This Central Committee Conference was held to take decisions on extremely important problems. For over ten days we have studied and discussed these problems thoroughly and carefully. These debates reflect the deep and complete unity which prevails inside our Central Committee.

The international situation is extremely complex. This situation has become more complex due to the fact that, within the world communist movement, especially between the largest and most influential parties, there is some disagreement. Under this condition, the unity achieved by this Central Committee Conference is an extremely great success for our Party. This great success is possible because our Party has a firm revolutionary tradition which is the result of the 30 years of continuous revolutionary activities of our people and because, during the conference, each of us adopted a correct attitude and fully assumed his responsibility by maintaining the truth, distinguishing right from wrong, and caring about international solidarity, especially solidarity between the USSR and China.

Before Comrade Truong Chinh recapitulates the debates and presents the draft resolution to the conference for approval, I want to express some of my views, hoping to cast more light on the fundamental points of the Political Bureau report.

A few of our Party members, the majority of whom are intellectuals, are of the opinion that, being a small Party which was born in a former colony with a backward agriculture and a low cultural level, our Party can hardly understand Marxist-Leninist science and complex international problems. What is our opinion on this point? Indeed, we
must be modest. Modesty is a quality of a revolutionary and a scientist. But we must also realize that, since our people's revolutionary work is never detached from the world people's revolutionary work, to date our Party has continuously based itself on the concrete situation of our country, on Marxist-Leninist principles, on the world situation, and on the tasks of the world communist movement to determine the line of the Vietnamese revolution.

The successes achieved by our Party during its revolutionary struggle -- the success of the August revolution, the success of the protracted resistance against French aggression and American intervention, the achievements of the socialist revolution in the North, the victories of the southern compatriots' revolutionary struggle, and so forth -- prove that the line of the Vietnamese revolution, as fixed by our Party, is correct. This also proves that our Party not only has the ability to correctly understand the concrete situation, and development of our country, but that it can also understand Marxist-Leninist science, correctly analyze the concrete situation and the development of the world, and correctly understand the problems of the world communist movement.

Unlike other doctrines, Marxism-Leninism not only wants to explain the world situation, but it also wants to transform it. To understand the true nature of Marxism-Leninism, we must have revolutionary intelligence. At the same time, we must have the strong determination to transform the world -- that is, we must have a completely revolutionary spirit. Any man -- no matter how many books he has read or how many academies he belongs to -- who lacks the strong determination to transform the world and lacks a completely revolutionary spirit cannot understand Marxism-Leninism or correctly understand the development of society.

Why did such scholars as Kautsky and Plekhanov -- considered by Lenin at a certain time to be his masters -- finally fall into the mud puddle of opportunism? Because the revolutionary fire was finally extinguished in their hearts, and once the revolutionary fire was extinguished their intellects became useless and, worse still, dangerous. On what problems did the great debate hinge between Lenin and the Mensheviks on Party characteristics? The Mensheviks advocated the
necessity of understand the Marxist-Leninist canon while Lenin advocated the necessity of relying on revolutionary spirit to build the Party. He who adopts the Menshevik attitude toward Marxism-Leninism sooner or later will undoubtedly follow the opportunist path.

In our Party and sister parties, a number of cadres and members, for one reason or another, have lowered their combativity and revolutionary spirit. Thus, although they have read many classic Marxist-Leninist books, they are unable to understand correctly or see clearly the diversified revolutionary path in the world. That is why we can say that the series of disagreements inside the world communist movement at present reflect two different attitudes: To carry out the revolution or not to carry out the revolution, to struggle for the laboring people and the oppressed and exploited or not, and to destroy imperialism and capitalism resolutely or not.

The erroneous opportunistic views on international problems have another origin that we must pay attention to: An incomplete understanding of the process of development of Marxist-Leninist revolutionary theory, especially in the past few decades.

Marxism-Leninism is a science. It cannot stand still forever. It is continually developed and supplemented by new conclusions drawn from the living realities of the revolutionary struggle of hundreds of millions of people.

When writing the Communist Manifesto with Engels, Marx had just drawn the logical conclusion from a study of the rules of development of human society, especially capitalist society, that the proletariat will surely dig the grave to bury capitalism and set up a new social system — the communist system. To fulfill this historic mission, the proletariat must carry out a revolution, overthrow bourgeois rule, and set up its own rule. As to how this revolution of the proletarian class would develop and what the proletariat should do to seize power, Marx could not predict at that time. Moreover he did not want to make the prediction at that time because, being a thorough dialectical materialist and historic materialist, Marx
waited for the creative realities of the masses on which he would base himself to draw the proper conclusions.

The Paris Commune was the first proletarian revolution in history. From the Paris Commune Marx drew the conclusion that the proletariat should destroy the violent machinery of the bourgeoisie, achieve proletarian dictatorship, and attack the enemy. At the same time, Marx thought of the "people's character" that a proletarian revolution should have: That is, to succeed, a proletarian revolution should win over to its side not only the proletariat, but also the peasantry for the reason that during the 70's of the 19th Century there was not any European capitalist country where the proletariat represented the majority of the population.

In fact, the idea of the necessity of associating the proletarian revolution with the peasants' revolutionary movement took shape in Marx's mind during the 50's of the 19th century. Everyone knows the famous view expressed by Marx in 1856: "In Germany, everything depends on the possibility of supporting the proletarian revolution through a recurrence of the peasants' war." It was on the basis of associating the proletarian revolution with the peasants' revolutionary movement that Marx set forth the theory of continuing revolution. And it was by basing himself on the theory of continuing revolution and on the study of the revolutionary realities in Europe that Marx set forth the view that the center of revolution had shifted from Britain to Germany.

We know that, at first, Marx and Engels held that proletarian revolution would break out first in the capitalist country where the level of development was the highest. But later Marx predicted that revolution would break out first in Germany and later in France and Britain, though at the time France and Britain had long before completed the bourgeois revolution while Germany was still on "the threshold of the bourgeois revolution" (From the Communist Manifesto by Marx and Engels--Hoc Tap).

Marx was of the opinion that the bourgeois revolution in Germany, once it broke out, had the possibility of developing continually and turning itself into a proletarian revolution after
destroying the capitalist system if this proletarian revolution was supported by "the recurrence of the peasants' war."

Further developing this idea, Marx once predicted: "Revolution will break out first in the East, which so far has been the firm stronghold and the reserve force of the counter-revolutionary camp."

The birth of Leninism marked a new and great step in the development of proletarian revolutionary theory. In what way was proletarian revolutionary theory developed by Lenin? Lenin drew from the Paris Commune the following conclusion: The Commune failed because it was not supported by the majority of peasants. Lenin created and developed the great principle on the peasants' role in the socialist revolution and the great principle on the worker-peasant alliance under the leadership of the working class, and he considered these two principles the supreme principles with regard to proletarian dictatorship.

Lenin based himself on the characteristics of capitalism during the imperialist era and reformulated the problem of proletarian revolution as a timely requirement of the entire world capitalist system considered as a unified body. Lenin set forth the principle of different schedules for the breaking out of different revolutions in different countries and the principle on the possibility of success of the proletarian revolution in a country.

Rejecting the dogmatist view of the revisionists in the Second International -- that the proletarian revolution can break out and succeed only in countries where the level of capitalist development is high and where the working class is large, centralized, and organized and represents the majority of the population, and that in countries where capitalism is less developed and the working class represents a small percentage of the population one must wait for the development of capitalism -- Lenin taught that revolution may break out first in an economically underdeveloped country if this country is the weakest link in the imperialist chain and is the place where international and national causes are so associated that they give birth to direct revolutionary situations. Under imperialism, this is possible.
In such a country a revolution not only has the possibility of breaking out, but also of succeeding because, although the working class there may be relatively small, the peasantry will form a strong revolutionary force. If leadership of the proletariat over the peasantry and an alliance between workers and peasants can be achieved, one has an extremely powerful revolutionary force capable of overthrowing any reactionary rule.

Lenin also taught us that in imperialist countries with a high level of capitalist development there are many reasons which make the breaking out of revolution more difficult than in backward countries which are oppressed and exploited by these imperialist countries. That is why the proletarian revolution broke out in Russia more easily than in Germany, France, or Britain. In Russia "the factor of success was not the fact that workers represented the absolute majority of the population and had a high organizational level, but it was the support given the proletariat by the poor peasants who were quickly going bankrupt." (From Lenin's Complete Works - Hoc Tap).

Lenin invented the great principle on the close relations between the bourgeois democratic revolution and the socialist revolution during the imperialist era. Lenin taught that, in countries where the bourgeois revolution has not yet been carried out, the proletariat must not let the bourgeoisie exert leadership over the peasantry during the bourgeois revolution. The proletariat must seize this leadership for itself and collaborate with the peasantry to carry out the bourgeois democratic revolution aimed at overthrowing the feudal rule. But it must not stop there and wait for the peaceful development of capitalism, thus erecting a high wall between the bourgeois democratic revolution and the socialist revolution. Instead, it must continuously step up the revolutionary movement and, along with poor peasants, undertake the socialist revolution.

Lenin also taught that in addition to the allies inside the country, who are the masses of peasants, the proletariat must unite, in an anti-imperialist front, with another great ally, who are the oppressed in colonies and semicolonies,
the majority of whom are also composed of peasants. Lenin thought highly of the revolutionary movement of the oppressed, regarding it as a part of the world proletarian revolution. Lenin said: "By nature, the revolutionary movement in advanced countries is only a cheat if there is not a thorough and close unity between the anti-capitalist struggle of European and American workers and the hundreds and hundreds of millions of 'colonial' slaves who are oppressed by capitalism." Lenin said: "During the future decisive struggles of world revolution, the struggle movement of the majority of world peoples will shift from its original national liberal goal to an anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist goal and will play a revolutionary role probably more important than we imagine."

When analyzing the future of the world proletarian revolution and its relations with the success of communist construction in Soviet Russia, Lenin said: "The result of the final struggle will depend on Russia, India, China, and so forth, which are inhabited by the absolute majority of world peoples. And it is this majority of peoples who, in the past few years, have been dragged into the struggle for self-liberation at an extraordinarily high speed. On this point, there is no doubt as to the result of the struggle on a worldwide scale."

Lenin's great creations -- the principles of the peasants' role in the proletarian revolution, of the relations between the bourgeois democratic revolution and socialist revolution, and of the role of the national liberation revolution in the proletarian revolution -- defeated Trotsky's theory advocating the necessity of overthrowing the czarist regime, setting up a workers' government, and eliminating the great ally of the working class -- the peasantry, defeated the Mensheviks' unorthodox theory that the bourgeois democratic revolution in Russia was the task of the Russian bourgeoisie, that only the bourgeoisie was capable of leading such a revolution, and that the proletariat must play only a secondary role and must not ally itself with the peasants; and defeated the treacherous views of the leaders of the Second International -- who did not believe in the revolutionary capacity of colonies and dependent countries -- thus, stirring up the national democratic revolutionary movements in colonies.
These great creations of Lenin reflect not only his revolutionary genius, but also his high determination to destroy imperialism, capitalism, and all other reactionary forces and his unalterable faith in the extremely powerful force of workers, peasants, and the oppressed in a united front. It is thanks to these creations of Lenin that the socialist October Revolution triumphed in one-sixth of the globe, overthrew the reactionary Czarist regime, broke a link in the imperialist chain, and opened a new era in mankind's progress. A new regime under which there was no exploitation of man by man -- the age-old dream of mankind -- was born, shaking the world, setting a good example for billions of oppressed and exploited people, and encouraging them to rise up and liberate themselves.

Why were the leaders of the Second International unable to make the same creations on the proletarian revolution as Lenin? There were many reasons. A deep reason was an ideological one: These men lacked revolutionary determination. Because of lack of revolutionary determination, they did not resolutely try to find allies to overthrow the enemy. On the contrary, they tried to find arguments to woo the enemy and to come to terms with him with the view of achieving their extravagant dreams.

In practice and in reality Stalin strictly carried out the above ideas of Lenin and developed them. Stalin paid special attention to and wholeheartedly supported and helped revolutionary movements of oppressed nations. He highly estimated the effect of the national liberation revolution on the defeat of imperialism and on the success of socialism throughout the world. Stalin set forth the famous view: The national problem consists mainly of the peasant problem, and the peasant problem is the decisive and basic factor of the anti-imperialist front for the national liberation revolution.

Toward the Chinese revolution Stalin made great contributions, Stalin set forth the main trend of the Chinese revolution, which was to bolster the leading role of the working class over the peasantry, to mobilize hundreds of millions of peasants to rise up, to arm workers and peasants, and to use armed revolution to oppose armed counter-revolution.
At the 19th CPSU Congress, after carefully recapitulating the different revolutionary currents of the era, Stalin made the following appeal: "Communists, hold the national democratic revolutionary flag and advance!" The appeal was a trumpet call urging us to advance to the front.

The Chinese revolution marked a new phase of development of the proletarian revolutionary theory of Marxism-Leninism. Lenin issued instructions to Communists to prove, from the theoretical viewpoint, the possibility of non-capitalist development of economically backward countries. Lenin also issued instructions to Communists to develop Marxism-Leninism and to try to present Marxism-Leninism in a way suitable to colonies and dependent countries where peasants represented the majority of the population.

It is the CCP headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung which has carried out most satisfactorily the instructions of great Lenin. The most outstanding innovation and development of the proletarian revolutionary theory of Marxism-Leninism by the CCP and Comrade Mao Tse-tung was the revolutionary theory that in countries where the economy is largely agricultural and where bourgeois democratic revolutions are being carried out to liberate the nation, achieve democracy, and advance directly to socialism, the peasants form the main force under the leadership of the proletariat. Here peasants are regarded not only as the greatest ally of the proletariat and as the largest reserve force of the proletarian revolution, but also as the regular force of the revolution. Here there is not only the problem of revolutionary force, but also a series of problems on revolutionary lines and methods, such as the problem of the rural area uprising, of leaning on the rural areas, of creating bases in rural areas, and of using the rural areas to encircle cities, the problem of mobilizing the peasants, the problem of protracted armed struggle, the problem of building a strong Marxist-Leninist Party, the problem of building a revolutionary worker-peasant army, the problem of founding an anti-imperialist and anti-feudal national united front based on workers and peasants, and so forth.

Not only at present, but also in the past there have
been a number of honest Marxists who have cultivated
doubts regarding this theory, saying that the theory has a
"populist" character, as the opportunists once declared
that Leninism had a peasant character. But with the success
of the Chinese revolution, this theory has become a tested
truth. The great value of this theory lies in the fact that
it has led one fourth of mankind to proletarian dictatorship.

This theory is not restricted to China only. Now it
has an international character. Thus, after learning this
type and applying it in a creative manner, we Vietnamese
Communists led our revolutionary work to success. As Lenin
once said that the strategy of the Russian revolution was a
model strategy for all Communists the world over, nowadays
we can also say that the strategy of the Chinese revolution
is a model strategy for many Communists in Asia, Africa,
and Latin America. It was not mere happenstance that the
Chinese Communist Party was the first one to create and
develop this revolutionary theory. It was the result of a
long revolution by more than 600 million people in a large
country.

If we apply the foregoing knowledge of proletarian revo­
lationary theory and display sufficient revolutionary zeal in
analyzing the present world situation, what do we see? (First,
we must not forget that nearly 20 years have elapsed since
World War II. Though 20 years is a short period in history,
it was enough for great changes to take place, as also happened
in the 20 years that separated the end of World War I and
the beginning of World War II -- Hoc Tap).

Today, although never forgetting that, as a matter of
basic principle, the world remains divided into two systems --
the socialist and capitalist system -- we find that, taking
economic, social, and political characteristics into considera­
tion, there are three types of countries concentrated in three
different regions in the world. These are the socialist
countries, the developed imperialist or capitalist countries,
and the nationalist countries which recently regained inde­
pendence -- an independence which varies in degree with
each of them. Generally speaking, these latter countries
are still oppressed and exploited by imperialism and colonialism
together with a few countries that are still directly ruled by imperialism and colonialism. Geographically, the countries falling into the third category are mostly situated in Asia, Africa, and Latin America, while a few of them are situated in Oceania. For the sake of convenience we usually call them Afro-Asian and Latin American countries.

Each region in the world has its own law of development. Undoubtedly the socialist camp has grown stronger than the imperialist camp and is becoming a decisive factor in the evolution of human society. This strength is the common result of the overall and continuous development of socialist countries in the economic, political, military, scientific, and technical fields. But the question calling for clarification is, what is the main cause of the strength of the socialist camp and its decisive effect on the development of human society? In my opinion the cause has been the political and revolutionary lines for building the new social economic system we represent.

First, our camp presently embraces over one billion people. These one billion people are engaged in socialism at different economic levels and in different social regimes: The Soviet Union was originally an imperialist country where capitalism was fairly developed; China and Cuba were formerly semicolonial and dependent countries; and Viet-Nam and Korea were former colonies with backward agricultural economies. Thus, over one billion people have found a political, revolutionary road leading to socialism which is consistent with the law of social revolution and which suits all peoples in the world who are living under whatever political and social regime and who have attained whatever economic level. Thus, the people in different countries -- not only the people in highly developed imperialist and capitalist countries in West Europe and North America but also and especially the billions of people in economically backward and under-developed regions of Asia, Africa, and Latin America have been provided with a tested revolutionary road to self-liberation and with the sharpest and most efficient weapon to undermine and bring down the imperialist bastion and eliminate the world capitalist system. This represents a most vigorous offensive on the imperialist rule.
Secondly, derived from the nature of its economy the socialist camp always and firmly maintains its policy to defend world peace, raises high the flag of peace, and opposes the warlike machinations and acts of the imperialists headed by the U.S. imperialists. This policy to defend peace has resulted in encouraging and organizing thousands of millions of working people and other peace-loving peoples in their firm struggle to destroy the war policy, which is presently the basic policy of the imperialists headed by the U.S. imperialists. This is also a hard blow at imperialism.

Thirdly, while the economy of the capitalist countries is constantly growing weak and rotten as a result of the periodic crises and constant stagnation in many branches, the socialist production relations of the socialist countries, with their two forms of ownership of the means of production -- all people ownership and collective ownership -- have paved the way for production to develop continuously and at a high speed. The successful building and development of the economy in the socialist countries prove that the alliance between the proletarian class and the peasants contributes not only to overthrowing the domination yoke of the imperialists and other exploiter classes, but also to reforming the old economy and building a new, healthy, and balanced economy.

By relying primarily on their own efforts and with the assistance of the fraternal countries of the socialist camp on the basis of international proletarianism, the people in each socialist country -- no matter from what economic background they may come -- are able to build an independent economy and on this basis to cooperate with the fraternal socialist countries along the principles of complete equality, voluntariness, respect of national sovereignty, mutual interests, and mutual assistance as comrades. This example by the socialist camp has encouraged the peoples in capitalist countries to rise up into revolutions to smash the domination yoke of the imperialists and other reactionary forces and to advance toward building a new society and a free and happy life that is a far better life when compared to the life under the capitalist regime. This is also a hard blow at imperialism.

This means that the socialist camp has more and more
become a center attracting and guiding all revolutionary forces and all democratic and peaceful forces in the world in the struggle against the imperialists and other reactionary forces. The socialist camp is the fortress of world peace. By closely uniting the efforts to strengthen the socialist camp from every viewpoint with the wholehearted support for the revolutionary movements of the peoples of other countries, by closely uniting the struggle for socialism with the struggle for national liberation -- which are the two main revolutionary movements in our present era -- and by closely uniting the revolutionary struggle for the destruction of the imperialists' yoke with the struggle for the defense of world peace will the socialist camp, the worker class, the working peoples of various countries, the oppressed peoples, and other peaceful and democratic forces be able to check every maneuver of the imperialists to provoke a world war and, at the same time, be able to defeat imperialism in many fields.

It is clear that with its own policy and by striving to make this policy widespread among and closely united with thousands of millions of people in the various capitalist countries in order to develop the huge revolutionary creativity of these thousands of millions of people our camp attacks the capitalist camp and more quickly rushes capitalism to its end in accordance with history's law of development, in this way developing the decisive effects with regard to the development of mankind's societies. Indeed, Marx said that when the proletarian revolutionary policy is widespread among the masses, it will be transformed into a huge force, a lever to upset the capitalist world.

Many people have said that the main factor enabling our camp to grow powerful and to develop its decisive effect with regard to the development of mankind's societies is that our camp has superiority in nuclear weapons and the means to launch these weapons. It is correct that the USSR has superiority in nuclear weapons and the means to direct these weapons to targets. Faced with this fact, the imperialists headed by the U.S. imperialists can no longer monopolize such terrible mass destructive means which they have used to threaten the world peoples, nor dare they risk waging a
nuclear war. The world peoples greatly admire and are grateful to the Soviet people who have endured great sacrifices in order to develop to the utmost their intelligence and ability in order to have superiority in nuclear weapons.

In the hands of our camp, nuclear weapons constitute a means to defend peace. In our hands, nuclear weapons are not offensive weapons, but are weapons primarily for our own defense. Of course we will be able to launch an effective attack only if we have a good defense. But the force to attack and destroy capitalism is not nuclear weapons, but rather the revolutionary acts of the masses who are guided by a correct policy and revolutionary line and who are determined to break all chains of bondage. During the time the United States held the monopoly in nuclear weapons, the Chinese revolution and the Vietnamese revolution were successful. This was due to the fact that they had a correct policy and a correct revolutionary line.

During the past 20 years, the revolutionary movements have risen like high tides in the various continents and no force can oppose them. This is not because they have nuclear weapons, but because they had a correct policy. Imperialism will not be destroyed and progress will not be made by mankind during this worldwide transitional phase from capitalism to socialism if the socialist camp -- no matter how large its superiority in nuclear weapons is -- has no correct policy to guide the peoples of other countries in carrying out their revolutions, or if these revolutionary movements are not guided by the correct policy. It is clear that it is not because of its superiority in nuclear technology that the socialist camp is a decisive factor in the progress of mankind.

If the nuclear weapon is taken as the main basis of our forces and strategy, the logical result will be: We will be dragged into a defensive position. The imperialists themselves have realized that the policy which considers nuclear weapons as the bases of their forces has led them toward a passive position. To escape this passive position, they have to replace -- in the military field -- their "overwhelming counterattack" and "strong repression" strategy with a "lively reaction" strategy with three kinds of warfare -- world war,
regional war, and "special war" -- based on the use of nuclear and ordinary weapons.

If we Communists follow a strategic line based mainly on the use of nuclear weapons, the logical result of this strategy will be the carrying out of a defensive strategy. To carry out a defensive strategy at a time when the balance of forces in the world has changed in favor of socialism and peace (this situation is basically different from the old situation when the USSR was the only existing socialist country and was encircled by capitalism) and at a time when the revolutionary wave of world peoples is so strong that nothing can stop it and it has been continuously attacking imperialism is, subjectively or objectively, to abandon revolution.

We also hear the view that the main factor enabling the socialist camp to develop its decisive influence is economic construction. A number of people are of the opinion that if the socialist camp waits for a certain time to develop its economy and increase the total production and per capita output of its industry and agriculture above those of the capitalist camp it will have the mature condition to achieve the triumph of socialist revolution throughout the world.

It is certain that no one among us denies the special importance of economic building in socialist countries over these countries and over world revolution because economy is the base of the society and of the material strength of the socialist camp. The greatest daily worry of the ruling parties in socialist countries is satisfactorily managing and building the economy of their countries and contributing to strengthening the force of the entire socialist camp.

But the problem is: Is it necessary to wait until the industrial and agricultural productivity of the socialist camp exceeds that of the capitalist camp to continue carrying out the revolution in order to destroy imperialism? Marxism-Leninism teaches us that one of the prerequisites of the extermination of imperialism is the development of the basic contradictions within imperialism and that the revolutionary realities during the few past decades reflect the level of maturity of world revolution.
Revolutionary development differs from country to country. This rule on irregular revolutionary development explains why, while the entire imperialist system in general is ripe for revolution, revolution breaks out and triumphs in certain countries and does not break out and triumph in other countries. One cannot explain why revolution does not have the conditions to break out and triumph in one country or another by the different levels of development of the socialist and imperialist camps. During the era when the revolutionary storm has broken out and is causing the collapse of imperialism block by block, he who speaks of compromising with imperialism to build economy and regards this as the number one requirement, willingly or unwillingly only hinders the progress of revolution.

Moreover, I am of the opinion that it is untrue that peoples in capitalist countries will wait until the socialist camp surpasses the imperialist camp in the field of per capita production and until the superiority of socialism over capitalism is obvious to decide to choose between socialism and capitalism. In my opinion, posing the problem this way is wrong. During the past four decades, the socialist system has proved its superiority over the capitalist system. Even during the first days of the Soviet administration in Russia when Russian workers and peasants lived a life of suffering and shortage, working people in the world already realized that the Soviet administration was a thousand times better than the capitalist administration. The superiority of socialism has been concretely reflected by the high rate of development of the national economy. The marvellous progress of the USSR during the past 45 years and of fraternal socialist countries during the past 20 years has definitely reduced the difference in the levels of economic development between our camp and the imperialist camp.

Although devastated by two world wars, under the Soviet administration the USSR has not only recovered from extremely great damage, but it has also increased its average annual rate of industrial development three to five times of that of capitalist countries. From a country whose industry was six and five times smaller, compared with the United States and West Germany respectively, the USSR now has
become the second industrial country in the world. Other brother countries in the socialist camp have also developed their national economies at an unprecedentedly high rate. During the last decade the average annual rate of development of the socialist camp was 14 percent while the average rate for the capitalist system did not exceed five percent.

This quick economic development is the material base for continually improving the welfare of the laboring people, for developing technology -- including military technology -- and for strengthening the invincible national defense force of the socialist camp. Another very important point is that, although their production and output are lower than that of advanced capitalist countries, socialist countries -- thanks to socialist production relations and to the application of a just and rational distribution system -- have provided all laborers with jobs, insured continuous improvement of the laboring people's livelihood, and completely eliminated unemployment and other social vices. The socialist system is the system under which there is no exploitation of man by man, there is true democracy and freedom, manpower is no longer regarded as cheap and unmarketable as under the capitalist system, the people's material life is guaranteed, human dignity is given back to human beings, and the finest and healthiest feelings develop daily.

Because of the characteristics of world development, the countries which started building socialism had economic levels much lower than those of imperialist countries, and if, nowadays, there is a gap between the level of production development of our camp and the level of production development of the imperialist camp, this is easily understandable. During the present phase of socialist economic development, we cannot use industrial and agricultural products or per capita food production as a yardstick to measure either the superiority of our system over the capitalist system or to measure the dignity of the peoples in socialist countries -- peoples who live for a noble ideal, are actually the masters of their fate, and are building happiness for their nations and mankind.

We must endeavor to praise the existing strong points of the socialist system to the oppressed the world over, help
them to understand the historic reasons for the temporarily lower economic levels of socialist countries compared with a number of capitalist countries, and show them the path of revolutionary struggle to follow to overthrow imperialism, bury capitalism, and liberate the nation and class. If we unilaterally stress the low level of economic development of socialist countries, regard this as a weak point of our system, and consider the success of the socialist revolution on a world scale as being dependent on the success of the economic construction race between the two systems, we reduce the role of the socialist camp in and its influence over the struggle for peace, national independence, democracy, and socialism and abandon the offensive stance toward the enemy and adopt a defensive and wait-and-see attitude. By so doing we cause major harm to the world revolutionary movement.

In short, when studying the decisive influence of the socialist camp, we must adopt the viewpoints on class struggle and proletarian revolution and the viewpoints on the era as set forth in the 1960 Moscow declaration: Our era is the era of transition from capitalism to socialism on a world scale, the era of struggle between two systems, the era of socialist and national liberation revolutions, and the era of the extermination of imperialism and the success of socialism and communism throughout the world. We must adopt the historic materialist viewpoints which regard the masses of people as the main factor of the development of history. We must adopt the viewpoints on the lasting and fundamental strategy. We must completely have revolutionary eagerness and intelligence. Only by so doing can we make correct observations.

Since the end of World War II, Asia, Africa, and Latin America have been swept by the strongest revolutionary waves. What were the reasons for this situation? First of all it was because the laboring people in these areas -- the absolute majority of whom are peasants -- were mercilessly and cruelly oppressed and exploited by the imperialists, feudalists, and bourgeois compradors: Economic exploitation was added to the savage oppression caused by differences in nationalities, classes, color, and so forth. The imperialists maintained
their colonies and dependent countries in a state of backwardness. The laboring people continuously faced shortages and unemployment. Their life was similar to that of slaves. After World War I indigenous bourgeoisie developed in many countries. They wanted to develop the national bourgeois economy. But they were prevented by the feudalists and imperialists.

This situation demanded that revolution be urgently carried out to liberate nations and to liberate productivity from the grip of the imperialists, feudalists, and bourgeois compradors. Slogans on national independence, land for the tillers, and democratic freedoms became most urgent requirements. The national democratic ideals exerted a great stimulating effect on the masses -- from workers, peasants, and petty bourgeois intellectuals to the national bourgeoisie and patriotic and democratic personalities -- mobilizing and mustering them into a powerful revolutionary force, of which the peasants form the most numerous force.

Awakened by the great Russian October Revolution, this powerful revolutionary force turned the vast areas of Asia, Africa, and Latin America into a source of new revolutionary storms. The brilliant victories of the red army of the USSR over the German and Japanese Fascists in World War II, the great victory of the Chinese revolution, and the birth and growth of the socialist camp -- which includes a number of former colonies and dependent countries -- are external factors which contributed to making these storms increasingly more violent. The laboring people, especially workers and peasants, rose up with extraordinary martial bravery. They asked not only for the liberation of productivity, but also the liberation of the laboring people from oppression and exploitation. They asked not only for national liberation and democratic reforms, but also for progress to socialism.

As far as its nature is concerned, the present revolutionary current in Asian, African, and Latin American countries is a bourgeois, democratic revolutionary current having a national and democratic content. Since it occurs in the era of international proletarian revolution and under the condition that over one billion people have succeeded in carrying out the proletarian revolution, this bourgeois
democratic revolutionary current is capable of turning itself into a continuous revolutionary current and a socialist revolution, skipping the capitalist development phase. Lenin had this view in mind when speaking of the new source of revolutionary storms, of "the 1905 of the Orient" and of the future of the world socialist revolution in connection with the Chinese and Indian revolutions.

The strong attacks of the national liberation movement and the inevitable progress toward socialism of the national democratic revolutionary current -- a progress resulting from the growing influence of the socialist camp -- have frightened the imperialists. Hoping to save colonialism from destruction, to stop the revolutionary movement of workers and peasants, and to check the influence of the socialist camp, the imperialists hurriedly compromised with the national bourgeoisie -- especially its reactionary elements -- and proclaimed their intention of giving back partial independence to a number of colonies and dependent countries. But in practice they tried by all means to maintain their rights under new forms. This rejects the groundless argument of some persons who maintain that the birth of a series of nationalist countries with different degrees of sovereignty is the result of a struggle by peaceful means and of the peaceful coexistence between two opposing social systems.

The imperialists will never abandon colonialism, one of the main bases of their survival and rule. Since capitalism is entering deeply into a new phase of general crisis and imperialist contradictions are becoming deeper than ever, the imperialists do their best to engage in neocolonialism, regarding it as their most efficacious chance. To oppress Asian, African, and Latin American countries in the economic, political, and military fields, they have been resorting to such means as direct investment, economic and military "aid," creation of military alliances, creating new social strata and turning them into leaning points, bribing the ruling authorities, subversive activities, coups d'etat and wars when need be: Aggressive wars, "special wars", or regional wars.

On the other hand, faced with the development of the revolutionary movement of the masses, especially workers
and peasants, and faced with the oppression, bribery, and flatteries of the imperialists, the national bourgeoisie is differentiated daily and quickly. A number of them are anti-imperialist -- they want to develop an independent economy and apply a foreign policy based on peace and neutrality. Thus they have some progressive aspects. Such policies also have some positive aspects and are advantageous to the national democratic revolution in a country and to the international anti-imperialist front.

Another group of the bourgeoisie -- generally the high bourgeoisie -- controls the key economic and political positions in a number of nationalist countries. They are inclined to compromise with the imperialists. Thus, they want to apply reactionary internal and external policies, thus betraying national interests and opposing the revolutionary movement of workers and peasants in order to protect their positions and interests. This group dares not play the bourgeois democratic "card," fearing that, after seizing democratic freedoms, the workers and peasants will overthrow them.

Thus, in nationalist countries ruled by the reactionary bourgeoisie, land reforms are not carried out or are carried out only half-way. The majority of the main economic bases of the imperialists in these countries are not nationalized. Investment capital and "aid" from imperialist countries increase daily. From the state of being dependent on imperialism economically and militarily, many nationalist countries have become even politically dependent on imperialist countries.

The reactionary bourgeoisie ruling a number of nationalist countries has certain contradictions with one imperialist group or another. Thus, strategically we must take advantage of these contradictions while struggling against the warlike imperialists and protecting world peace. But the important point is that we must clearly realize their basic tendency of increasingly close collaboration with the imperialists and their open opposition to workers and peasants and that we must not let ourselves be deceived by them.

The situation differs from country to country, as does the degree of differentiation of the national bourgeoisie,
which depends on the change in the balance of forces of the different classes, on the sharpness of the contradictions among the imperialists, the feudalists, and the masses of people, and on the depth of the contradictions among the imperialists, the feudalists, and the national bourgeoisie. But it is clear that there are countries where the majority of the bourgeoisie have thrown away the national democratic flag, set up a dictatorial and fascist regime, openly opposed communism, and helped the imperialists intensify their colonialist oppression. Under these conditions the path of capitalist development is in fact the path of returning to dependence on the neocolonialism of the imperialists.

Therefore, one characteristic of many Asian, African, and Latin American countries is the coexistence of deep national contradictions and increasingly deep class contradictions. This explains why the national liberation movement in the present era is a national anti-imperialist struggle that is closely connected with the internal class struggle -- that is, the struggle for national independence is thoroughly, closely and physically connected with the struggle against the feudalists, bourgeois compradors, and reactionary imperialist lackeys and for democracy and the struggle between two paths; the path of capitalist development and the path of non-capitalist development.

It is clear that to fulfill the task of self-liberation, the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America must not only fulfill the task of building their economies, especially their state-owned economic sector, with the help of the socialist camp, but their more important task is to concentrate their force to destroy neo-colonialism, complete the national democratic revolution, and make their countries advance along the path of non-capitalist development. In fulfilling these tasks they must regard the peasant problem as the strategic problem of the national revolution and they must pay special attention to the problem and reforms because a national revolution that does not protect the interests of peasants -- forming the majority of the population -- is only a farce. Only through a protracted and arduous revolutionary struggle can the peoples in colonies, dependent countries, and nationalist countries achieve complete success.
Another important characteristic is that Asia, Africa, and Latin America are not only the areas where contradictions between the imperialists and the oppressed are fiercely manifested and where imperialists compete among themselves fiercely, but they are also the areas where contradictions between the imperialist and socialist camps are manifested fiercely. In holding on to Asia, Africa, and Latin America, the imperialists aim not only at protecting their colonialist interests, seizing markets, capturing the sources of raw materials, and seizing spheres of political and military influence, but they also aim at preventing the development of socialism in these areas and turning these areas into bases for preparing a war against the socialist camp.

The imperialists, headed by the U.S. imperialists, continue to prepare actively for a new world war. But at present they dare not embark on the adventure of waging such a war because they know that launching a new world war would be suicide. Meanwhile, their previously quiet rear -- colonies and dependent countries -- have become or are becoming the advanced posts of a permanent and strong anti-imperialist struggle. The colonial system, a main base of imperialist rule, is facing the danger of complete collapse. That is why they have endeavored to extinguish the revolutionary fire in their colonies and dependent countries, hoping to continue the enslavement of these countries and to turn these countries into their reserve force in the struggle against the socialist camp and hoping to eliminate socialist influence from these areas.

In fact the imperialists regard Asia, Africa, and Latin America not only as the scene of struggle between themselves and the oppressed, but also as the scene of struggle between themselves and the socialist camp. The frenzied anti-communist appeals of the warlike imperialists and the more than ten regional wars and "special wars" they have waged in these areas in the past two decades revealed their sinister schemes.

On the other hand the national liberation movements in Asia, Africa, and Latin America -- which have launched
repeated attacks against colonialism -- have become and are becoming the most powerful allies of the socialist camp and the revolutionary struggle movement of the working class in imperialist countries. The successes of the national democratic revolutions in China, Korea, Viet-Nam and Cuba opened the way for these four countries to advance toward socialism and become members of the socialist camp. The national liberation movements in Asia, Africa, and Latin America -- which are dealing decisive blows aimed at destroying both old and new colonialism -- will not only accelerate the collapse of imperialism, but will also open up a new opportunity: In the future there may be many other national liberation revolutions which will develop into socialist revolutions. This is precisely the greatest influence of the socialist camp in these areas.

These possibilities, if realized, will make an extremely great and positive contribution to deterring world war and protecting peace and, at the same time, will rapidly strengthen the force of the socialist camp.

This analysis clearly shows that the development of the revolutionary movement in Asia, Africa, and Latin America exerted a direct influence on the balance of forces, changing it quickly in favor of peace, national independence, democracy, and socialism. In setting forth this view, we do not underestimate the most basic contradictions of today's world: The contradictions between the two camps. We do not, for the contradictions between the two camps are fierce. They are revealed in the implacable class struggle between the two opposing social systems and in the problem of war and peace. They make more fierce the existing contradictions in capitalist countries. At the same time they are manifested in the fierce struggle between socialism and capitalism in Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

Generally speaking, we see that Asia, Africa, and Latin America are the areas where there are the most contradictions in the world. In these areas there are contradictions between the oppressed and the old and new imperialist colonialists, contradictions between the peasants and feudal landlords, contradictions between workers and capitalists, contradictions among the imperialists themselves, and
contradictions between the socialist anti-imperialist camps. In these areas imperialism has been and is strongly attacked. In these areas a powerful revolutionary force has risen up as strong as a high tide. In these areas the reactionary ruling machinery is relatively weak; the ruling bourgeoisie does not have a developed economy or a political, cultural, and organizational level as high as that of the ruling bourgeoisie in Western Europe and North America.

It is clear that Asia, Africa, and Latin America are the weakest link in the imperialist and capitalist chain and the easiest places to stave in the imperialist and capitalist front. In today's era, outside of the socialist camp, Asia, Africa, and Latin America are the areas where the deepest revolutionary changes are taking place every day and where the national democratic revolution movement has given, is giving, and will give rise to the greatest changes in the world.

This evaluation of the revolutionary movement in Asia, Africa, and Latin America is consistent with Marxist-Leninist view on the proletarian revolution and with the views of the 1960 Moscow declaration, that "the socialist camp and the forces struggling against imperialism to transform the society socialistically are deciding the main content, the main direction, and the main characteristics of the historic development of society in today's era."

To realize the role of the revolutionary movement of Asian, African, and Latin American peoples clearly and to determine the strategic and tactical line of the international communist movement toward this movement is a very important problem which is directly related to the struggle against imperialism and for peace, national independence, democracy, and socialism throughout the world. Some have underestimated or cultivated doubts about the revolutionary movement in Asia, Africa, and Latin America because they failed to see the fierce contradictions still existing and developing in Asia, Africa, and Latin America, because they failed to realize that these areas are in a condition where revolution may break out today in one place and tomorrow in another place, and because they have failed to see that the trend of the progress of the boiling revolutionary movement of billions of people in Asia, Africa, and Latin America is a current that no reactionary
force can resist.

In countries where there is a state of direct revolution — the situation of each country being considered separately — we see that at the outset there is a great difference between the imperialist and reactionary force on the one hand and the revolutionary force on the other. But strength does not lie with the imperialists and their lackeys, but with the force of the people who are rising up to wage a life-or-death struggle against their enemy. If guided by a correct political line, Asian, African, and Latin American people — with the full support and proper aid of the socialist camp — will find a proper revolutionary struggle formula and finally they will undoubtedly defeat the imperialists and the reactionary forces, thus making increasingly great contributions to the common struggle against imperialism and for peace, national liberation, democracy, and socialism throughout the world.

In short, in evaluating a national liberation movement, we must adopt the views on class struggle and proletarian revolution and the views on this era as set forth in the 1960 Moscow declaration. We must also adopt historic materialist views. We must consider the people the driving power of social progress. We must have complete revolutionary eagerness and revolutionary intelligence. We must also adopt the strategic viewpoint. Only in this way can we make a correct evaluation.

The imperialist camp, headed by the United States, continues to weaken and is drawing increasingly nearer to collapse. Since the end of World War II the areas under imperialist rule have been reduced daily. The deep basic contradictions of capitalism — contradictions between the social character of production and capitalist private ownership — have reached their climax. With its rapid transformation into state monopoly capitalism and its dissemination among all imperialist countries and with the creation of international unions by state monopoly capitalism, imperialism has exploited to the maximum all capacities under capitalism to maintain this system and has resorted to all means that can be used under capitalism to prevent outmoded capitalist production relations from being destroyed by the highly developed production forces.
The market problem is becoming the most difficult problem ever faced by the economy of imperialist countries. The economy of imperialist countries is a permanently sick economy. Its rottenness is proved by the fact that the capacity to develop consumption is restricted and backward compared with the capacity to develop production; the period between crises in imperialist countries, the richest of which is the United States, is increasingly shortened; a number of economic branches in many countries constantly face local crises; the army of jobless workers is permanently very large in many countries; the number of parasitic persons increases daily; the expenses of branches that do not serve production or the people's life increase daily; the state budget is continually in the red; inflation becomes increasingly serious; solid currencies are devaluated daily, and so forth. And the most striking of these characteristics is the growing militarization of this economy. In short, one can say that, economically, imperialism is rich, but it is not strong.

Due to the facts that the market is restricted and uneven economic development changes the balance of forces among imperialist countries constantly, the contradictions among imperialist countries and among imperialist communities become increasingly fierce. The imperialists are facing the following situation: To maintain capitalism and to cope with the socialist camp, the national liberation movements, and the workers' movements in their countries they feel they cannot stand alone and must unite in economic, military, and political blocs; but if they unite, they face contradictions, compete among themselves, and are forced to deal with each other.

The aggressive and warlike nature of imperialism remains unchanged. According to Lenin, violence is the fundamental tendency of imperialism. Because it was born in violence, imperialism uses violence as its principal means to oppress and exploit people at home and abroad. Today, despite imperialist decadence, this tendency for violence has not decreased but has, on the contrary, increased. This tendency is the origin of fundamental imperialist policy -- the policy of war and not of peace.

Today, it is clear that U.S.-led imperialists still cling to their fundamental policy of war in the hope of
maintaining their rule. The greater the risk of destruction, the more eagerly they pursue their policy of war. Being a nature byproduct of the imperialist economic system, this policy belongs to the capitalist monopolists -- a representative class of this economic system -- and not to one certain group of people. In the thirties, that is after World War I and after the failure of armed intervention by 14 nations in the Soviet Union, the imperialists waged aggressive wars on different scales, such as the aggressive war carried out in 1931 by the Japanese imperialists in three northeast China provinces and the aggressive war waged in 1935 by the Italian fascists against Abyssinia. No sooner had the gunshots of World War II ceased resounding than the aggressive gunfire of imperialist countries began to be heard again and it has not yet stopped. The imperialists instigated over 10 aggressive, regional, and "special" wars in the past 18 years. This is eloquent proof of the warlike nature of imperialism in the present era.

The fact that the Soviet Union possesses nuclear weapons and has achieved superiority in this area over the imperialist camp has only brought about a total change in the military strategy of the imperialist camp and its plan for preparing and carrying out war, but it has not caused the imperialists to give up their warlike policy. They have reached a deadlock and fallen into a passive position due to their strategy of "mass retaliation" and "stormy repression" -- a strategy based on an absolute superiority in nuclear weapons. They realized the impossibility of using nuclear weapons to eliminate the socialist regime, the national liberation movement, as well as the workers' movement within their own countries. Giving up the strategy of "mass retaliation" and "stormy repression," they replaced it with the strategy of "versatile reaction" by means of one of three types of war involving the use of both nuclear and conventional weapons: World war, regional war, and "special war". The strategy of "versatile reaction" shows all the more clearly the warlike nature of the U.S.-led imperialists, who continue to seek all means to instigate war. Encountering numerous difficulties in preparing a world war, they intend to continue to use regional and "special" wars to cope with the socialist camp, the national liberation movement, and the revolutionary movement in imperialist countries.
Another basic policy of imperialism in the present era is neocolonialism. Colonialism is one of the factors insuring the existence and development of imperialism. Today, due to the strong development of the national liberation movement, the imperialists find it difficult to maintain colonialism under its old forms, and, therefore, have resorted to more wily tricks to maintain this system under new forms.

Only about 50 million people remain who are still directly dominated by old colonialism. But due to the imperialists' neocolonialism, billions of people are oppressed and exploited by neocolonialism in an ever more subtle and artful fashion. Thus, colonialism represents an increasingly great danger. U. S. imperialism has become the principal bulwark of colonialism at the present time.

Imperialism has failed to check the revolutionary upsurge. Since the end of World War II, dealing with the historic position of imperialism, Lenin termed it agonizing capitalism, transitional capitalism, and transition from capitalism to a higher order of things, and on the eve of a socialist revolution. He said this because, under the imperialist regime, capitalist contradictions reach the highest degree of acuteness and require solution by means of revolutions aimed at eliminating this regime. He said this because the development of these contradictions weaken capitalism and creates conditions for revolutions to break out and achieve success. He said this because the imperialist doctrine has engendered the grave digger to bury it, that is, the immense forces of proletarian revolution in imperialist countries in conjunction with the immense forces of the national liberation movement in colonial, semicolonial, and dependent countries.

However, the imperialist collapse -- far from being an overall, quick collapse -- is a gradual decay of each part, a process which lingers throughout the historic era, the era of transition from capitalism to socialism on a world scale. This process began with the great Russian October Revolution. Following this revolution, revolutionary conditions prevailed in a series of European capitalist countries and evolved into conditions of direct revolution in some of these countries, but they did not achieve success because of the lack of certain subjective conditions. The October revolution not only stimulated
the revolutionary spirit of the working class in imperialist countries, but it also awoke the oppressed peoples in colonies and dependent countries. Many colonies and dependent countries turned out to be the source of a new revolutionary storm which was closely connected with the workers' revolutionary movement in the "metropolises." After a period of change, however, imperialism reverted to a period of temporary calm while the Soviet Union and the world revolutionary movement temporarily remained on the defensive.

The great victory of the democratic forces led by the Soviet Union in the anti-fascist war greatly weakened imperialism and opened up a new period of revolutionary upsurge for the people of the world. The characteristic of this revolutionary upsurge is the fact that, since its appearance, it has developed continuously and strongly, launched an offensive from many directions against imperialism, and gained continuing successes. The main direction of the offensive of this upsurge is Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

The greatest achievement of this upsurge was the birth of four socialist countries, the greatest of which is China which, together with the Soviet Union, forms the mainstay of the socialist camp. This upsurge also led to the establishment of over 50 nationalist nations with different degrees of sovereignty. The imperialists used every means to check this upsurge, but due to the failure of all their schemes, they had to withdraw from one position to another. Today, when the socialist camp has grown strong and become the decisive factor in the development of the human society, the imperialist camp becomes increasingly weak and rotten. Thus, the possibility for the people of the world to continue to repel imperialism step by step and to pull down its parts one after another has become greater than ever.

The imperialists replaced their strategy of "mass retaliation" with the strategy of "versatile reaction" because they failed to stop the national liberation movement, because the socialist camp grew strongly, and because the Soviet Union achieved nuclear superiority. Caught in a passive position, they want to win back the leading role but the
people of the world will surely smash their new strategy. They possess vast machinery for violence. However they have to cope with the socialist camp, the people in their own countries, and the oppressed peoples and they also have to cope with each other. In short, they have to deal with many things. Therefore they must disperse their forces. As a result the forces they use to cope with each area are limited. In many places this situation makes the practical balance of forces between them and the local people favorable for the people and unfavorable for them, thus creating conditions for the local people to defeat them.

In short, in analyzing and commenting on imperialism, we need to base ourselves on the concept of class struggle and proletarian revolution and on the concept of the (present--Ed) era as clearly set forth in the 1960 Moscow declaration. We must consider these concepts as principal and not concepts of peace and war. We must base ourselves on the historic materialist concept to evaluate our forces and strength and we must consider the masses of people as the driving power for historic evolution. Only in this way can we accurately assess our forces and imperialist forces. It is necessary to principally base oneself on the concept of a long-term strategy and evolution and not on the concept of a temporary policy of antagonism. A number of comrades assess the world situation erroneously because they inaccurately analyze and appraise our forces and imperialist forces, because they confuse policy with strategy, and because they consider temporary antagonistic actions as principal and not long-term basic revolutionary lines.

After casting an overall glance at the world situation and analyzing the characteristics and laws of development of the three regions, we find that revolutionary, socialist, and pacifist forces are obviously superior to the imperialist reactionary and warlike forces. We are stronger than the enemy.

Therefore, the revolution is not on the defensive and revolutionary strategy must not be a defensive strategy. On the contrary, the revolution is on the offensive and revolutionary strategy must be an offensive one aimed at destroying warlike policies one by one in order to ultimately smash the overall
warmongering scheme of U.S.-led imperialism and must be aimed at repelling imperialism step by step and overthrowing its various parts one by one in order to eliminate imperialism ultimately and completely. This situation essentially differs from the situation of a few decades ago when only the Soviet Union survived amid capitalist siege. Today it is a great mistake to copy the strategy and policy used by Communists several decades ago.

By offensive strategy we mean a strategy for political and revolutionary struggle; we absolutely do not mean that we advocate the instigation of a world war. No socialist country advocates such a strategy. By offensive strategy we mean that we simultaneously maintain world peace firmly and step up the revolutionary struggle to repel imperialism step by step and to overthrow its parts one after another. But peace is also firmly maintained by launching an offensive on imperialism. Only by launching an offensive on imperialism can peace be insured.

In the past, when it was still weak, the Soviet Union sometimes had to make concessions to the enemy in order to obtain a temporary compromise and peace and to gain time to consolidate and strengthen its forces in order to cope with further conflicts with imperialism.

Today our lines for the defense of peace are based on the comparative superiority of our new forces over enemy forces. We carry out the offensive to prevent the imperialists from creating war, thereby insuring peace. Today our lines for the protection of peace are also based on the assertion that imperialism never changes its nature, that the weaker the imperialists are, the more deeply they will indulge in the tendency toward violence, and that a warlike policy is their fundamental policy. Because they want war and not peace, peace cannot be obtained by making concessions to them. Nor can negotiations be considered the most fundamental means for protecting peace, although negotiations are necessary during the process of the struggle for peace. On the contrary, in order to have peace it is necessary to attack their policy of war and defeat it.

A war policy is a necessary product of the imperialist
Only by mobilizing a force strong enough to defeat this policy is it possible to have peace. Such a force must be a force of the masses. This force of the masses is mainly formed by the socialist camp, the working class and laboring people in imperialist countries, and the oppressed nations. These three forces are the core forces and the main forces. Only on the basis of closely uniting these forces of peace is it possible to win over other forces of peace and set up a large peace front. The mobilization of the force of the socialist camp is aimed at making our camp strong so that our camp can defend itself efficiently, so that the warlike imperialists dare not adventurously attack our camp, and so that our camp can formulate a correct political line for encouraging, supporting, and helping peoples who are struggling against imperialism.

The working class and laboring people in imperialist countries and the oppressed in old and new colonies are the force of the masses within the economic structure of imperialism. They are directly in charge of destroying the policy of war, a product of this economy. At present they cannot only create tens of thousands of difficulties and obstacles for this policy of war, but they can also destroy the economy that has given birth to this policy. That is, they can destroy this policy in an absolute manner.

Only by constant attacks from the peoples of the world can the imperialists be prevented from waging war. Only by weakening them daily is their capacity to wage war reduced daily and the possibility of protecting peace increased daily. To refrain from attacking the imperialists and to adopt a defensive attitude is to encourage them to carry out their policy of war freely, thus increasing the danger of war.

Where must imperialism be defeated step by step and part by part? Naturally it must first be defeated in the areas that have, at the time being, the most favorable conditions. These areas are Asia, Africa, and Latin America. When the socialist system implements the policy of peaceful coexistence with the imperialist system, the two systems are equal and one cannot destroy the other. Imperialism will completely collapse under the direct effect of the revolutionary struggle.
of the working class and laboring people in capitalist countries and the struggle of the oppressed colonies, semi-colonies, and dependent countries. In the present era imperialism has collapsed part by part in Asian, African, and Latin American countries. Doubtless imperialism will continue to collapse in these areas.

We place great hope in the revolutionary movement of the working class and laboring people in imperialist and developed capitalist countries. The success of revolutions in these countries will destroy imperialism in its own den. The success of revolutions in highly industrial countries will create additional conditions advantageous for the progress of communism on a world scale.

We are convinced that, with the development of the existing contradictions of imperialism, the effect of the revolutionary movement of Asian, African, and Latin American peoples, and the intensified application of imperialism's war policy, the working class and laboring people in many imperialist countries will fully understand that, if they do not make sacrifices to carry out the revolution in order to overthrow the rule of monopoly capitalism, the latter may lead mankind into a new world war which could cause the destruction of hundreds of millions of persons. Thus, the working class and laboring people will rise more strongly than ever. Under these conditions many imperialist countries will possibly become centers of revolutionary storms if their communist parties and workers raise high the revolutionary flags and isolate and defeat reformist views.

To serve their policy of war, the monopoly capitalists in imperialist countries implemented a series of reactionary internal policies which are detrimental to the life and political rights of the working class and other laboring people and which even effect the interests of some categories of middle bourgeois: Increased taxes, reduced salaries and increased working time for workers, restricted democratic freedoms, application of a dictatorial system, open application of a fascist system or encouragement of fascism, bringing about the bankruptcy of small and medium-size enterprises, and so forth. Thus, in many countries there is the possibility of creating a large front which embraces
workers, peasants, urban petty bourgeois, and even some categories of middle bourgeois to struggle against the monopoly capitalist cliques for democratic objectives, and against the policy of war of state monopoly capitalism in order to protect world peace.

At present the struggle for democracy plays a very important role. Carried out with revolutionary spirit and not with a reformist spirit, this struggle is part of the struggle for socialism. The policy of war is the most dangerous policy threatening the working class and laboring people. This policy attacks their livelihood daily and even threatens their existence. Therefore, the struggle of the working class and laboring people against the oppression and exploitation of state monopoly capitalism, especially against its policy of war, has the possibility -- under certain conditions -- of becoming an urgent requirement of the masses and of turning itself into a revolution aimed at overthrowing the rule of state monopoly capitalism and smothering a new world war before it breaks out.

Under conditions whereby monopolist capitalism is advancing further and further toward the use of violence and the bureaucratic and military apparatus of almost all imperialist and capitalist countries have been strengthened on a gigantic and unprecedented scale, even though it is necessary for Communists to take full advantage of any peace possibility to advance the process of development of the revolution, it is all the more necessary for them to take advantage of any opportunity and make adequate preparations for coping with the possibility of non-peaceful development of the revolution.

Revolutionary violence is different from armed struggle. It can be either political struggle or armed struggle, or political struggle combined with armed struggle. It is not necessarily correct to say that, in countries where industry is developed to a high degree, armed struggle absolutely cannot and must not be carried out. In the past the revolutionary war in Spain was carried out for years. International conditions are much more favorable today if compared with the period of the Spanish revolutionary war; and the
conditions in a number of countries are also more favorable. If the Communists of a certain imperialist country are faced with the obligation of taking up arms to carry out a revolution and if they fail to do so, then they lose the opportunity. How can they refuse to do this and wait for the opportunity to advance by peaceful means?

Revolutions can neither be exported nor imported. When a revolution breaks out and it is successful in a certain country, it is due to objective and subjective causes. It cannot break out at any time according to one's wish or by one's order. This Marxist-Leninist principle does not mean -- as interpreted by some people -- that a revolution only depends on causes which are completely objective and that the leading party just passively waits for the revolution. On the contrary, this Marxist-Leninist principle says: Whether a revolution breaks out early or late and whether it is successful or unsuccessful depends upon subjective causes related to the revolutionary party's leadership as well as objective causes which are not dependent on the wish of the leading party.

If the party leading the revolution has correct lines, it can cause the masses to rise up and participate more actively in creating a revolutionary situation. When a revolutionary situation exists, it is unlikely that a revolutionary movement will take place if the leading party does not have correct lines; and it is completely correct to take the contrary hypothesis. This conforms with historical materialism. Historical materialism says that history develops according to objective rules independent of man's will, but history is man's history, and man is making his own history.

The Vietnamese revolution is a close part of the world revolutionary movement. As I clearly mentioned above, every time it sets forth the lines and policies for the Vietnamese revolution, our Party always bases itself simultaneously on the concrete situation of our country and on the common requirements of the struggle for socialism, national independence, and peace on a world scale. The success of our August revolution cannot be separated from the victory scored by the Soviet Red Army and people is smashing the German and Japanese fascists. The success
of our people's lasting resistance movement is also closely related to the success of the Chinese people's revolution and to the success of the anti-American patriotic war waged by the Korean people.

At the same time the success of our people's August revolution and resistance made an important contribution to stimulating the national liberation movement, to strengthening the force of the socialist camp, and to frustrating the U.S. imperialists' scheme of expanding war in Indo-China and Southeast Asia and, thereby, made an active contribution to defending the socialist camp and safeguarding world peace.

Since the conclusion of the 1954 Geneva Accords, our Party considers the common task of the Vietnamese revolution to be to carry out the socialist revolution in the North and, simultaneously, to carry out the national, democratic revolution in the South in order to achieve peaceful reunification of the country and to build a peaceful, reunified, independent, democratic, and prosperous Vietnam. The revolutionary realities of the past nine years prove that this revolutionary line not only meets the most intimate demands of our people in the entire country, but it also conforms with the demands for peace, national independence, and socialism, which are the most urgent demands of peoples in the whole world. It is, at the same time, an active contribution to the struggle for the satisfaction of these demands. These revolutionary realities also prove that, if the building of socialism in the North exerts a most decisive effect on the development of the Vietnamese revolution as a whole and on the task of achieving national reunification, the revolutionary struggle of the South Vietnamese people has a direct effect on the overthrowing of the ruling yoke of the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys and on destroying their neocolonialist policies in order to liberate the South and smash the U.S. imperialists' scheme of turning South Viet-Nam into a military base to oppose the socialist camp and to expand war in Indo-China and Southeast Asia. Therefore, this struggle is an active contribution to the maintenance of world peace.
To safeguard peace it is very necessary to step up the South Viet-Nam revolution and frustrate the U.S. imperialists' policy of aggression and their scheme to cause war in our country. When we consolidate and develop socialist forces, step up the struggle for national independence and democracy, defeat imperialism step by step, and destroy imperialism part by part, we actively safeguard world peace. It is due to the fact that our Party has skillfully applied Marxism-Leninism and skillfully combined the requirements of the struggle of the world's people with the concrete situation of our country and the requirements of our people's struggle that the lines and policies of the Vietnamese revolution set forth by our Party are completely correct and brought about one success after another.

In order to achieve great success in the revolution carried out by our Party and people, we have -- ever since our Party came into existence -- struggled against different deviationist tendencies, mainly rightist deviation, with the view of thoroughly understanding the correct revolutionary lines of our Party. At present, faced with the difficult and complex situation of the new revolutionary phase in our country and faced with the complex situation within the international Communist movement, a number of comrades in our Party are -- as stated by many comrades -- influenced by modern revisionism. This, even though these comrades are few, is not a good thing and attention must be given to it. Thus, how can we prevent the penetration of our Party by modern revisionism?

This is the fundamental situation: Our Party is a revolutionary Party; the lines set forth by our Party are completely revolutionary lines. In our socialist revolution in the North we are carrying out three revolutions which are closely linked to each other: The revolution in production relations, the technical revolution, and the ideological and cultural revolution. Our people in the South are stepping up the anti-imperialist and anti-feudalist revolution in order to liberate the South and safeguard peace in the whole country and Southeast Asia.

The people in our entire country are presently in an
enthusiastic and acute revolutionary situation. The absolute majority of our cadres and Party members are very revolutionary, but in the acute class struggle a number of cadres and Party members have rightist views on a number of international as well as domestic problems. If an opportunity arises, for instance when the revolution faces difficulties, this rightist thinking can become fertile ground for modern revisionism to take root in and develop. The revolution carried out by our people is still long, perilous, and complicated. Our Party must be extremely vigilant. To oppose the penetration of our Party by modern revisionism effectively, we must deprive it of any ground to grow on, no matter how the situation develops. To do this our Party must carry out the following concrete tasks:

1. Make our cadres and Party members conscious of and thoroughly understand the Party lines. The lines set forth by our Party are revolutionary lines that cannot be reconciled with modern revisionism. If our cadres and Party members fully understand and have confidence in these lines, the arguments of modern revisionism cannot arise in their minds and modern revisionist ideas which infiltrate their minds will be immediately dispelled.

2. Continue to strengthen the proletarian standpoint of our cadres and Party members, to clean up the remnants of petty bourgeois ideology and the influence of bourgeois ideology, and mainly, to be determined to oppose individualism, which is the basic idea of modern revisionism. Certain communists have become modern revisionists because they are afraid of perilous revolutionary struggle and of making sacrifices. They only want to lead a carefree and happy life and therefore, they cherish bourgeois habits, modes of living, and ideology. For them the lofty and beautiful ideals of communism have vanished. They only think of the western bourgeoisie's way of living and consider it a model and the highest objective of their struggle. They tremble before, reconcile themselves with, and gradually surrender ideologically to the imperialists and their lackeys. It is, therefore, necessary to further strengthen our cadres' firm revolutionary will and true patriotism, combine it with the spirit of proletarian internationalism, and oppose bourgeois nationalism, great nation chauvinism, and narrow-minded
nationalism. It is necessary to urge our cadres to improve continuously the virtues of diligence, economy, uprightness, and honesty so that they can fully fulfill their responsibilities to the people and will be always concerned with improving the material and intellectual life of the people -- regarding this as the noble duty of the Communists. It is also necessary to urge cadres to combat the tendency to seek a quiet life, to seek pleasure, and to lead a careless and licentious life.

3. Heighten the sense of organization and discipline of cadres and Party members and combat liberalism and sectarianism. At the same time it is necessary to consolidate the Chi Bo [base level party units--Editor] and make the Chi Bo an increasingly solid stronghold of the Party where Party members are constantly given political education and where communist virtues are constantly improved.

4. Organize the systematic study of Marxism-Leninism and current events and actively criticize modern revisionism.

We must be very vigilant before modern revisionism. It is a terrible calamity for the revolutionary movement because, if it succeeds in infiltrating our Party, it will be able to destroy the revolutionary spirit of our Party and people and it will become an efficient lackey of the enemy classes and an objective ally of imperialism. The more deeply we hate imperialism the greater the impossibility of our refraining from hating modern revisionism.

The struggle against modern revisionism is aimed at intensifying the struggle against imperialism, stepping up world people's revolution, protecting the world communist movement, and protecting the socialist camp. The struggle against modern revisionism is aimed at protecting our Party and protecting the revolutionary work of the Party and people. But what must we do to struggle against modern revisionism efficiently? What must we do to prevent the struggle against modern revisionism from weakening the anti-imperialist struggle?

Modern revisionism will be defeated by an ideological
struggle waged by Marxist-Leninists and -- what is more important -- by the development of the revolutionary struggle of the peoples in socialist countries and of world peoples because the development of this revolutionary struggle of the peoples in socialist countries and of world peoples because the development of this revolutionary struggle will most strongly unmask the groundless, anti-scientific, and harmful character of the modern revisionist arguments and defeat these arguments. And in the revolutionary work of world peoples the solidarity of the world communist movement, the socialist camp, and, especially, between the USSR and China plays a decisive role.

We are convinced that the solidarity of the socialist camp, an objective product of history, is indestructible because the strength of the socialist system and of socialist production relations is a strength that nothing can oppose. That is why our Party's attitude consists of: 1) Clearly explaining what is right and what is wrong and unmasking modern revisionist arguments; and 2) endeavoring to maintain the solidarity of the world communist movement and the socialist camp, especially solidarity between the USSR and China.

President Ho has continuously taught us that international solidarity is a necessary factor for the success of the Vietnamese revolution. In the work of maintaining international solidarity, our Party pays special attention to the solidarity between the USSR and the CPSU and China and the CCP.

It was precisely thanks to the Russian October Revolution, especially to the help of the CPSU, that our people awoke, Marxism-Leninism was imported into our country, and our Party was born. During the days of the most arduous struggle under the iron boots of the imperialist colonialists, during the darkest hours in imperialist prisons, or while marching to the guillotine, Vietnamese communists had in their hearts a blazing fire or a brilliant light that helped them maintain their indomitable spirit and unshakable belief in the certain victory of their undertaking: This fire or light was the image of the great USSR.
The brilliant victories of the Soviet armed forces and people during the anti-fascist war created an advantageous opportunity for the Vietnamese people to rise up and organize general uprisings to seize power during the 1945 August Revolution. The support and aid of the USSR for our people's resistance and the role of the USSR as Chairman of the 1954 Geneva Conference greatly contributed to the success of our resistance and to the re-establishment of peace in Viet-Nam on the basis of a recognition of the sovereignty, independence, and unification of our country. Since the re-establishment of peace, the USSR has helped our people in building socialism in all fields in the North and warmly supported the patriotic struggle of our compatriots in the South.

The intimate relations between China and Viet-Nam are similar to lip-and-teeth relations. The peoples of the two countries have shared happiness and sufferings. It is impossible to enumerate all the aid that the Chinese revolution has given the Vietnamese revolution since the day the Vietnamese revolution was born. During World War II the peoples of the two countries stood shoulder to shoulder and supported each other in the struggle against the Japanese fascists, a struggle which they carried out in close connection with the anti-fascist struggle of the international democratic front headed by the USSR.

The great victory of the Chinese revolution in 1949 and the important aid given our people's resistance by the Chinese people was an important contribution to the success of this resistance. Since the re-establishment of peace in Indo-China, China has constantly helped our people in building socialism in the North and wholeheartedly supported the revolutionary struggle of our compatriots in the South.

The service rendered by the USSR and China to our revolution is indeed very great. On this point President Ho once said: "Hundreds of services; thousands of gratitudes, tens of thousands of loves."

Friendship with the USSR and China and deep gratitude extended to the USSR and China are among the finest
revolutionary feelings that our Party has patiently inculcated in our people and turned into the flesh and blood of our people. Our Party is proud of these fine feelings, cherishes them forever, and pledges to do its best to improve them despite storms and tempests.

Protecting revolutionary Marxism-Leninism, distinguishing right from wrong, patiently struggling against modern revisionism, protecting international solidarity -- especially solidarity with the USSR and China -- and endeavoring to satisfactorily fulfill revolutionary duties are what our Party and people must do to contribute to the common struggle of the world peoples against imperialism, headed by the United States, and for peace, national liberation, democracy, and socialism.