THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE'S 9TH PLENUM
RESOLUTION DISCUSSING THE
INTERNATIONAL SITUATION
DECEMBER 1963

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MUCH OF THIS IS ATTACK ON "KOSYGIN" + "MODERN REVISION" + "MORAVIAN REVISION"

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The document was seized by U.S. forces in Khanh Hoa Province, South Vietnam, on 21 April 1967.
RESOLUTION

of the Plenary Conference

CENTRAL COMMITTEE

of the Viet Nam Lao Dong Workers' Party

December 1963
World Situation and Our Party's International Duties

Resolution of the 9th Plenum of the Viet Nam Lao Dong
Party Central Committee (December 1963)

The 9th Plenum of the Viet Nam Lao Dong Party Central Committee fully agrees with the Political Bureau's report on the world situation and our Party's international duties.

Basing itself on the resolution of the Third National Congress of the Party, faithful to the revolutionary principles of the 1957 and 1960 Moscow statements, spurred by the desire to contribute to strengthening solidarity and unanimity in the socialist camp and the international Communist movement in order to defeat imperialism and its lackeys and to achieve great success for the revolutionary work of the Vietnamese and world's peoples, the Central Committee conference unanimously makes the following observations concerning the world situation and the following resolution concerning our Party's international duties:

I. Assessment of the International Situation and the Common Strategic Duties.

The historic success of the socialist, democratic, and patriotic forces, headed by the Soviet Union during World War II, has greatly weakened world imperialism and opened the way for a new revolutionary high tide.

After the end of the war, a number of socialist countries came into existence in Europe and Asia. A world socialist system was set up and has constantly matured. After the success of the Russian October Revolution, the success of the Chinese Revolution has been of very great significance to the world. It has completely tilted the balance of forces in favor of peace, national independence, democracy, and socialism.
Along with the success of the Chinese, Korean, and Cuban revolutions, and the Algerian resistance, the success of the August Revolution and the Vietnamese resistance has pierced the colonial system of the imperialists at its weakest points and strongly stimulated the oppressed people, urging them to rise up and struggle to destroy the fetters of colonialism. The national liberation movement has developed strongly in Asia, Africa, and Latin America and won great victories. The colonial system of the imperialists is disintegrating. Scores of nationalist countries have appeared throughout the world.

In capitalist countries, the struggle movement of the working class and laboring people against monopolistic capitalism for achieving democracy and socialism is developing strongly day by day.

Throughout the world, the movement for protecting peace -- having an unprecedentedly large mass character -- is concentrating the spearheads of its attacks on the U.S. imperialists and other aggressive and bellicose cliques.

The two great currents of the present world revolution are the movement to struggle for socialism and the national liberation movement.

It is obvious that since the end of World War II, a new revolutionary high tide has appeared, developed continuously, urged hundreds of millions of people the world over to rise up and struggle, and has constantly attacked the bastion of imperialism headed by U.S. imperialism, from many directions, and successively demolished this bastion chunk by chunk with a very great power. The balance between the revolutionary and counter-revolutionary forces has differed from area to area, and from moment to moment. The revolutionary movement of the people in different countries has not developed regularly. However, generally speaking, it is obvious that the period following the World War II has been a period during which the revolutionary forces have continuously attacked imperialism. The new revolutionary high tide has brought about great changes having a historic meaning, modifying completely the world's face.

1. The greatest change in the world after World War II has been that the international socialist system has taken shape, been consolidated, and developed in a new revolutionary high tide.

The success of the socialist revolution in a number of European and Asian countries and in Cuba has been closely connected with the historic victory of the Soviet Union in its great patriotic war against
fascism, with the success of the national liberation movement and the development of the struggle of the working class and laboring people in capitalist countries.

Now the socialist camp is composed of 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 People's Republic of China, and the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam; it embraces over one billion people, comprises one fourth of the world's surface, produces over one third of the total *industrial production of the world*, controls a powerful military force, and is leading the world in a number of the most important scientific and technical branches. This situation has basically changed the balance between the revolutionary and counter-revolutionary forces in the world. The socialist system is the bastion of world revolution and, at the same time, the bastion of world peace.

"The main characteristic of our era is that the international socialist system is becoming the decisive factor in the development of mankind's society."

Through developing the superiority of the socialist system over the capitalist system and, especially, through actively supporting the national liberation movement and the revolutionary struggle movement in capitalist countries, the socialist camp has achieved the effect of stepping up the development and success of the international revolutionary movement.

It is for this reason that world imperialism, headed by U.S. imperialism, has resorted to all means to undermine and destroy the socialist system. The class struggle between the socialist and imperialist camps in the political, economic, and ideological domains not only has not subsided, but has become more fierce.

\[1/\] From the 1960 Moscow statement
The survival and development of the socialist camp prove that not only the capitalist countries which have a developed economy, but also the backward agricultural countries which were colonies, the semi-feudal and semi-colonialist countries such as China, Korea, and Viet Nam are fully able to advance to socialism and that the path of non-capitalist development is the only path to follow in order to overcome poverty and backwardness and quickly improve the people's living conditions.

Now, the socialist camp has entered a new phase of development. The Soviet Union has completed socialist construction and is building the material and technical bases of Communism. The other countries in the socialist camp have achieved great results in socialist construction.

During the last few years, the divisive and sabotage acts of the modern revisionists partially restricted -- but did not eliminate -- the objective effects and great influence of the socialist system over the development of mankind's society. Because generally speaking, socialist countries have constantly helped the international revolutionary movement in all fields and the very survival and development of the socialist system have exerted a strong stimulating effect on the revolutionary struggle movement of the people in capitalist countries.

2. The second great change is the quick collapse of the colonial system of the imperialists under the vigorous attacks of the national liberation movement.

This is "the second important event, having a historic meaning, after the formation of the international socialist system."  

The great success of the Soviet Union in its patriotic war against the fascist aggressors, the great success of the Chinese revolution, the success of the revolutions in Viet Nam, Korea, Cuba, and other countries, the formation and growth of the socialist camp, the struggle for democracy and peace of the working class and laboring people in capitalist countries, the serious weakening of imperialism, all these factors have created objective conditions, advantageous to the strong development of the national liberation movement.

\[1/\text{From the 1960 Moscow statement}\]
However, the internal factors in colonies and dependent countries still are the direct decisive factors. The heavy oppression and exploitation of the imperialists in Asian, African, and Latin American countries, in addition to the oppression and exploitation of the medieval feudal influences and the newly born capitalism in these countries, have caused the majority of people -- especially workers and peasants -- to rise up and carry out the revolution for self-liberation. This revolutionary state has developed and is developing in various countries in these areas. The national liberation movement, embracing billions of oppressed people, is rising up, creating a revolutionary storm which is causing the collapse of the colonial system of the imperialists in large chunks. During the past 18 years, over 50 countries in these areas have achieved independence of different degrees.

The continual successes of the national liberation movement have further deepened the internal contradictions of world capitalism, created new favorable conditions for the development of the revolutionary movement in capitalist countries and spurned socialist and Communist construction in socialist countries, and at the same time, made important contributions to the protection of world peace.

Faced with this situation, the imperialists, led by the U.S. imperialists, have resorted to all means to check and undermine the national liberation movement. They have endeavored to maintain the old colonial system. But faced with the revolutionary high tide in colonies and dependent countries, they have been forced to apply a more cunning policy -- recognizing the political independence of a number of their colonies, making some concessions to the bourgeoisie in these countries -- in order to maintain their economic interests and political influences and prevent the national liberation movement from advancing toward socialism. A number of nationalist countries were born, and in some of these nationalist countries, the bourgeoisie has grown up. The more developed capitalism is in these countries, the more evident their economic and political dependence upon imperialism will be. The U.S. imperialists, taking advantage of the retreat of old colonialism, have developed their neo-colonialism. The old imperialists such as the British and French have also applied neo-colonialism in a number of their former colonies. That is why, the struggle for restoring and consolidating national independence of the people in colonies and nationalist countries has not been completed, but continued to develop strongly. The spearheads of this struggle are being increasingly concentrated on U.S. imperialism, "the main bastion of present colonialism." 1/

1/ From the 1960 Moscow statement
In the struggle against imperialism and old and new colonialism for restoring and consolidating national independence, the laboring people -- especially workers and peasants -- have played a decisive role. They wished not only to destroy the imperialist and feudal fetters, but also to escape from capitalist exploitation. The success of the national democratic revolution in each colony, dependent country, or nationalist country has depended mainly on the revolutionary leadership of its Marxist-Leninist party and, at the same time, partially on the support and aid of the socialist camp and the international revolutionary movement.

3. The third great change is the fact that the international capitalist system -- its citadel is the imperialist camp, headed by the U.S. imperialists -- is weakening and facing severe crises.

After World War II, international capitalism weakened and has been unable to overcome the increasingly deep contradictions during its third phase of general crisis. The application of a number of new scientific and technical achievements to production, the quick progress of monopolist capitalism to state-own monopolist capitalism, the creation of international organizations of monopolist capitalism, the preparations for a new world war, the militarization of national economies, the armaments race along with tax increases, inflation, the attacks by the monopolist capitalists against democratic freedoms in imperialist countries, and so forth, have deepened the contradictions between the socialist character of production and the capitalist ownership system. In imperialist countries, the cycle of economic crises has become short and irregular.

Under the rule of state-owned monopoly capitalism, the pauperization of the working class and laboring people and the bankruptcy of the intermediary strata have become increasingly grave. The contradictions between the working class and laboring people and the monopolist capitalist minority have become increasingly fierce. The struggle movement against the aggressive and war-seeking policy for ending the armaments race, for improving the living conditions, for achieving and enlarging democratic freedoms has developed strongly and continuously, widely and deeply. Here are the characteristics of this movement: the size of strikes has increased daily; the political character of this movement has become increasingly evident; the role and influence of the Communist parties in many countries have increased daily. With the slogans of peace and democracy -- and national independence in U.S.-controlled capitalist countries -- the working class in a number of countries has been able to unite the majority of laboring people, the middle strata, and the democratic,
patriotic, and peace-loving forces into a united front and concentrate the spearheads of the attacks on the monopolist capitalists in order to defend world peace, achieve democracy and social progress, and make the necessary preparations for the socialist revolution.

Faced with the struggle movement of workers and laboring people, on the one hand, the monopolist capitalists have tried to repress and terrorize it and intensified the application of fascist measures. On the other hand, they have applied a demagogic policy: satisfying a number of the masses' demands concerning their livelihood, intensifying the bribery of aristocratic workers, using the "people's capitalism" label to lull the laboring masses to sleep, stimulating the reformist line of the modern revisionists, and using the latter to sow discord inside the Communist and workers movement. This wicked trick of the monopolist capitalists actually has caused a number of workers to fall into trade unionism and legalism and go astray from the goal of struggling for socialism. But day by day, their reactionary and aggressive policy has caused the majority of workers and laboring people to clearly realize that only through revolutionary struggle aimed at containing and driving back the monopolist capitalists and advancing toward overthrowing the capitalist rule can they escape from oppression and exploitation and basically improve their living conditions.

The struggle for peace and democracy of the working class and laboring people in the capitalist countries has exerted the effect of checking the imperialists in the fulfillment of their war-seeking and aggressive plans. This struggle has been a great support for the socialist camp and the national liberation movement.

Since the end of World War II, the scope of the imperialist rule has been constantly narrowed. Under the capitalist private ownership system, the law governing the irregular development of capitalism has constantly changed the balance of forces of imperialist countries. Thus, contradictions among the imperialists, among the monopolist capitalist cliques have become increasingly fierce.

After World War II, the center of world reaction moved from West Europe to the United States. U. S. imperialism has become "the main bastion of the international reactionary force, the international gendarme, the enemy of the world's peoples."  

1/ From the 1960 Moscow statement
During the post-war years, relying on their large economic and military forces and taking advantage of the weakening of the other imperialist countries, the U.S. imperialists have controlled these countries, with the aim of dominating the capitalist world. But, during the past few years, the economy of West Germany, France, and Japan has developed at a speed higher than that of the United States. Thus, the economic superiority and position of the U.S. imperialists in the capitalist world is being shaken. A fierce struggle for markets is developing among the imperialists, among the old and new colonialists.

The imperialists have entered into political, economic and military alliances to oppose the socialist camp, the national liberation movement, and the revolutionary movement in their countries and to prepare for world war. They have set up NATO, SEATO, CENTO, and other military blocs. But, the opposition of interests has created many deep contradictions inside these alliances.

Although having large economic and military forces, the U.S. imperialists cannot avoid being increasingly weakened. The development of the U.S. militarized economy has reached the highest point. But, in the United States, it is obvious that production capacity has not been fully used. Serious unemployment is permanent. The speed of production development has been slowed down day by day.

The U.S. imperialists have set up thousands of military bases and positions throughout the world. However, since their forces are too widely dispersed, they cannot defend all these bases and positions and thus, the people in many countries have the possibility of defeating the U.S. imperialists locally. During the past 18 years, the U.S. imperialists and their cliques have initiated a score of aggressive wars. But, as a result, they have been and are being defeated. The international revolutionary forces have scored success after success. The U.S. imperialists and their cliques have sustained heavy defeats in China, Korea, Viet Nam, Laos and Cuba and are being defeated in South Viet Nam and other areas.

In the past, relying on their monopoly and superiority in nuclear weapons, the U.S. imperialists applied the "brink of war" policy and set forth the "massive retaliation" strategy. But, because of the quick development of the socialist camp, the Soviet superiority in nuclear weapons, and the strong development of the national liberation movement,
this military strategy has gone bankrupt. The U.S. imperialists have been forced to apply the "flexible response" strategy, in preparing for a new world war -- including a new world war to be waged with nuclear weapons -- and the waging of local wars and "special wars."

Recently, along with actively preparing for a new world war and undertaking the "special war," the U.S. imperialists have resorted to the "peace strategy," with the aim of deceiving the people in various countries. They have relied on modern revisionism to achieve "peaceful evolution," hoping to cause a number of socialist countries to degenerate ideologically and politically and gradually restore capitalism.

But, all the above-mentioned plots and actions of the imperialists surely cannot save them from disintegration and extermination.

The great changes which have occurred since the end of World War II demonstrate that the international revolutionary force -- embracing the socialist camp, the people who are struggling for independence and freedom, the working class and laboring people in the capitalist countries -- is stronger than that of the imperialists, led by the U.S. imperialists.

The development of the world situation is increasingly favorable to the revolutionary struggle of the world's peoples, but unfavorable to the imperialists. The world's peoples possess more and more favorable conditions for stepping up their anti-imperialist struggle and achieving success for peace, national independence, democracy, and socialism.

The development of the world situation demonstrates the correctness of the following definition from the 1960 Moscow Conference of delegates of Communist and workers parties concerning the nature of our era:

"Our era--the main content of which is transition from capitalism to socialism, and which began with the great October Socialist Revolution--is the era of struggle between two opposing social systems, the era of socialist revolution and national liberation revolution, the era during which imperialism collapses and the colonial system is destroyed, the era during which more and more people advance toward socialism, the era of success..."
of socialism and Communism on a world scale." 1/

"The striking characteristic of our era is that the international socialist system is becoming the decisive factor in the development of mankind's society."

The conference unanimously remarked:

"The international socialist system and the forces struggling against imperialism for socialist transformation of society are deciding the main content, the main trend, and the main characteristics of the historic development of mankind's society in the present phase." 2/

"We are living in an era during which there are profound social upheavals and revolutionary changes, an era during which contradictions in mankind's society are becoming increasingly fierce and demand that they be settled along the objective rules of historical development. Under the leadership of Marxist-Leninist parties, the international working class is fulfilling its historic mission of leading the laboring and oppressed people in carrying out the revolution in order to settle these contradictions and help our era attain its final objective of achieving "socialism and Communism on a world scale."

In the present human society, there are the following basic contradictions:

1) Contradictions between the socialist camp and the imperialist camp,

2) Contradictions between the working class and the bourgeoisie in capitalist countries,

3) Contradictions between the oppressed people and the imperialists and colonialists,

4) Contradictions between imperialists and imperialists, between one monopolist capitalist clique and another monopolist capitalist clique in imperialist countries.

1/ From the 1960 Moscow statement
2/ From the 1960 Moscow statement
The above four contradictions are the basic contradictions in human society because they reflect the true nature of the era and are prevalent during the entire era in changing from capitalism to socialism throughout the world. The first group of basic contradictions belong to the contradictions between two opposing international systems. The other basic contradictions belong to the internal contradictions of the international capitalist system.

These basic contradictions are interrelated and interdependent. They can be settled completely only through class struggle, revolutionary struggle and not through peaceful means or peaceful negotiations.

Among the above-mentioned basic contradictions, contradictions between the socialist camp and the imperialist camp are the most basic ones. They reflect, in a concentrated manner, the contradictions between the working class and the bourgeoisie the world over. They reflect the basic content of our era which is the era of transition from capitalism to socialism on a world scale and which began with the socialist October Revolution. They exist throughout the world, but at different degrees in different countries. They influence the development of the other basic contradictions and the way of settling these contradictions.

However, the settlement of the most basic contradictions cannot replace the settlement of other basic contradictions. On the contrary, it depends largely on the settlement of other basic contradictions. Under the condition of peaceful coexistence between countries having different political and social systems, the thorough settlement of the contradictions between the socialist camp and the imperialist camp, in fact, must pass through the revolutions of the working class and laboring people in imperialist countries and the national liberation movement in colonial and semicolonial countries, dependent countries, and nationalist countries. However, it is necessary to clearly realize that the patient class struggle between the two camps in the political, economic, and ideological domains creates favorable conditions for the revolutionary movement in capitalist countries to develop and achieve success.

The complex influences of the above-mentioned basic contradictions prominently highlight the world-wide conflict between two opposing forces: on one side is the socialist camp, the working class, the laboring people, the oppressed people, and the forces of peace and democracy which are fiercely struggling against the other side -- which is composed of the
aggressive and bellicose imperialists, headed by the U.S. imperialists and their reactionary lackeys -- to defend world peace, achieve national independence, democracy, and socialism. The contradictions between these two forces are the main contradictions of the present phase of the development of human society.

The basic contradictions of an era decide the nature of the era during the entire process of its development. Meanwhile, the main contradictions decide the characteristics of each phase of the process. The determination of the basic contradictions of human society helps us clearly realize the strategic tasks of the working class and laboring people the world over during the entire transitional period. The determination of the main contradictions of human society during the present development phase helps us correctly set forth the immediate strategic and tactical tasks of the working class and laboring people the world over, spot the enemy, and concentrate all our forces to struggle and overthrow this enemy.

The areas in the world where these contradictions are concentrated are Asia, Africa, and Latin America. The people in these countries are struggling fiercely against imperialism and colonialism to restore and consolidate national independence. This national struggle is being closely associated with the class struggle of the working class against the bourgeoisie, especially against the bourgeois compradors, to defend its own daily interests and that of the peasantry against the feudal landowners in demanding reductions in land rent, loan interests, and so forth, or in demanding that the slogan "land to the tillers" be carried out. In these areas too, the imperialists and old and new colonialists are fiercely trying to expel each other and are disputing each other's interests. As for the socialist countries, they are supporting and helping the national liberation movement with the aim of contributing to the destruction of the colonial system of the imperialists. The influence of the socialist camp is driving back the imperialist camp.

The weakest links in the entire international imperialist chain are also located in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. Because in these areas, the oppressed people refuse to live under the colonial yoke of the imperialists. They are rising up and struggling resolutely to smash the enslaving fetters of the colonialists. As for the imperialists, they can no longer rule as they did in the past. The national liberation movement resembles a current attempting to break the dike. The colonial dike has been broken in many spots by the revolutionary national liberation wave.
The balance of world forces has changed and is changing in a way favorable to peace, national independence, democracy, and socialism. That is why the revolutionary forces of the working class and the people the world over can apply the offensive strategy to defeat the plots and tricks of the aggressive and bellicose imperialists and advance from overthrowing imperialism partially to overthrowing it completely. This is the political offensive strategy common to the world revolution. As for tactics and concrete fighting methods, one must rely on the situation and conditions of each country and at each moment to choose the suitable ones.

The two greatest offensive fronts of world revolution at present are the struggle for peace and the struggle for national independence. In the struggle for protecting peace, the world revolution has succeeded in mustering the largest force and isolating to a high degree the aggressive and warlike imperialists, headed by the U.S. imperialists. In the struggle for national independence, the world revolution is attacking the weakest links of the imperialists and colonialists, causing their rear to disintegrate quickly. Thus, their force will be decimated and dispersed and will collapse. The successful attacks of the revolutionary forces throughout the world against these two fronts will surely create favorable conditions for the building, consolidation, and development of the socialist camp and for the revolution in imperialist countries.

Basing ourselves on the above analysis and on the 1957 and 1960 Moscow statements, we make the following remark concerning the goals, tasks, and strategic line of the international Communist movement:

The ultimate goal of the international Communist movement is to carry out the revolution to overthrow the entire imperialist system, erase out oppression and exploitation from human society, and achieve socialism and Communism on a world scale.

To achieve this goal, it is necessary to strengthen solidarity and unanimity in the socialist camp and the international Communist movement and solidarity between the working class, laboring people, the oppressed people, and the other forces of peace and democracy throughout the world; to successfully build socialism and Communism in the socialist system, carry out revolution in the capitalist system, and protect world peace; to closely combine the revolutionary struggle with the struggle for protecting peace and concentrate the spearheads of attacks on the
aggressive and warlike imperialists, headed by the U.S. imperialists; to drive back imperialism step by step and overthrow it chunk by chunk; to achieve success for peace, national independence, democracy, and socialism; and to advance toward completely wiping out imperialism and other reactionary forces and achieving a socialist and Communist world.

The 1960 Moscow statement clearly pointed out:

"...Life urgently requires that the socialist countries, the international working class, the nationalist movement struggling against imperialism, all peace-loving countries, and all combatants for peace unite their efforts increasingly closely and act resolutely in order to prevent war and insure a peaceful life for mankind. Life urgently requires that all revolutionary forces unite more closely to struggle against imperialism, achieve national independence, and achieve socialism."

Especially, at present, the international Communist movement has the following major tasks:

1. To thoroughly complete the socialist revolution and successfully construct socialism and Communism in the socialist system; to consolidate, strengthen, and develop this system.

2. To carry on the national liberation revolution, completely wipe out old and new colonialism, and complete the destruction of the colonialist system of the imperialists.

3. To resolutely struggle against the monopoly capitalists, achieve democracy and peace, and advance toward carrying out the people's democratic revolution and socialist revolution in the capitalist countries.

4. To resolutely struggle against the bellicose and aggressive imperialists, headed by the U.S. imperialists; to protect world peace, prevent a new world war, and achieve peaceful coexistence among countries having different political and social systems.

5. To strengthen solidarity and unanimity in the socialist camp and the international Communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.
The above-mentioned major tasks are closely interrelated and interdependent. Only through thoroughly completing the socialist revolution and successfully constructing socialism and Communism is it possible to strengthen and develop the socialist system over the capitalist system, develop the effects of the aid of the socialist camp to the revolutionary movements in various countries, and increase the possibility of preventing war and protecting world peace.

Only through carrying out the national liberation revolution, the people's democratic revolution, and the socialist revolution in the capitalist system is it possible to wipe out imperialism, old colonialism, and neocolonialism; achieve national independence, democracy, and socialism; protect world peace; and create favorable conditions for socialist countries to successfully construct socialism and Communism.

Only through mobilizing the masses in various countries to resolutely struggle against the war-seeking policy of the imperialists, against the armaments race, in demanding that nuclear weapons be completely banned and thoroughly destroyed, in demanding that general military disarmament be achieved gradually, in demanding that aggressive military blocs be disbanded and that military bases of the imperialists on foreign territory be dismantled, and in forcing the imperialists to implement the peaceful coexistence policy is it possible to protect world peace, prevent a new world war, and create conditions for the world revolution to develop successfully and for socialist and Communist construction in the socialist system to succeed.

To successfully fulfill the construction tasks in the socialist system, carry out the revolution in the capitalist system, and protect world peace, it is necessary to strengthen solidarity and unanimity in the socialist camp and in the international Communist and workers movement.

II. Our Party's Views Concerning the Major Problems of the International Communist Movement

At present, the working class and people the world over are struggling against the imperialists, headed by the U.S. imperialists, to achieve peace, national independence, democracy and socialism. We must base ourselves on the Marxist-Leninist views to correctly understand and solve the following problems:
The problem of war and peace and peaceful coexistence.

The problem of stepping up the national liberation task and continuing to erase the colonial system of the imperialists.

The problem of transition of socialism and proletarian dictatorship.

The problem of thoroughly completing the socialist revolution and the construction of socialism and Communism in the socialist system.

1. Now, everyone is interested in the problem of war and peace, a burning problem which is related to the future of mankind. The war-like imperialists, headed by the U.S. imperialists, are frantically engaging in an armaments race; setting up aggressive blocs (such as the SEATO and CENTO blocs) building a network of military bases on foreign territories, restoring militarism in West Germany and Japan, and actively preparing for a new world war in order to eliminate the socialist system, strengthen oppression over other peoples, and redistribute the world market. People in various countries are facing the danger of a new world war. Peace is the earnest aspiration of billions of people. The urgent duty of the Communist and workers parties is to struggle to prevent a new world war and resolutely protect world peace.

Now, the great forces of the socialist camp in the political, economic, and military fields -- including its superiority in nuclear weapons -- are capable of insuring security for the entire camp and dealing deadly blows at the war-seeking imperialists. If they dare attack the socialist camp, world imperialism will be wiped out. Struggling along with the socialist camp for protecting peace are billions of people in colonies, dependent countries, and nationalist countries in Asia, Africa, and Latin America, the working class and laboring people in capitalist countries, and the other forces of peace and democracy the world over. Now, the forces of peace are stronger than the forces of war. This situation has created the realistic possibility of preventing a new world war.

The 1960 Moscow statement pointed out:

"The time has now come for checking the aggressive imperialists' plot of waging world war. Through the combined efforts of the international
socialist camp, the international working class, the national liberation movement, of all countries which are struggling against war, and of all peace-loving forces, it is possible to prevent a world war."

The problem which is posed is how to apply the policies and line in order to efficiently protect world peace.

The revisionists are of the opinion that because of the appearance of nuclear weapons, because of the socialist camp's superiority in nuclear weapons, the nature of imperialism has or may be changed. Therefore, world peace can be protected only through all-out cooperation, mutual confidence, and economic competition between the socialist and capitalist countries, especially between the big powers having the most powerful nuclear weapons. The modern revisionists dare not unmask the true nature of imperialism: but they have praised the so-called "goodwill for peace" of the leaders of imperialist countries. They dare not mobilize the forces of peace to struggle against the imperialists. On the contrary, they have done their best to collaborate with them. They dare not encourage and support revolutionary wars aimed at weakening the imperialists. On the contrary, they have tried to hinder the world revolutionary movement.

Naturally, the above-mentioned "peace protection" line of the revisionists has blunted the combativeness and vigilance of the people in anti-imperialist countries and has created favorable conditions for the imperialists to intensify their preparations for war, thus increasing the danger of a world war.

We are of the opinion that to protect peace, first of all, it is necessary to unmask the aggressive and warlike face of imperialism, headed by U.S. imperialism, strengthen and consolidate the socialist system -- the bastion of world peace -- organize and mobilize the world people's forces of peace in order to resolutely struggle against imperialism, concentrate the spearheads of attacks on U.S. imperialism -- "the main force of aggression and war" -- defeat its war preparation policy, dis-integrate its rear, and decimate its forces, thus causing it to become increasingly weak and unable to launch a world war.
Now, the struggle for world peace embraces many aspects: to mobilize and muster the forces of the world’s peoples for peace, for the struggle against the aggressive and war-seeking policy of the imperialists, against the armaments race for disarmament, for holding peace negotiations to settle international disputes, for achieving peaceful coexistence between countries having different social and political systems, and so forth; to strengthen and consolidate the socialist system -- the bastion of world peace -- to carry out the revolution to overthrow the imperialists and their lackeys in the countries where the necessary conditions are fulfilled.

The substance of the struggle for world peace is, on the one hand, to make the forces of peace and the anti-imperialist revolutionary forces increasingly more powerful and, on the other hand, to make the imperialists’ forces and the forces of war increasingly weaker. Thus, along with mobilizing and mustering the forces of peace and strengthening the socialist system in the political, economic, and military fields, it is necessary to pay special attention to stepping up the national liberation movement and the revolutionary struggle movement of the working class and laboring people in capitalist countries against the aggressive and warlike imperialists. All anti-imperialist revolutions -- no matter under what forms they are undertaken -- exert great effects upon the protection of world peace. Revolutionary struggle is not contradictory to the struggle for protecting peace. Separating these two struggles, laying emphasis only on the problems of the peace race, general disarmament, and so forth, creates illusions among the people and increases the danger of a war.

In our present era, despite the appearance of nuclear weapons, war is still "the continuation of politics by other means," and the nature of war has remained unchanged. There are still two categories of wars: just and unjust wars. While opposing unjust wars, Communists have the duty of supporting the just wars. Opposing war in general without distinction between just and unjust wars is, in fact, opposing revolutionary wars too.

The present struggle for protecting world peace has the effect of preventing a new world war. But this does not mean that the danger of war has been eliminated. As long as there is imperialism, there exists a seed bed for aggressive war. To erase aggressive war, it is necessary for the revolution to destroy imperialism. Only when socialism triumphs throughout the world will the social and national causes of all wars be eradicated.
General disarmament is a practical slogan aimed at mobilizing the world's peoples to struggle against the armaments race policy of the imperialists, preventing aggressive war, and protecting world peace. Under present conditions, the socialist forces are stronger than the imperialist forces; the forces of peace are stronger than the forces of war. Thus, there is the possibility of forcing the imperialists to achieve disarmament.

The 1960 Moscow statement said clearly:

"Thanks to the active and resolute struggle of socialist countries and peace-loving countries, the international working class and the laboring masses in various countries, it is possible to isolate the aggressive cliques, crush their plans about armament race and war preparations, and force the imperialists to sign a disarmament accord."

However, as long as the imperialists refuse to achieve disarmament, the socialist countries should continue to strengthen their defense forces -- even their superiority in nuclear weapons -- in order to be fully able to defend themselves and be ready to deal decisive blows at the imperialists when the latter dares attack the socialist camp.

Modern revisionists are of the opinion that weapons -- including nuclear weapons -- are the origin of war in this present era. That is why they regard the disarmament problem as a most basic problem in the struggle for protecting world peace. The erroneous opinion has prevented the world's peoples from clearly realizing the aggressive and warlike nature of the imperialists, and consequently prevented them from realizing the necessity of carrying out the revolution to overthrow imperialism.

The struggle for disarmament and for the banning of nuclear weapons is necessary to contribute to preventing a world war. However, only through carrying out the revolution to overthrow imperialism is it possible to achieve general disarmament, cause socialism to triumph throughout the world, and eradicate all causes of war.

Peaceful coexistence is coexistence between countries having different political and social systems and coexistence between the oppressed and the imperialist colonialists or between the exploited...
The revisionists regard peaceful coexistence as a general strategic principle of the international Communist movement. They want the socialist countries, the working class, the laboring peoples, and the oppressed to obey this general principle. Thus, in practice, they have extended peaceful coexistence beyond the limits of the countries having different political and social systems.

Peaceful coexistence between countries having different systems is an objective necessity in the present era. In socialist countries, there are no classes and strata whose interests are closely connected with war, which regard war as a profitable means. That is why the socialist countries advocate the necessity of carrying out the five principles of peaceful coexistence.

Peaceful coexistence between countries having different political and social systems is a form of class struggle in all fields — political, economic, and ideological — in which political struggle plays the main role.

The imperialists have never given up their plot of annihilating the socialist countries and have never been willing to peacefully coexist with the countries of our camp. To achieve peaceful coexistence, socialist countries must absolutely struggle against the aggressive and war-seeking policy of the imperialists, headed by the U.S. imperialists. The struggle for peaceful coexistence must be carried out, on the one hand, by the socialist camp through the timely unmasking of all the aggressive and war-seeking plots of the imperialists and their lackeys, through demanding that international disputes be settled through negotiations, and through actively helping the national liberation movement and the revolutionary movement in capitalist countries, and, on the other hand, by the people in the capitalist countries through stepping up the struggle for peace and the revolutionary struggle aimed at constantly weakening imperialism, causing it to encounter many difficulties and obstacles, and consequently forcing it to peacefully coexist with the socialist countries. Thus, peaceful coexistence and revolutionary struggle are not contradictory, but are interdependent.

The 1960 Moscow statement said:

"Under conditions of peaceful coexistence, there is the possibility of widening the class struggle in the capitalist countries and the national liberation movement of the peoples in colonies and dependent countries.
Conversely, the victories of the revolutionary class struggle and the national liberation movement contribute to consolidating peaceful coexistence.

The struggle for peaceful coexistence is an aspect of the struggle for protecting world peace. The Communists cannot transform the entire content of the struggle for protecting world peace into peaceful coexistence. Neither can they regard peaceful coexistence as the general line of the entire foreign policy of socialist countries, as the path leading to world-wide socialism, as the key of the strategy of the struggle for world-wide socialism, and so forth.

According to us, the foreign policy of each socialist country must embrace the following three aspects:

1. Mutual assistance and all-out cooperation among fraternal socialist countries in accordance with the spirit of comradeship in order to continuously consolidate, strengthen, and develop the socialist system.

2. The struggle against the aggressive and war-seeking policy of the imperialists and the carrying out of the five principles of peaceful coexistence among countries having different political and social systems.

3. The active support and help for the national liberation movement in Asia, Africa, and Latin America and for the revolutionary movement of the working class and laboring people in capitalist countries.

During the process of the struggle for achieving peaceful coexistence, naturally the socialist countries can enter into negotiations and arrive at some accord with the imperialist countries. But, these negotiations and accords must be based on principles—that is, based on the fundamental and long-lasting interests of the revolution and on the power of the people in various countries. Unprincipled accords with the imperialists are only harmful to the world revolution and peace. Because under this condition, the more we manifest our good will, the more exacting the imperialists will be; the more concessions we make, the more insatiable they will be.
2. During the past 18 years, the national liberation movement in Asia, Africa, and Latin America achieved great victories, thus causing the colonial system of the imperialists to continually disintegrate.

However, at present, there are in the world hundreds of millions of people who are living directly under the colonial system and hundreds of millions of others in nationalist countries who, although having not liberated themselves from old colonialism, have already fallen under neo-colonialism. The imperialists are endeavoring to maintain their old colonialist system in their remaining positions and, at the same time, achieve neo-colonialism. That is why the problem of restoring and consolidating national independence actually is a life-or-death problem for about a billion people in Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

But, the revisionists are of the opinion that at present there are in the world only a few million people still living under colonialism and the process of the destruction of the colonial system has entered the final phase. They slight the danger of neo-colonialism, believe that the economic struggle is the main content of the national liberation movement in the present phase, and even underestimate the effects of the revolutionary movement of the peoples in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. They advise the oppressed against recklessly waging armed struggle against the imperialists because if they do they will suffer great sacrifices. They advise the latter to wait for U.N. intervention, for the imperialists to implement their "non-colonialization" policy.

However, through struggle realities, the oppressed people—who are still living under the old or new colonialist yoke or who have just restored political independence—have clearly realized that they should not be satisfied with the achieved results; that they should strengthen solidarity and pursue the struggle for overthrowing colonialism under all forms; that they should be conscious of the danger of neo-colonialism, especially of the U.S. imperialists' neo-colonialism; that to achieve independence, they should rise up and struggle under all forms and not wait for the imperialists to give them independence and freedom; and that only through resolutely struggling against imperialism can nationalist countries complete and consolidate their national independence and maintain their policy of peace and neutrality.

In the present era, facts prove that the national liberation movement along—the content of which is the people's national democratic revolution—can help nations achieve complete independence. Historical experiences prove that the imperialists usually collaborate with the feudal
landlords and the bourgeois compradors in colonies and dependent countries to oppose the people in these countries. Now, they also use these classes to achieve neo-colonialism. In colonial, dependent, and nationalist countries, peasants form the largest force in their population. Their earnest aspirations are to achieve national independence and enforce the slogan "land to the tillers." The national problem in fact is the peasant problem. That is why, the national liberation movement aims not only at overthrowing the imperialist colonialist yoke "destroying the economic roots of the imperialist rule, restricting and eliminating the foreign monopolistic organizations from the economy," but also at overthrowing the lackeys, achieving land reforms thoroughly, eradicating the feudal agricultural system and other feudal vestiges in general. In the present era, the national struggle against imperialism is not separated from the class struggle inside the nation; likewise, the national liberation task is not separated from the task of liberating production forces, liberating the laboring people.

The experiences drawn from the national liberation struggle in our and other countries show that to achieve victory, the national democratic revolution must have the following factors: the revolution must be led by the working class and the Marxist-Leninist party; this party must set up a firm worker-peasant alliance; it must set up a large united national front, embracing the patriotic and democratic classes and being based on the worker-peasant alliance; it must build the armed forces to undertake the armed struggle and armed uprisings in order to seize power; and it must win over the strong sympathy and support of the socialist camp. The national liberation movement and the workers movement in capitalist countries.

The August Revolution, the protracted resistance of the Vietnamese people in the past, and the present patriotic struggle of the southern compatriots prove that the above-mentioned experiences are correct.

An important problem which has been raised for the people in Asian, African, and Latin American countries is: after achieving national independence, what path should they follow? At present, people in the nationalist countries have two paths before them: the path of capitalist development and the path of non-capitalist development.

1/ From the 1960 Moscow statement
The ruling capitalist class in nationalist countries is directing the development of these countries along the capitalist path. In fact, this path is the path leading to dependence upon the imperialists, leading these countries to gradually becoming new-style colonies of the imperialists and colonialists. As for the working class and laboring people in these countries, the imperialists wish that their countries follow the capitalist path—the path of sufferings, stained with blood and tears. Encouraged and supported by the socialist camp, guided by the experiences of the socialist countries, which were colonial or semi-colonial countries, the working class and laboring people in these countries are struggling to make their countries follow the non-capitalist path—the socialist path.

To thoroughly fulfill the tasks of the national democratic revolution and make these countries develop along the non-capitalist path and advance toward socialism, the prerequisite condition is that the vanguard element of the working class must exert leadership over the revolution. (Now, in the countries where the working class is being formed, the Marxist-Leninists have the possibility, with the help of the international Communist movement, of setting up the Marxist-Leninist party to lead the revolution.) The main content of the problem of leadership over the revolution is the problem of winning over the workers and peasants and setting up the worker-peasant alliance. Failure to win over the peasants in fact is a failure to lead the masses in carrying out the revolution. To win over the peasants, the political party of the working class must have a correct land policy, educate the peasants and organize them for the struggle for this policy, and criticize the fake or middle-of-the-road land policy of the bourgeoisie. While allying itself with the bourgeoisie, the political party of the working class supports the latter's progressive domestic and foreign policies, but, at the same time, opposes its reactionary policies—especially opposes the policy of alliance between the rightist bourgeoisie and the imperialists and feudal forces—continually preserves its own independence in the organizational as well as political and ideological fields, thus avoiding being turned into a tail of the ruling bourgeoisie. While holding high the national democratic banner, the political party of the working class should not put down the socialist banner. Instead it should hold it high and oppose it to the fake socialist banner of the bourgeoisie.

The national liberation movement in Asia, Africa, and Latin America is attacking the imperialists' rear in order to destroy old and new colonialism, weaken further imperialism, thus actively contributing to protecting world peace, protecting the socialist camp, and creating more conditions for the
revolutionary struggle movement of the working class and laboring people in the capitalist countries to quickly achieve victory. The socialist countries and the international workers movement have the duty of actively supporting and helping in all fields the struggle of the peoples in colonies, dependent countries, and nationalist countries to restore and consolidate national independence.

Socialist countries must do their best to help the people who are struggling against the colonialists—especially the people who are bravely holding weapons to destroy the slaves' fetters, using the fiercest form of struggle to overthrow old and new colonialism. As for nationalist countries, socialist countries must help them in all fields—especially in the political field—because these countries are pursuing their anti-imperialist struggle to complete their national liberation task. Economic aid to nationalist countries, which are ruled by the bourgeoisie, is necessary. But, this aid is aimed at creating conditions for nationalist countries to build and develop a self-sufficient economy and gradually liberate themselves from dependency upon imperialism, and not at helping the reactionary ruling bourgeoisie which has an expansionist policy or which is a lackey of the imperialists in their opposition to the socialist countries. One must not cultivate the illusion that this aid is the best measure for helping nationalist countries to advance toward socialism. That is why along with economic aid in the state-owned field, it is necessary to pay special attention to helping the Communist movement and the worker-peasant movement in nationalist countries.

3. The problems of the transition to socialism and of the proletarian dictatorship, first of all, are related to the revolution in capitalist countries. In these countries, the struggle against state monopolistic capitalism and for achieving peace and democracy now has an important meaning. It is part of the struggle for socialism. This struggle has mustered all the people's strata around a wide united front to oppose the monopoly capitalists, and to advance toward overthrowing their rule. However, one must not maintain that to struggle for peace and democracy is to struggle for socialism, that it is possible to achieve socialism without carrying out the proletarian revolution and achieving proletarian dictatorship. It is possible that a revolution in a number of capitalist countries is carried out along certain democratic slogans; but during the process of revolutionary development, it is necessary to advance from these democratic slogans to higher slogans. Therefore in capitalist countries, the people's revolutionary movement should not be confined within the limits of the struggle for peace and democracy. All the same, one must not confuse bourgeois democracy with proletarian democracy; one must not regard
the successes achieved by democracy under the capitalist system as socialist factors. In these countries, the struggle against the state monopoly capitalists is a transitory step toward the socialist revolution, which creates favorable conditions for advancing toward carrying out the socialist revolution and achieving the proletarian dictatorship.

The 1960 Moscow statement said:

"Communists regard the struggle for democracy as an integral part of the struggle for socialism. During the process of this struggle, Communists continually consolidate the relations between themselves and the masses, heighten the political enlightenment level of the masses, and help the masses clearly realize the tasks of the socialist revolution and the necessity of carrying out this revolution. This is the basic difference between the Marxist-Leninist parties and the reformists who regard reforms under the capitalist system as the ultimate goal and refuse to admit the necessary character of the socialist revolution."

The international Communist movement is being faced with this major problem: under present conditions, what form should the proletariat in capitalist countries take to advance toward socialism?

Marxist-Leninist theory teaches us that the basic problem for all revolutions is the problem of power. To advance from capitalism to socialism, the most decisive factor is that the proletariat should smash the state machinery of the bourgeoisie and achieve proletarian dictatorship.

The great October Socialist Revolution and the revolutions in China, Viet Nam, Cuba, and many other countries prove that seizing power through violent means is correct and necessary.

Naturally, we would wish to advance to socialism in a peaceful way, but historical experiences show that exploiting classes are never willing to relinquish power and leave the political stage. Now, although the socialist camp is stronger than the imperialist camp, we must not cultivate the illusion that the bourgeoisie in capitalist countries is so weak that it cannot use violence to oppose the working class. A prominent truth in the political
activities in many capitalist countries is that state monopolist capitalists are following the path of militarization and fascistization and using violence in the most brazen way to repress the working class and laboring people. Thus, it is necessary to assert that the use of revolutionary violence to smash the bourgeois state machinery and set up a proletarian dictatorial state is a general rule for the revolutionary struggle of the working class in capitalist countries under present conditions.

The organization of revolutionary violence can take the following forms: armed force, or political force, or political force associated with armed force. The manifestation of revolutionary violence varies from country to country: it depends upon the characteristics and concrete conditions of each country.

During the process of the revolutionary campaign, the party of the working class must use various forms of struggle in a flexible way, combining the illegal forms of organizations and struggles with the legal ones. When it is possible to join the bourgeois parliament, the party must take advantage of this possibility to carry on the struggle, combining struggle inside the parliament with struggle outside the parliament. But, it is necessary to realize that struggle by the masses outside the parliament actually has a decisive character. The majority in the parliament is effectively revolutionary only when it faithfully reflects the will of the masses which are vigorously struggling to support it. Under all circumstances, Communists should not cultivate the illusion of seizing power through "parliamentary means." On the contrary, it is necessary to educate the masses so that they can understand the fully correct Marxist-Leninist view asserting that seizing power through violent means is the general rule for all revolutions actually having a people's character, in the present era.

This assertion does not mean that it is absolutely impossible to seize power through peaceful means. When the socialist revolution has triumphed in more countries, when the balance between the socialist and capitalist forces has changed in a way favorable to socialism, there may be the possibility in a number of countries for the working class to seize power through peaceful means. This is a very rare and very precious possibility. That is why we agree with the 1957 and 1960 Moscow statements, saying that there are two possibilities of transition to socialism: peaceful and non-peaceful. In leading the revolutionary struggle, Communists must prepare for both possibilities—especially for the non-peaceful one—because in this way, we will keep the initiative
under all circumstances: the more we prepare for the non-peaceful possibility, the more easily we will be able to achieve the peaceful possibility when all the conditions are fulfilled; and when the enemy of the class uses armed forces to repress the revolution, we will be ready to use our forces to overthrow him and seize power. Under present conditions, in many capitalist countries where state monopoly capitalists are implementing the militarization and fascistization policy, if we emphasize on the possibility of seizing power through peaceful means--through the "parliamentary path," through "structural reorganization" within the framework of the bourgeois constitution--in fact, we will then fall into evolutionism and follow the reformist path of the social democratic clique.

In colonial and semi-colonial countries, people do not have any democratic freedoms; if Communists want to lead the people in carrying out the revolution to overthrow the imperialists and their lackeys, liberate themselves, and seize power, they must pay special attention to organizing armed forces and the armed struggle. The problem of armed struggle and armed uprisings in these countries is truly a universal law. Experiences drawn from the Vietnamese revolution prove that under the working class' leadership, our people must use violence to overthrow the imperialists and feudalists, seize power, fulfill the people's national democratic revolutionary task, and advance to socialist revolution and construction in the North and, at the same time, continue to use revolutionary violence to oppose the counterrevolutionary violence of the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys in order to complete the people's national democratic revolutionary task in the South. The Vietnamese revolutionary path is the path of combining political struggle with armed struggle, the path of carrying out the revolution through violence.

In a number of nationalist countries, the colonial imperialists have withdrawn and let the bourgeoisie take over the administrative machinery. Under this condition, the problem of carrying out the revolution to seize power for the people--especially for the workers and peasants--complete the national democratic task, and advance to socialist revolution is an urgent problem. In these countries, the transition to socialism can either take the peaceful or non-peaceful form, depending upon the resistance of the ruling bourgeoisie.

After seizing power, the proletariat must achieve the proletarian dictatorship in order to fulfill the following tasks:
a. Crush the opposition of the class enemy who has been overthrown and suppress his plots and actions aimed at restoring the capitalists' power.

b. Muster all the people around the working class in order to undertake socialist transformation and socialist construction and prepare conditions for the complete elimination of all classes.

c. Build, consolidate, and strengthen the defense forces in order to oppose all aggressive and war-seeking plots of the enemy from without and struggle against imperialism and old and new colonialism.

d. Support and help in all fields the revolutionary struggle of the working class and laboring people and the oppressed peoples in the capitalist countries, consolidate and develop the cooperation and mutual assistance relations with the fraternal socialist countries.

These four tasks of proletarian dictatorship form a system; we must not drop any one of them at will.

Proletarian dictatorship is the continuation of the class struggle under a new form and through new methods, when the working class has seized power. This is an objective necessity during the entire transitional period from capitalism to Communism -- that is, until there are no classes in the society.

Lenin said: "It is necessary to understand that dictatorship by a class is necessary not only for all societies with classes in general and for the proletariat after the overthrowing of the bourgeoisie, but also for the historic phase of transition from capitalism to a society without classes and to Communism. Only through understanding this can one understand the main point of Marx's theory on state." 1/

1/ Lenin: The State of the Revolution
Proletarian dictatorship means that the power of the proletariat is thoroughly achieved and consolidated by basing itself on the firm alliance between the proletariat and the laboring masses -- especially the agricultural laborers.

During the transition from capitalism to Communism, the proletarian dictatorial state changes its forms and work methods from time to time.

After overthrowing the ruling class and seizing power, depending on the degree and form of the resistance by the enemy of the class and his allies inside the country or abroad, the working class can apply adequate forms of struggle to force the exploiting classes to yield to its will.

During the phase of socialist transformation and socialist construction, the prominent task of the proletarian dictatorship is to socialistically transform the privately-operated capitalist economic elements and individual economic elements, build the socialist economy, and, when needs be, use violence to repress the opposition of the exploiting classes which have been overthrown.

After the successful construction of socialism and the elimination of the exploiting classes, the socialist society is then composed of two fraternal classes: the working class and collective peasantry. Moreover, there are socialist intellectuals who come from the working class and peasantry. During this phase, proletarian dictatorship has not worn off its internal effects. It must pursue the struggle to eliminate the remnants of the exploiting classes as well as the habits of the erstwhile society. It must continue to organize labor for and inculcate Communist virtues upon the laboring masses, build the material and technical bases of Communism, gradually raise the system of collective ownership of means of production to the all-people ownership system, gradually eliminate the class differences between workers and collective peasants, and gradually eliminate the basic differences between urban and rural areas, between white-collar and blue-collar workers. During this phase, the spearheads of proletarian dictatorship are mainly directed at the imperialists abroad and their lackeys who remain in the country to engage in clandestine sabotage activities.

Only when the society reaches a high level of Communism and has no classes will proletarian dictatorship complete its mission and the proletarian state die out. As long as the proletariat needs the state,
the class character of this state continues to exist, and this state continues to be the proletarian dictatorial state. There cannot be a state which has no class character or which stands above classes. Right after its creation, the proletarian dictatorial state represents the interests of the working class and laboring people in general.

The party of the working class alone is able to lead the entire proletarian dictatorial system, fulfill the task of eliminating classes and building a perfect Communist society. As long as the proletarian dictatorial state exists, the Communist party continues to be the party of the working class, and the class character of the party remains unchanged.

4. After years of revolutionary struggle, the working class has seized power in one-fourth of the globe. The socialist countries should thoroughly fulfill all the tasks of the socialist revolution and successfully construct socialism and Communism. To do so, they should fully carry out the general rules of "the process of socialist revolution and socialist construction," as pointed out in the 1957 Moscow statement:

"These general rules are: the leadership of the working class and its core -- which is the Marxist-Leninist party -- over the laboring masses for carrying out the proletarian revolution under one form or another, while achieving the proletarian dictatorship under one form or another; the alliance between the working class and the basic masses of the peasantry and other laboring strata; the destruction of the capitalist ownership system and the creation of the system of public ownership of the basic means of production; the gradual transformation of agriculture along socialist lines; the development of the national economy according to plans aimed at constructing socialism and Communism and at raising the laboring people's standard of living; carrying out the socialist revolution in the ideological and cultural fields and training a large body of intellectuals who are loyal to the working class, the laboring people, and socialism; eliminating oppression and building equality and friendship among nations; protecting the achievements of socialism and opposing the sabotage by the enemy within and without; the solidarity between the working class in one country with the working class in other countries -- that is, proletarian internationalism."
Any country which wishes to advance to socialism should thoroughly carry out the above-mentioned general rules. Our Viet Nam -- a backward agricultural country -- has skipped the phase of capitalist development and advanced directly to socialism. That is why, along with carrying out these general rules, we must achieve socialist industrialization and regard it as another rule which is suitable to Viet Nam.

Now, laying emphasis on the above-mentioned general rule is necessary because all the countries in our camp must take precautionary measures against the "peaceful evolution" plot of the imperialists and the sabotage of the achievements of the socialist revolution by the modern revisionists; must be constantly clearheaded to prevent the modern revisionists from driving the socialist countries astray from the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary path and creating conditions for capitalist restoration. Yugoslavia's degradation is a very painful experience.

Moreover, there are now a number of leaders in the nationalist countries who are actually following the path of capitalist development by relying on the imperialists, but who hide themselves behind the "socialist" label to deceive their people. We must help the people distinguish genuine socialism from sham socialism.

To achieve firm victories in socialist and Communist construction, each socialist country must mainly rely on its own force, adhere to the policy of self-sufficiency, and receive aid from fraternal countries. It must develop its self-sufficiency spirit in order to satisfactorily use this aid from the fraternal countries.

The interests of the world revolution and of the socialist camp require that each socialist country endeavor to strengthen its own force in all fields and, at the same time, cooperate in strengthening the force of the socialist camp in all fields, including the military field. Every socialist country should endeavor to build an independent and self-sufficient economy and, at the same time, actively contribute to the strengthening of cooperation and assistance in the socialist camp.

During the process of advancing to socialism and Communism, the relations of cooperation and labor division among socialist countries are built, consolidated, and developed. These relations are based on the principles: complete equality, voluntariness, mutual profit, mutual respect
of independence and sovereignty, and mutual assistance based on comradeship. The consolidation and development of the relations of cooperation and labor division are fully consistent with the law on the development of socialism and Communism, consistent with the interests of each socialist country and of our camp. However, due to the fact that the socialist countries have different demographic and historic conditions and different economic, political, and cultural situations, cooperation and labor division with the socialist camp must be carried out step by step in accordance with the development situation of each socialist country so that each country becomes a highly developed self-sufficient economic unit and, at the same time, economic union between the fraternal countries becomes increasingly close. Only in this way will the economy of the socialist camp develop in a rational, harmonious, abundant, and prosperous manner.

All countries following the path to socialism and Communism must clearly realize the two stages of the Communist society: the lower stage is a socialist society whose principle is "work according to capacity, enjoy according to labor" and the higher stage is a Communist society whose principle is "work according to capacity, enjoy according to needs." Between these two stages there is no partition. Upon reaching a certain degree of perfection, socialism becomes Communism. However, one must not confuse these two stages. Communism takes its roots in socialism.

To turn the socialist system into a decisive factor in the development of human society, it is necessary to successfully construct socialism and Communism and, at the same time, strengthen solidarity in the socialist camp. To successfully construct socialism and Communism in the socialist countries is to develop the superiority of the socialist system over the capitalist system in all fields: economic, political, cultural, moral, ideological, and so forth.

The revisionists usually lay emphasis on the exemplary character of the socialist system in the domain of material life and pay slight attention to its exemplary character in the political, cultural, moral, ideological, and intellectual fields. This is a great mistake. Socialism is winning the hearts and minds of hundreds of millions of persons not only because it brings an abundant and happy life to the laboring people, but also because it brings genuine freedom to blue-collar and white-collar workers, and because it builds a new people possessing Communist ideology and virtues.
The foregoing are the problems of principles, which are giving rise to a debate between a number of fraternal parties. To defend the Marxist-Leninist views on these problems is to defend the Marxist-Leninist line of the international Communist movement and the purity of Marxism-Leninism, to oppose modern revisionism and other opportunist tendencies, to strengthen the solidarity and combativity of the socialist camp and of the international Communist movement, to insure complete victory in the struggle of the working class and world people for peace, national independence, democracy, and socialism.

III. The Struggle for Defending the Purity of Marxism-Leninism

To fulfill their glorious duties, the Communist and workers parties should struggle hard to defend the purity of Marxism-Leninism, oppose revisionism and rightist opportunism, which are the main dangers to the international Communist movement and, at the same time, oppose dogmatism and sectarianism, keep a firm hold on Marxist-Leninist principles, and insure the creative application of Marxism-Leninism to the concrete conditions of the world and of each country.

Faced with the great victories of the socialist camp and of the national liberation movement in Asia, Africa, and Latin America and faced with the vigorous development of the struggle movement of the working class and laboring people in the capitalist countries, the warlike imperialists -- led by the U.S. imperialists -- are actively preparing for a new world war and wage local wars and "special wars," hoping to wipe out the socialist camp, extinguish the revolutionary movement in various countries, mass more interests, and redistribute the world market. At the same time, they follow the policy of terror and threats in combination with the policy of flattery, bribery, and discord to repress the Communist parties and destroy the revolutionary movements in their countries.

In the ideological field, the imperialists and their lackeys set forth reformist theories to bewitch the masses and detach them from the goals of the struggle for socialism. They support and encourage modern revisionism in its efforts to slander Marxism-Leninism, destroy the Marxist-Leninist line of the world revolution, destroy the socialist camp, sow discord inside the international Communist and workers movement, and sow discord among the Communist and workers parties.