressive war they waged in Korea. The Vietnamese people, through the success of their resistance war, liberated half of the country completely, reestablished peace in Indochina, and defeated the aggressive policy of the French imperialists and the interventionist scheme of the U.S. imperialists---a scheme aimed at prolonging and enlarging the war. At present, the South Vietnamese people are struggling against the "special war" of the U.S. imperialists to complete the national democratic revolution and advance toward a peaceful reunification of the country. The Laotian people are struggling against the policy of armed intervention of the U.S. imperialists to safeguard national sovereignty, build a peaceful, independent, and neutral Laos, and achieve national concord.

The Cuban people overthrew the dictatorial authorities, lackeys of the U.S. imperialists. Cuba was detached from the colonial system of the U.S. imperialists and became a socialist country, thus opening a new phase in the development of the revolutionary movement in Latin America. The Algerian people engaged in armed struggle against the French imperialists to achieve national independence, thus causing the warlike and aggressive policy of the French imperialists to be defeated once more. Peoples in Venezuela, Panama, and other countries struggled against the U.S. imperialists to achieve national independence and safeguard national sovereignty.

Peoples in colonies, dependent countries, and nationalist countries in Asia, Africa, and Latin America are engaged in an all-out struggle against imperialism and old and neocolonialism to restore and consolidate national independence.

The working class and laboring people in many capitalist countries are struggling against the warlike and aggressive policy of the monopolist-capitalists to achieve peace, democracy, and social progress and create conditions for advancing toward socialist revolution. Only by applying an offensive strategy can the world revolutionary movement make its own force increasingly more powerful and the imperialist force increasingly weaker and, consequently, achieve its objectives for the present phase, which are the protection of world peace and achievement of national independence, democracy, and socialism. If the world revolutionary movement applies a defensive strategy and dares not launch political attacks against imperialism, it shows its inability to take advantage of the new advantageous conditions of the present world situation to achieve success for the revolution.

The ~~correct~~ platform of the international communist movement for the present phase is to ~~must~~ ~~all~~ ~~forces~~ of peace, democratic forces and revolutionary forces the world over in a united front, to direct the spearheads of the attacks on the warlike and aggressive imperialists, led by the U.S. imperialists, and, at the same time, to endeavor to take advantage of the contradictions within imperialist ranks to divide them and isolate the U.S. imperialists--the arch imperialists, the main force of aggression and war, the international policemen, the biggest international exploiters, and the most dangerous enemy of mankind. Only by carrying out this platform can we defeat the warlike and aggressive policy of the imperialists, led by the U.S. imperialists, and protect world peace.

~~All~~ policies and actions aimed at "widespread cooperation" with the U.S. imperialists and ~~all~~ hopes that by means of negotiations and cooperation with the Americans it is possible to prevent war and protect world peace are ~~utopian~~ reflect a ~~lack of~~ ~~revolutionary~~ consciousness, and are not consistent with the Marxist-Leninist standpoint. Under ~~all~~ circumstances communists absolutely must not trust "the sincere desire for peace" of the imperialists. On the contrary, they must clearly realize that only by resolutely struggling against imperialism can they achieve peace.

To apply a defensive strategy and a policy of agreement and widespread cooperation with the imperialists, especially the U.S. imperialists, is, in fact, to abandon the revolution, to encourage the warlike and aggressive schemes of the imperialists, led by the U.S. imperialists, to make the danger of war more serious, and to fail to protect world peace. During the past 30 years--that is, since the founding of our party--the Vietnamese revolution developed continuously and achieved major victories.

This was due to the fact that our party based itself on the balance between revolutionary and counterrevolutionary forces on the international plane, and based itself on the concrete situation of the balance between our force and the enemy force within the country to formulate its strategic line and platform and, at the same time, to organize and lead the people in rising and struggling for their liberation.

Since our country was at that time colonial and semifeudal, our party did not cherish the utopian idea of seizing power by peaceful means. On the contrary, immediately after its founding, our party based itself on the concrete situation of our country and asserted that the only path our people could follow to seize power was armed uprisings and the use of revolutionary violence to oppose counterrevolutionary violence, destroy the state machinery of the imperialists and feudalists, and establish a people's revolutionary administration. To create conditions for seizing power, our party engaged in widespread propaganda and organizational work among the masses, associated public and clandestine activities in order to develop the revolutionary force, and set up a large united national front based on a worker-peasant alliance. During World War II, taking advantage of the fact that the enemy was weakened, our party led the people's local uprisings, built military bases in the rural areas and mountainous regions, and built a revolutionary armed force, one waiting for the opportunity to seize power.

In August 1945 when the Soviet armed forces achieved decisive victories on the eastern front, when Japanese militarism disintegrated and had to surrender unconditionally to the allies, and when the Japanese rulers and their lackeys in Indochina were in utmost confusion and bewilderment, our party led the people in provoking general uprisings to seize power and set up the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. The success of the August revolution was the success of the correct policies and strategy of our party. A short time after the seizure of power by our people, the French colonialists returned and waged an aggressive war with the hope of conquering our country once more. Our party led the people in rising up, taking weapons, and struggling against the French colonialists and aggressors to safeguard national independence.

The protracted resistance of our people occurred at a moment when a new revolutionary tide in the world had appeared. That is why, even though at the beginning our force was weaker than the enemy force, our party clearly pointed out that the situation was developing in a way increasingly favorable to us and unfavorable to the enemy. From being weak, we became strong, while from being strong, the enemy became weak. During the resistance, under the correct leadership of the party, our people developed to the maximum the spirit of self-sufficiency--basing themselves on a weak force to fight a stronger enemy, creating new things out of nothing, and building and reinforcing their force while fighting the enemy--and, at the same time, endeavored to win support and aid from the world revolutionary movement.

That is why our force became stronger than the enemy force in the end and triumphed over the latter. The historic Dien Bien Phu victory gloriously ended the protracted and heroic resistance of our people.

The Geneva accords on Indochina were signed after our people triumphed over the French aggressors and colonialists. The signing of these accords proves that our party correctly estimated the situation of the balance between our force and the enemy force at that time and correctly and flexibly applied its platform in order to consolidate the already achieved victories and, at the same time, to foil the interventionist scheme of the U.S. imperialists, a scheme aimed at prolonging and enlarging the Indochinese war. Since the reestablishment of peace in Vietnam, our people throughout the country have patiently waged a political struggle to achieve national unification by peaceful means on the basis of the Geneva accords. But the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys have brazenly violated the Geneva accords, openly sabotaged the people's work for unifying the fatherland by peaceful means, savagely murdered and terrorized our compatriots in the South, and plotted to turn the southern part of our country into a new-style colony and a military base of the United States.

Since 1961 the U.S. imperialists have waged a "special war" against the South Vietnamese people. The war waged by the U.S. imperialists in the southern part of our country is the greatest war in the world today. Under such a condition our southern compatriots can expect nothing from the "sincere desire for peace" of the U.S. aggressors and cannot wait 15 or 20 years--when the socialist camp triumphs over the imperialist camp in the economic competition--to solve the problem of unifying Vietnam by peaceful means. On the contrary, they must rise up and wage the political struggle in connection with the armed struggle to protect their right to live. The path of struggle followed by our compatriots in the South is the only correct path to follow to liberate themselves.

The South Vietnamese people are struggling against the U.S. imperialists--the arch imperialists, the main force of aggression and war, and the most dangerous enemy of mankind. Their struggle for self-liberation has a protracted and complex character. But due to the fact that the balance of forces in the world has changed--the world revolutionary force is growing continuously and has achieved victory after victory while the imperialist force is weakening continuously--our southern people's struggle for self-liberation, although protracted, will not last forever. Without doubt this struggle will achieve final victory in the near future. The process of the development of the Vietnamese revolution during the last several decades proves that our party has correctly estimated the situation of the balance between our force and the enemy force in the country as well as in the world for each period and, consequently, has correctly and flexibly applied its strategy and platform to advance the revolution continuously, overcome all



difficulties, and achieve victory after victory. Placing absolute confidence in the leadership of the Vietnam Workers Party Central Committee, headed by President Ho, our people throughout the country will struggle hard to implement successfully the line of the Third Party Congress, aimed at constructing socialism in the North and completing the national people's democratic revolution in the South.

#### VNA DENOUNCES U.S. INTERFERENCE IN LAOS

Hanoi VNA International Service in English 0610 GMT 20 February 1964--B

(Text) Hanoi, 20 February--According to foreign reports, on 16 February, Thailand's Premier Thanom Kittikhachon declared that the Laotian question would be brought under discussion at the conference of representatives of the aggressive SEATO military bloc. According to the same sources, Gen. Phoumi Nosavan, during his visit to Bangkok from 15 February, met the representatives of Thailand at the conference of representatives of the aggressive SEATO military bloc to discuss the Laotian situation. On 17 February the meeting of intelligence officers of the aggressive SEATO military bloc also discussed the Laotian question. In this connection, VNA is authorized to declare:

As everybody knows, since November 1963, carrying out their military scheme for the dry season, the troops of the Savannakhet Party, supplied and commanded by the United States, have carried out successive operations encroaching upon the areas under the control of the NLHX and other patriotic forces in Laos, especially in the Plaine des Jarres-Xieng Khouang and Khamkeut-Nakay-Nhoumarat areas in central Laos.

On the other hand, the U.S. and the pro-U.S. forces in Laos accused the NLHX of provoking the present armed conflicts and charged that the DRV still has its troops in Laos. At the same time, they have been seeking by all means to sabotage the talks between the NLHX and Prince Souvanna Phouma's party aimed at neutralizing Luang Prabang, temporarily stabilizing the Laotian situation, and advancing toward restoring the normal activities of the tripartite National Coalition Government.

The fact that the meetings of the aggressive SEATO military bloc discussed the Laotian situation at the present juncture clearly fits in with the activities of the U.S. and the pro-U.S. forces in Laos, and is part of the overall U.S. scheme to draw the SEATO member-countries to increase intervention in Laos, making the Laotian situation still more serious, and threatening peace and security in Indochina and southeast Asia.