

HANOI HOC TAP IN VIETNAMESE ISSUE FOR APRIL 1963--
(FIRST OF FIVE TAKES--LENIN'S REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE)
(HOANG MINH THAO RPT HOANG MINH THAO ARTICLE: "LENIN'S PATH IN
THE REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE FOR POWER.")

(TEXT) AFTER THE DEATHS OF MARX AND ENGELS, THE INTERNATIONAL WORKERS MOVEMENT WAS DOMINATED BY RIGHTIST OPPORTUNISM. AT THAT TIME THE LEADERS OF THE SECOND INTERNATIONAL--DAZZLED BY THE NUMBER OF SUCCESSES ACHIEVED BY THE WORKING CLASS IN THEIR STRUGGLE, UNDER THE CAPITALIST REGIME, AT PARLIAMENT EXCESSIVELY

EXTOLLED THIS FORM OF STRUGGLE AND, EVEN WORSE, CONSIDERED IT THE MAIN FORM OF STRUGGLE OF THE PROLETARIAT IN ITS ATTEMPT TO SEIZE POWER. UNDER THE DEFINITE CONDITIONS OF A BOURGEOIS DEMOCRACY, THE WORKING CLASS PARTY CAN AND MUST TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THIS FORM OF PARLIAMENTARY STRUGGLE TO RAISE THE LEVEL OF ENLIGHTENMENT AND ORGANIZATION OF THE LABORING MASSES AND TO STEP UP THE BROAD POLITICAL STRUGGLE OF THE MASSES OUTSIDE THE PARLIAMENT; BUT A REVOLUTIONARY MAY AT NO MOMENT FORGET THAT THE BASIC OBJECTIVES OF THE WORKERS MOVEMENT (FOR CLASS LIBERATION AND THE BUILDING OF SOCIALISM AND COMMUNISM) (BRACKETS AS PUBLISHED) CAN BE ATTAINED ONLY BY DIRECT REVOLUTIONARY ACTION BY THE MASSES, WHICH IS AIMED AT OVERTHROWING THE DOMINATION OF THE BOURGEOIS CLASS AND OTHER EXPLOITING CLASSES IN ORDER TO SEIZE POWER.

THE OPPORTUNIST LEADERS IN THE SECOND INTERNATIONAL EXERTED THEIR EFFORTS TO DISTORTING THE REVOLUTIONARY VIEWPOINTS OF MARX AND ENGEL REGARDING THE PROBLEM OF STATE WITH A VIEW TO SOWING REFORMIST DOCTRINE AND IDEAS OF RECONCILIATION WITH THE EXPLOITING CLASS AMONG THE MASSES. THEREFORE, LENIN CEASELESSLY STRUGGLED AGAINST REVISIONISM AND REFORMISM TO PRESERVE MARX'S

THEORY OF STATE. IN HIS WORK "THE STATE AND THE REVOLUTION," WRITTEN AT THE TIME THE RUSSIAN PROLETARIAT WAS FEVERISHLY PREPARING FOR THE OVERTHROW OF THE BOURGEOIS CLASS IN ORDER TO SEIZE POWER, LENIN PRESENTED IN A VERY VIVID MANNER THE FUNDAMENTAL IDEAS OF MARXISM REGARDING THE STATE.

THE STATE IS BUT A PRODUCT OF SOCIETY HAVING CLASS ANTAGONISM AND CLASS STRUGGLE. REJECTING THE VIEWPOINT OF THE BOURGEOIS AND PETTY BOURGEOIS IDEOLOGISTS ON THE STATE'S ROLE OF CLASS RECONCILIATION, MARX AND ENGELS DEMONSTRATED THAT THE STATE IS ONLY AN INSTITUTION FOR DOMINATING CLASSES, AN INSTITUTION FOR ONE CLASS TO OPPRESS THE OTHERS. AN INSTRUMENT OF CLASS STRUGGLE MANIPULATED BY THE RULING CLASS, EACH STATE OF THE EXPLOITING CLASS WAS BUILT INTO A MACHINERY OF VIOLENCE WHICH CONSISTED OF SPECIAL ARMED GROUPS (THE POLICE AND REGULAR ARMY) (BRACKETS AS PUBLISHED), PRISONS, TRIBUNALS, AND SO FORTH. FROM THEIR ANALYSIS OF THE NATURE OF CLASS AND THE ROLE OF THE STATE, MARX AND ENGELS DREW THE CONCLUSION THAT THE OPPRESSED CLASS DESIRING SELF-LIBERATION HAS NO ALTERNATIVE BUT REVOLUTIONARY VIOLENCE TO SMASH THE STATE MACHINERY OF THE RULING CLASS, ESPECIALLY WHEN THE VIOLENCE OF THE BOURGEOIS STATE DEVELOPS

TO A TREMENDOUS SCALE AND IS ACCOMPANIED BY THE APPEARANCE OF BUREAUCRACY AND MILITARISM. AT THE TIME MARX AND ENGELS LIVED AND STRUGGLED, CAPITALISM HAD NOT YET DEVELOPED TO THE HIGH STAGE--IMPERIALISM--AND, THEREFORE, ENGLAND AND THE UNITED STATES WERE NOT AFFECTED BY THE ABOVE GENERAL RULE, BECAUSE MILITARISM AND BUREAUCRACY HAD NOT YET DEVELOPED. BUT IN THE PERIOD OF IMPERIALISM--THE PERIOD IN WHICH LENIN LIVED AND STRUGGLED--BUREAUCRACY AND MILITARISM DEVELOPED TO A HIGH DEGREE AND, THEREFORE, THE EXCEPTIONAL CASES OF ENGLAND AND THE UNITED STATES NO LONGER EXISTED. ACCORDING TO LENIN, THE PROBLEM OF VIOLENT REVOLUTION IS INEVITABLE IN ALL COUNTRIES, INCLUDING ENGLAND AND THE UNITED STATES.

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IN RECAPITULATING THE FRENCH AND THE GERMAN WORKERS' MOVEMENTS AT THE TIME OF THE 1848 EIGHTEEN FORTY-EIGHT REVOLUTION AND THE 1871 EIGHTEEN SEVENTY-ONE PARIS COMMUNE, MARX AND ENGELS INDICATED THAT THE MAIN FORM OF STRUGGLE FOR THE WORKING CLASS AND THE LABORING PEOPLE TO SEIZE POWER WAS ARMED UPRISING. MOREOVER, MARX AND ENGELS ALSO STRESSED THE RESPONSIBILITY OF PARTY LEADERSHIP IN THE REVOLUTION AND IN PREPARING FOR ARMED UPRISING, AND THEY CONSIDERED ARMED UPRISING AN ART. THE OPPORTUNISTS LED BY BERNSTEIN DISTORTED THIS THOUGHT OF MARX, AND CALUMNIATED THAT MARXISM WAS BLANQUISM (BLANQUI WAS ONE OF THE LEADERS OF THE FRENCH ANARCHISTS AND ONE OF THE LEADERS OF THE PARIS COMMUNE IN 1871 EIGHTEEN SEVENTYONE--HOP TAP). THE FACT IS THAT MARX'S VIEW ON ARMED UPRISING WAS ENTIRELY DIFFERENT FROM BLANQUI'S PLOT OF VIOLENCE. ACCORDING TO MARX, ARMED UPRISING IS A SPECIAL FORM OF THE POLITICAL STRUGGLE WHICH HAS ITS OWN RULES. ARMED UPRISING MUST NOT BE--IF IT IS TO BE SUCCESSFUL--BASED ITSELF ON AN INTRIGUE OR ON A POLITICAL PARTY, BUT ON THE VANGUARD CLASS, ON THE RISING REVOLUTION OF THE MASSES OF THE PEOPLE. THE CONDITION FOR AN ARMED UPRISING IS MATURE ONLY WHEN THE REVOLUTION HAS DEVELOPED TO A DEFINITE DEGREE, WHEN THE VANGUARD CLASS IS READY TO WAGE A DECISIVE STRUGGLE FOR THE SEIZURE OF POWER, WHEN THE COALITION CLASSES ARE READY TO FOLLOW AND SUPPORT THE VANGUARD CLASS, AND WHEN THE RANKS OF THE REVOLUTION'S ENEMY ARE EXTREMELY BEWILDERED AND CONFUSED.

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(LENIN'S REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE) XXX DEWILDERED AND CONFUSED. (TEXT) OF COUSSE, SUCH A REVOLUTIONARY SITUATION DOES NOT RPT NOT SPONTANEOUSLY APPEAR. ON THE CONTRARY, ONLY BY GOING THROUGH THE PROCESS OF PERSISTENT AND COMPREHENSIVE POLITICAL AGITATION AMONG THE MASSES--UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF A MATURE AND DETERMINED VANGUARD PARTY--CAN SUCH A REVOLUTIONARY SITUATION BE CREATED. THEREFORE, IT IS NOT RPT NOT SURPRISING TO NOTE THAT, IN THE PERIOD WHEN THE WORLD WORKERS MOVEMENT

WAS DOMINATED BY OPPORTUNIST LEADERS OF THE SECOND INTERNATIONAL, A REVOLUTIONARY SITUATION OF THIS TYPE COULD ONLY COME ABOUT AND END IN THE VICTORY OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION BY MEANS OF THE LEADERSHIP OF LENIN'S PARTY.

LENIN USED MARX' IDEA THAT "ARMED UPRISING IS AN ART" TO STUDY THE LESSON OF THE FAILURE OF THE MOSCOW WORKERS UPRISING IN DECEMBER 1905 NINETEEN ZERO FIVE TO LEAD THE SUCCESSFUL ARMED UPRISING OF THE WORKING MASSES AND SOLDIERS IN PETROGRAD IN OCTOBER 1917 NINETEEN SEVENTEEN.

OPPOSING PLEKHANOV'S OPPORTUNIST VIEWPOINT THAT THE POLITICAL STRIKE STAGED BY THE MOSCOW WORKING MASSES IN DECEMBER 1905 NINETEEN ZERO FIVE WAS NOT RPT NOT "TIMELY" AND THAT THEY "SHOULD NOT RPT NOT HAVE CARRIED WEAPONS," LENIN STRESSED THAT "THE CONTRARY IS CORRECT; THEY SHOULD HAVE HELD THEIR WEAPONS WITH MORE DETERMINATION, WITH MORE RESOLUTION, AND WITH A MORE AGGRESSIVE SPIRIT ONE OUGHT TO EXPLAIN TO THE MASSES THAT THEY SHOULD NOT RPT NOT ONLY STAGE PEACEFUL STRIKES, BUT THEY MUST ALSO WAGE A HEROIC AND RESOLUTE ARMED STRUGGLE." (LENIN ; SELECTED WORKS, VIETNAMESE VERSION, SU THAT PUBLISHING HOUSE, HANOI, 1959 NINETEEN FIFTY NINE, VOL.1 ONE,

CHWP. 2 TWO, PP. 155-156 ONE FIVE FIVE- ONE FIVE SIX--HOC TAP FOOTNOTE)

THE FEBRUARY 1917 NINETEEN SEVENTEEN RUSSIAN REVOLUTION THAT OVERTHREW THE CZARIST REGIME WAS CARRIED OUT BY THE MASSES OF WORKERS AND PEASANTS, BUT THE BOURGEOIS CLASS DISPOSSESSED THE PEOPLE OF THEIR REVOLUTIONARY ACHIEVEMENTS AND SET UP A PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT WITH THE SOVIETS OF WORKERS, PEASANTS, AND SOLDIERS.

LENIN OVERCAME ALL DANGERS AND RETURNED TO HIS COUNTRY FROM SWITZERLAND. UPON HIS ARRIVAL HE SET FORTH THE TASKS FOR THE BOLSHEVIKS IN THE STRUGGLE TO PEACEFULLY TRANSFORM THE BOURGEOIS REVOLUTION INTO A SOCIALIST REVOLUTION UNDER THE SLOGAN "ALL POWER TO THE SOVIETS." WHEN THE BOURGEOIS CLASS USED VIOLENCE TO REPRESS THE WORKERS DEMONSTRATIONS, THE POSSIBILITY OF SEIZING POWER BY PEACEFUL MEANS NO LONGER EXISTED, AND LENIN SET FORTH IN TIME THE TASK OF SEIZING POWER THROUGH "ARMED STRUGGLE" TO THE BOLSHEVIK PARTY AND THE WORKER-PEASANT MASSES. THE PROVISIONAL BOURGEOIS GOVERNMENT FEVERISHLY PURSUED LENIN. HE WAS THEN OBLIGED TO TAKE TEMPORARY REFUGE IN FINLAND, FROM

WHERE HE WROTE TO THE PARTY CENTRAL COMMITTEE ON THE PLAN FOR AN ARMED UPRISING. IN HIS LETTER HE REITERATED THAT "IT IS NECESSARY TO BEAR IN MIND ONE POINT THAT MANY COMRADES HAVE NOT YET CLEARLY UNDERSTOOD, AND THAT IS, THE TRANSFER OF POWER TO THE HANDS OF THE SOVIETS MEANS, AT THE PRESENT TIME AND PRESENT PRACTICAL CONDITIONS, ARMED UPRISING." (LENIN; SELECTED WORKS, VOL. II TWO, CHAP. 1 ONE, ONE, PAGE 154 ONE SIX FOUR--HOC TAP FOOTNOTE)

UNDER LENIN'S CLEARSIGHTED LEADERSHIP, THE RUSSIAN PROLETARIAT SUCCEEDED IN SEIZING POWER THROUGH THE GREAT OCTOBER REVOLUTION WHICH OPENED A NEW ERA IN THE HISTORY OF MANKIND-- THE ERA OF THE VICTORY OF SOCIALISM, AN THE ERA OF THE DISINTEGRATION AND COLLAPSE OF CAPITALISM.

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THE PATH LENIN INDICATED IN THE PROLETARIAT'S STRUGGLE TO SEIZE POWER HAS BEEN PROVED CORRECT BY THE REALITIES OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION AND THE REALITIES OF REVOLUTIONS THAT HAVE OCCURRED IN MANY COUNTRIES IN THE WORLD IN THE PAST FORTY 40 YEARS.

HOW HAVE VIETNAMESE COMMUNISTS APPLIED THE PATH INDICATED BY LENIN TO THE SITUATION OF VIETNAM?

VIETNAM WAS A COLONIAL, SEMIFEUDALIST COUNTRY WITH UNDERDEVELOPED INDUSTRY AND A BACKWARD AGRICULTURE. THE VIETNAMESE REVOLUTION HAD TO FULFILL TWO TASKS: NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE AND DEMOCRACY.

AT THAT TIME, THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE VIETNAMESE BOURGEOIS CLASS SET FORTH A PATH OF REFORM AND RECONCILIATION WITH FRENCH IMPERIALISM, THE BOURGEOIS REVOLUTIONARIES RESORTED TO ORGANIZING PLOTS OF VIOLENCE BY A GROUP OF PERSONS, AND ONLY THE COMMUNISTS SET FORTH A CORRECT REVOLUTIONARY PATH. THE POLITICAL PLATFORM OF THE INDOCHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY IN 1930 NINETEEN THIRTY SAID:

"THE INITIAL TASK OF THE PARTY IS TO CAPITALIZE ON DAILY NEEDS TO LEAD THE PROLETARIAT AND THE PEASANTS TO THE REVOLUTIONARY BATTLEFIELD."

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HANOI HOC TAP VIETNAMESE APRIL 1963
(LENIN'S REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE) XXX THE REVOLUTIONARY BATTLEFIELD.
(TEXT) "AT THE TIME WHEN THE REVOLUTIONARY FORCE IS FIRMLY GROWING, WHEN THE RULING CLASS IS SHAKEN, WHEN THE MIDDLE CLASSES WANT TO RALLY TO THE REVOLUTION, AND WHEN THE MASSES OF WORKERS AND PEASANTS ARE ENTHUSIASTIC FOR REVOLUTION AND ARE DETERMINED TO MAKE SACRIFICES AND TO STRUGGLE, THE PARTY MUST PROMPTLY LEAD THE MASSES IN OVER THROWING THE ENEMY'S GOVERNMENT AND SEIZING POWER FOR THE WORKERS AND PEASANTS." (THE PARTY'S MILITARY

RESOLUTIONS, 1937-1967 NINETEEN THIRTY-NINETEEN SIXTY, QUAN DOI NHAN DAN PUBLISHING HOUSE, HANOI, 1959 NINETEEN FIFTY NINE, PAGE 9 NINE--HOC TAP FOOTNOTE). THE POLITICAL PLATFORM ALSO POINTED OUT THAT "ARMED VIOLENCE IS NOT RPT NOT A COMMON THING. IT ADOPTS NOT RPT NOT JUST THE FORM OF DIRECT REVOLUTION, BUT IT MUST ALSO FOLLOW MILITARY RULES AND, THEREFORE, MUST BE GIVEN PROPER ATTENTION. WHEN CONDITIONS FOR DIRECT REVOLUTION DO NOT RPT NOT EXIST, A RESOLUTE STRUGGLE MUST STILL BE WAGER; BUT TO STRUGGLE RESOLUTELY DOES NOT RPT NOT MEAN TO ORGANIZE VIOLENT ACTIONS OR PREMATURE ARMED VIOLENCE, BUT, RATHER, TO MOBILIZE THE BROAD MASSES TO DISPLAY THEIR FORCE, TO HOLD DEMONSTRATIONS, TO WAGE STRIKES, AND SO FORTH IN ORDER TO PREPARE THEM FOR THE FUTURE ARMED VIOLENCE." (PARTY MILITARY RESOLUTIONS, 1937-1967 NINETEEN THIRTY-NINETEEN SIXTY, QUAN DOI NHAN DAN PUBLISHING HOUSE, HANOI, 1959 NINETEEN FIFTY NINE, PP. 9-17 NINE-TEN--HOC TAP FOOTNOTE).

IMBUED WITH AN IDEOLOGY CONSIDERING "ARMED UPRISING AS AN ART," AS EARLY AS 1937 NINETEEN THIRTY--WHEN THE MASSES' STRUGGLE MOVEMENT WAS AT ITS PEAK--THE PARTY SET FORTH THE TASK OF ORGANIZING A PARTY "MILITARY BUREAU" WHICH ASSUMED THE RESPONSIB-

BILITY OF PROVIDING MILITARY TRAINING FOR PARTY MEMBERS, GUIDING THE WORKERS AND PEASANTS' ASSOCIATIONS IN THE ORGANIZATION OF SELF-DEFENSE GROUPS, AND CARRYING OUT PROPAGANDA WITHIN THE RANKS OF THE IMPERIALIST ARMY.

THE SOVIET NGHE-TINH RPT NGHE-TINH MOVEMENT THAT BEGAN ON 12 TWELVE SEPTEMBER 1937 NINETEEN THIRTY WAS THE PARTY'S INITIAL STEP IN EXERCISING LEADERSHIP OVER THE STRUGGLE OF THE MASSES OF WORKERS AND PEASANTS --FROM A LOW DEGREE TO A HIGH DEGREE AND FROM POLITICAL FORMS TO ARMED FORMS--TO SEIZE POWER.

ALTHOUGH THE SOVIET NGHE-TINH MOVEMENT FAILED, IT MARKED A NEW TURNING POINT IN THE NATIONAL AND DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT IN VIETNAM.

FROM 1936 NINETEEN THIRTY-SIX TO 1939 NINETEEN THIRTY-NINE, UNDER THE NEW CONDITIONS OF THE POLITICAL SITUATION AT HOME AND IN THE WORLD, THE PARTY TOOK FULL ADVANTAGE OF SEMILEGAL AND LEGAL ACTIVITIES TO LAUNCH AN EXTENSIVE STRUGGLE MOVEMENT AMONG THE PEOPLE IN THE WHOLE COUNTRY, TO DEMAND SATISFACTION OF THE MASSES' ESSENTIAL ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL NEEDS, AND, AS A RESULT, TO RAISE THE POLITICAL AND ORGANIZATIONAL LEVEL OF THE MASSES. IN THIS PERIOD, THE SPEARHEAD OF THE STRUGGLE

MOVEMENT WAS DIRECTED AT THE REACTIONARY COLONIALISTS AND NOT RPT NOT AT THE ENTIRE COLONIAL REGIME. THE MAIN FORM OF STRUGGLE WAS THE SEMILEGAL POLITICAL STRUGGLE OF THE MASSES IN VARIOUS ENTERPRISES, URGAN CENTERS, AND THE COUNTRYSIDE IN COORDINATION WITH THE LEGAL STRUGGLE IN THE PRESS, AND PARTLY IN COORDINATION WITH THE PARLIAMENTARY STRUGGLE; ALTHOUGH THE PARLIAMENT OF OUR COUNTRY HAD A MERELY CONSULTATIVE CHARACTER AT THAT TIME.

AT THIS TIME THE PARTY HAD TO TEMPORARILY WITHDRAW THE SLOGAN "ARMED VIOLENCE FOR THE SEIZURE OF POWER." THIS DID NOT RPT NOT MEAN THAT THE PARTY HAD ANY ILLUSIONS ABOUT THE CONDITIONS OF SEMILEGAL AND LEGAL STRUGGLE. ALTHOUGH IT HAD TO CONSTANTLY COPE WITH EVERY WILY TRICK OF THE COLONIALIST RULING CLIQUE AND THEIR RUNNING DOGS, THE PARTY, ON THE ONE HAND, EXERTED ITS

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MOST EFFORT TO MAINTAIN AND PROTECT ITS ILLEGAL ORGANIZATION AND, ON THE OTHER HAND, CONSTANTLY EDUCATED PARTY MEMBERS AND THE MASSES SO THAT THEY REALIZED THE CLASS NATURE OF THE COLONIAL AND FEUDALIST ADMINISTRATION, AND THE PARTY PROMOTED PROFOUND HATRED AMONG THE MASSES FOR THE INVADERS AND SELLERS OF THE COUNTRY SO THAT THE MASSES WOULD WAGE A RESOLUTE STRUGGLE AGAINST THEM.

IT WAS DUE TO PRIOR PREPARATION--BOTH MORAL AND ORGANIZATIONAL --IN SEPTEMBER 1939 NINETEEN THIRTY NINE THAT THE PARTY AND ITS POPULAR ORGANIZATIONS COULD TURN TO SECRET ACTIVITIES WHEN THE COLONIALIST RULING CLIQUE WAGED LARGE-SCALE REPRESSION. THE TASK OF "OVERTHROWING THE FRENCH IMPERIALISTS, THE LOCAL KING AND LORDS, AND ALL REACTIONARIES SERVING AS LACKEYS OF THE IMPERIALISTS AND BETRAYING THE PEOPLE'S INTERESTS" WAS SET AS THE PRIMARY TASK, AND THE TASK OF "PREPARING FOR THE SEIZURE OF POWER THROUGH ARMED VIOLENCE"--THE HIGHEST FORM OF STRUGGLE--WAS ALSO SET FORTH. IN 1947 NINETEEN FORTY WHEN THE FRENCH IMPERIALISTS WERE DEFEATED (IN EUROPE--ED.) AND SURRENDERED TO THE GERMAN FASCISTS, THE COLONIAL ADMINISTRATION IN INDOCHINA CONSENTED TO SERVE THE JAPANESE MILITARISTS.

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HANOI HOC TAP VIETNAMESE APRIL 1963
(LENIN'S REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE) XXX THE JAPANESE MILITARISTS.
(TEXT) UNDER THAT SITUATION, TWO ARMED UPRISINGS BROKE OUT IN
DAC SON RPT DAC SON AND COCHINCHINA UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF THE
PARTY'S LOCAL CHAPTERS. THESE UPRISINGS AND THE SPONTANEOUS
UPRISING OF THE SOLDIERS AT DO LUONG RPT DO LUONG IN JANUARY
1941 NINETEEN FORTY-ONE INDICATED THAT THE REVOLUTIONARY CONDITIONS
IN VIETNAM WERE MATURING DAY BY DAY AND THAT THE TASK OF THE
PARTY WAS TO URGENTLY PREPARE FOR ARMED UPRISING AND TO SEIZE

POWER THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY WHEN THE OPPORTUNITY WAS OFFERED.

THE CHARACTERISTICS OF VIETNAM WERE THAT ITS LAND WAS NARROW,
IT HAD VERY FEW CITIES OR INDUSTRIAL ZONES, AND FORESTS AND
MOUNTAINS OCCUPIED THE GREATER PART OF THE TERRITORY. BASING
ITSELF ON THESE CHARACTERISTICS, OUR PARTY -- WHILE PREPARING
THE POLITICAL FORCE IN THE CITIES-- LAUNCHED GUERRILLA WARFARE
ON A SMALL TO A LARGE SCALE IN AREAS WHERE GEOGRAPHICAL
CONDITIONS WERE SUITABLE FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF BASES FOR
THE ARMED AND SEMIARMED REVOLUTION AND, FROM THESE REVOLUTIONARY
BASES, IT EXPANDED THE INFLUENCE OF THE REVOLUTION TO THE WHOLE
COUNTRY UNDER THE SLOGAN "FIGHT THE FRENCH, DRIVE THE JAPANESE
OUT, AND LIBERATE THE PEOPLE." WHEN THE JAPANESE REPLACED THE
FRENCH, THE PARTY CONCENTRATED THE SPEARHEAD OF THE REVOLUTIONARY
STRUGGLE ON THE JAPANESE FASCISTS AND THE PRO-JAPANESE TRAITOROUS
VIETNAMESE AUTHORITIES, AND IT SAID, "CHANGE ALL FORMS OF
PROPAGANDA, MOBILIZATION, ORGANIZATION, AND STRUGGLE SO THAT THEY
CONFORM TO THE PRE-UPRISING PERIOD, RAPIDLY MOBILIZE THE MASSES
FOR THE REVOLUTIONARY FRONT, AND TRAIN THEM FOR A BOLD ADVANCE
TOWARD GENERAL UPRISING." (PARTY DOCUMENTS FROM 25 TWENTYFIVE
JANUARY 1939 NINETEEN THIRTY-NINE TO TWO 2 SEPTEMBER 1945

NINETEEN FORTY-FIVE, SU THAT PUBLISHING HOUSE, HANOI, 1963
NINETEEN SIXTY-THREE, PAGE 473 FOUR SEVEN SIX--HOC TAP FOOTNOTE).
THE PARTY ALSO DECIDED TO SET UP "NATIONAL LIBERATION COMMITTEES"
AND "PEOPLE'S REVOLUTIONARY COMMITTEES" AS FORMS OF THE PEOPLE'S
POWER IN THE LIBERATED AREAS OR AREAS WHERE THERE WERE STEADY
REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENTS.

DUE TO ITS CORRECT POLICIES AND STRATEGY, THE PARTY SUCCEEDED
IN GENERATING A "STRONG MOVEMENT OF RESISTANCE AGAINST THE
JAPANESE AND FOR SAVING THE COUNTRY" THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY--FROM
THE MOUNTAINOUS REGION TO THE DELTA, AND FROM THE COUNTRYSIDE TO
THE CITIES. IT WAS THIS STRONG MOVEMENT OF POLITICAL, SEMIARMED,
AND ARMED STRUGGLE THAT PARALYZED THE RESISTANCE OF THE PRO-JAPA-
NESE PUPPET REGIME WHEN THE JAPANESE MILITARIST GOVERNMENT
SURRENDERED TO THE ALLIES, AND IT CREATED THE CONDITIONS WHEREBY
THE GENERAL UPRISING OF AUGUST 1945 NINETEEN FORTY-FIVE COULD
SUCCEED RATHER EASILY, RAPIDLY, AND WITH LITTLE BLOODSHED.
THE POLITICAL FORCE OF ALL THE PEOPLE PLAYED THE KEY ROLE IN THE
AUGUST 1945 NINETEEN FORTY FIVE GENERAL UPRISING. THE ARMED
FORCES OF THE REVOLUTION ALTHOUGH THEY WERE THEN SMALL AND WEAK--
ALSO HAD A GREAT EFFECT ON THE SUCCESS OF THE GENERAL UPRISING.
BECAUSE IT WAS BASED ON THE MASSIVE PARTICIPATION AND REVOLUTIONARY
ZEAL OF THE MASSES, BECAUSE IT COMPLETELY SMASHED THE OLD

STATE MACHINERY, AND BECAUSE OF ITS EXTREMELY POSITIVE INFLUENCE ON THE BUILDING OF THE POPULAR DEMOCRATIC STATE, THE AUGUST REVOLUTION WAS A REVOLUTION BY VIOLENCE. THIS TRUTH WAS FURTHER ASSERTED WHEN THE STATE ESTABLISHED BY THAT REVOLUTION--THE STATE OF THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM, A FORM OF POPULAR DEMOCRATIC DICTATORSHIP LEAD BY THE WORKING CLASS--CARRIED OUT AN ALL-OUT WAR OF RESISTANCE OF ALL THE PEOPLE AGAINST THE IMPERIALIST FORCES THAT WERE COLLUDING WITH THE REACTIONARY FORCES WITHIN THE COUNTRY. THAT STATE NOT RPT NOT ONLY SUCCEEDED IN SAFEGUARDING THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE AUGUST REVOLUTION, BUT IT (THAT STATE--ED.) WAS ALSO A PARTICULARLY IMPORTANT FACTOR IN LEADING THE NORTHERN PART OF OUR COUNTRY TOWARD SOCIALISM AND IN BUILDING IT INTO A FIRM BASE FOR THE ACCOMPLISHMENT OF THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION IN THE WHOLE COUNTRY.

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HANOI HOC TAP VIETNAMESE

APRIL 1963 (LENIN'S REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE) XXX THE WHOLE COUNTRY. (TEXT) BECAUSE THE FORCES STRUGGLING AGAINST IMPERIALISM AND FOR PEACE, NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE, DEMOCRACY, AND SOCIALISM ARE TODAY STRONGER THAN EVER, THE CONFERENCES OF DELEGATES OF COMMUNIST AND WORKERS PARTIES HELD IN MOSCOW IN 1957 NINETEEN FIFTY-SEVEN AND IN 1967 NINETEEN SIXTY CONSIDERED THAT IN THE PRESENT SITUATION OF A NUMBER OF CAPITALIST COUNTRIES THERE ARE THE POSSIBILITIES FOR CARRYING OUT SOCIALIST REVOLUTIONS BY PEACEFUL MEANS. HOWEVER, THE CONFERENCES ALSO INDICATED THAT

"WHEN THE EXPLOITING CLASSES USE VIOLENCE TO OPPOSE THE PEOPLE, ANOTHER POSSIBILITY MUST BE CONSIDERED, THAT OF ADVANCING TOWARD SOCIALISM BY NONPEACEFUL MEANS." ALTHOUGH THE WORKING CLASS AND ITS MARXIST-LENINIST VANGUARD GROUP ALWAYS HOPE TO FIND A REVOLUTIONARY PATH THAT IS THE "LEAST PAINFUL" THE PROBLEM DOES NOT RPT NOT SOLELY REST WITH IT (THE WORKING CLASS--EP.), BUT LARGELY WITH TYPE OF OPPOSITION OF THE REACTIONARY RULING CLIQUES.

IN ORDER TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THE POSSIBILITY OF PEACE AND TO EFFECTIVELY COPE WITH THE NONPEACEFUL POSSIBILITY, MARXIST-LENINIST PARTIES IN CAPITALIST COUNTRIES MUST NECESSARILY HOLD THE WEAPON THAT IS DECISIVE UNDER ALL CIRCUMSTANCES--THE FORCE OF THE MASSES' REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE. THESE PARTIES MUST BE IMBUED WITH THE FOLLOWING INSTRUCTION OF THE CONFERENCES OF COMMUNIST AND WORKERS PARTIES HELD IN MOSCOW IN 1957 NINETEEN FIFTYSEVEN AND IN 1967 NINETEEN SIXTY; "ALL THESE TASKS CAN BE ACCOMPLISHED ONLY BY CONSTANTLY AND COMPREHENSIVELY DEVELOPING THE CLASS STRUGGLE OF THE MASSES OF WORKERS, PEASANTS, AND THE INTERMEDIARY CLASSES IN URBAN AREAS AGAINST THE BIG MONOPOLIST CAPITALISTS AND AGAINST THE REACTIONARY INFLUENCE FOR RADICAL SOCIAL REFORMS, AND FOR PEACE AND SOCIALISM."

THE REALITIES OF REVOLUTIONS IN VARIOUS COUNTRIES IN THE WORLD CLEARLY INDICATE THAT THE FORM OF THE REVOLUTION FOR THE SEIZURE OF POWER IN EACH COUNTRY DEPENDS ON A CONCRETE COMPARISON OF THE FORCES OF THE VARIOUS CLASSES WITHIN THE COUNTRY CONCERNED, ON THE ORGANIZATIONAL LEVEL AND MATURITY OF THE WORKING CLASS AND ITS VANGUARD GROUP, AND ON THE DEGREE OF OPPOSITION BY THE RULING CLASS IN THAT COUNTRY.

REALITY ALWAYS PRECEEDS THEORY. REALITY ALWAYS HAS NEW ASPECTS THAT THEORY HAS NOT RPT NOT YET DEALT WITH. LENIN SAID. "WE NEVER CONSIDER MARXIST THEORIES AS SOMETHING ACCOMPLISHED OR INVIOLENT. ON THE CONTRARY, WE BELIEVE THAT THESE THEORIES HAVE ONLY LAID THE FOUNDATION OF A SCIENCE THAT SOCIALISTS MUST DEVELOP FURTHER AND DEVELOP IN ALL RESPECTS IF THEY DO NOT RPT NOT WANT TO BECOME BACKWARD WITH REGARD TO LIFE." (LENIN; COMPLETE WORKS, VIETNAMESE VERSION, SU THAT PUBLISHING HOUSE, HANOI, 1962 NINETEEN SIXTYTWO, VOL. IV FOUR, PAGE 266 TWO SIX SIX--HOC TAP FOOTNOTE)

THE OCTOBER RUSSIAN REVOLUTION MAINLY TAUGHT US THE LESSON OF AN ARMED UPRISING THAT WAS STAGED PRIMARILY IN URBAN AREAS BY MASSES OF WORKERS AND SOLDIERS, FROM WHENCE IT EXPANDED TO THE RURAL AREAS, AWAKENING THE MASSES OF LABORING PEASANTS TO

RISE UP AND JOIN THE WORKERS IN CARRYING OUT THE REVOLUTION. THE CHINESE REVOLUTION, ON ITS PART, GAVE US THE LESSON OF WAGING LASTING GUERRILLA WARFARE IN RURAL AREAS, USING THE PEASANTS AS THE MAIN FORCE OF THE REVOLUTION, BUILDING BASES IN THE RURAL AREAS, AND USING THESE AREAS TO SURROUND AND, FINALLY, TO LIBERATE THE URBAN AREAS.

OUR PARTY CREATIVELY APPLIED THE EXPERIENCES OF THE RUSSIAN OCTOBER REVOLUTION AND THE CHINESE REVOLUTION TO THE SITUATION OF OUR COUNTRY. IN THE AUGUST REVOLUTION IN VIETNAM, OUR PARTY COMBINED ARMED STRUGGLE WITH POLITICAL STRUGGLE; COMBINED THE BUILDING OF THE ARMED FORCE WITH THE BUILDING OF THE

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POLITICAL FORCE, COMBINED THE BUILDING OF STRONGHOLDS IN THE RURAL AREAS WITH THE BUILDING OF POLITICAL BASES IN URBAN AREAS, AND SO FORTH; IT PREPARED ITS FORCES AND, WHEN OPPORTUNITIES WERE OFFERED, IN TIME LEAD THE WHOLE PEOPLE TO RISE UP TO DETERMINEDLY SMASH THE STATE MACHINERY OF THE COLONIALISTS AND FEUDALISTS AND TO SEIZE POWER FOR THE LABORING PEOPLE.

UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF THE NATIONAL FRONT FOR THE LIBERATION OF P SOUTH VIETNAM, OUR HEROIC SOUTHERN COMPATRIOTS ARE DEVELOPING THE TRADITION OF THE AUGUST REVOLUTION AND THEY ARE WAGING A RESOLUTE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE U.S.-DIEMIST DICTATORIAL AND SANGUINARY REGIME AND FOR THE ACHIEVEMENT OF PEACE, FREEDOM, INDEPENDENCE, AND HAPPINESS.

OUR COMPATRIOTS IN SOUTH VIETNAM ARE SKILLFULLY AND FLEXIBLY COMBINING VARIOUS FORMS OF ARMED AND POLITICAL STRUGGLE; THEY ARE BASING THEMSELVES ON EACH AREA AND ON CIRCUMSTANCES TO GIVE PRIORITY TO THIS FORM OF STRUGGLE OR THE OTHER; AND AT THE SAME TIME, THEY ARE PERSISTENTLY CLINGING TO THE MOTTO OF WAGING A LASTING AND PERILOUS STRUGGLE IN ORDER TO ADVANCE TOWARD LIBERATION FROM THE YOKE OF DOMINATION OF THE COUNTRY'S INVADERS AND SELLERS.

THIS LINE OF STRUGGLE IS A CORRECT APPLICATION OF MARXIST-LENINIST PRINCIPLES OF CLASS STRUGGLE TO THE SITUATION IN THE SOUTHERN PART OF OUR COUNTRY, AND IT CONFORMS TO THE GENERAL EVOLUTION OF THE WORLD IN THE PRESENT AGE. WITH THEIR CORRECT LINE OF STRUGGLE, OUR SOUTHERN COMPATRIOTS WILL CERTAINLY WIN FINAL VICTORY.

THE WORLD REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT TODAY IS LIKE THE ROARING SEA AND THE RISING TIDE; THE PEOPLES OF MANY COUNTRIES ARE RISING UP TO STRUGGLE FOR THE OVERTHROW OF THE RULING YOKE OF THE EXPLOITERS AND OPPRESSORS AND TO ACHIEVE SELF-LIBERATION. IN THESE RISING REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENTS, MANY RICH FORMS OF STRUGGLE BY THESE PEOPLES WILL CERTAINLY APPEAR.