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ROLE OF VIOLENCE IN REVOLUTION
Hong Chuong - Hoc Tap, Sept 1963

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HANOI HOC TAP IN VIETNAMESE
SEPTEMBER 1963--

(HONG CHUONG RPT HONG CHUONG ARTILCE: "PEACE OR VIOLENCE")
(TEXT) THE FUNDAMENTAL QUESTION OF ANY REVOLUTION IS THE QUESTION OF STATE POWER. THE SEIZURE OF STATE POWER FOR THE WORKING CLASS AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF PROLETARIAN DICTATORSHIP ARE QUESTIONS WHICH EACH TRUE REVOLUTIONARY COMBATANT OF THE WORKING CLASS MUST INITIALLY PAY ATTENTION TO. THEREFORE, THE QUESTION OF DETERMINING THE METHODS FOR SEIZING

STATE POWER IS ONE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT QUESTIONS THAT COMMUNISTS MUST STUDY AND SOLVE.

THIS QUESTION HAS OFTEN BEEN THE SUBJECT OF HEATED DEBATE AMONG COMMUNISTS. LACKEYS OF THE BOURGEOISIE WHO HAVE INFILTRATED THE RANKS OF THE WORKING CLASS OFTEN TRY TO SIDETRACK THE REVOLUTIONARY BY ADVANCING ERRONEOUS AND REACTIONARY ARGUMENTS ON THE QUESTION. THEY KNOW THAT, ONCE THE WORKING CLASS AND ITS POLITICAL PARTY ACCEPT THEIR ARGUMENTS AND THE WAYS AND MEANS FOR SEIZING STATE POWER RECOMMENDED BY THEM, THE OBJECTIVE OF SEIZING STATE POWER CANNOT POSSIBLY BE ATTAINED AND, CONSEQUENTLY, THE REVOLUTION CAN NEVER BE CROWNED WITH VICTORY.

MODERN REVISIONISTS, REPRESENTED BY THE TITO GROUV AND THEIR FOLLOWERS--THE RIGHT OPPORTUNISTS IN THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT AND THE WORKERS MOVEMENT--ARE TRYING TO MISLEAD THE PEOPLE ON THIS QUESTION OF THE SEIZURE OF STATE POWER AND THEY STOP AT NOTHING TO MISREPRESENT THE MARXIST-LENINIST THESESS ON THIS QUESTION. MODERN REVISIONISTS AND RIGHT OPPORTUNISTS ARE DISTORTING MARXISTS- LENINISTS THEORIES ON THE HISTORICAL

ROLE OF VIOLENCE AND GIVING GREAT PUBLICITY TO PACIFISM.

ONE 17-VIOLENCE IS THE MIDWIFE OF THE NEW SOCIAL SYSTEM. SINCE THE TIME SOCIETY WAS DIVIDED INTO CLASSES, THE RULING CLASSES HAVE SET UP STATE APPARATUS TO OPPRESS AND EXPLOIT THE CLASSES RULED BY THEM. THE STATE IS THE INSTRUMENT OF VIOLENCE OF THE RULING CLASSES FOR CRUSHING ALL RESISTANCE TO THEIR VIOLENCE BY THE CLASSES UNDER THEIR RULE. THE RULING CLASSES HAVE USED THEIR ARMIES, POLICE, COURTS, PRISONS, AND SO FORTH TO OPPRESS THE CLASSES UNDER THEIR RULE. THE EXPLOITING CLASSES, WHILE ALWAYS RESORTING TO VIOLENCE TO HOLD DOWN THE EXPLOITED CLASSES, HAVE USED THEIR THINKERS TO PROPAGATE IDEAS OF PACIFISM AND THE THEORY OF NONVIOLENCE WITH THE AIM OF MAKING THE EXPLOITED CLASSES SUBMIT TO THEIR FATE AND REFRAIN FROM USING VIOLENCE AGAINST THEM.

THOSE WHO HAVE ALWAYS BEEN READY TO RESORT TO VIOLENCE TO OPPRESS THE LABORING PEOPLE HAVE LOUDLY CONDEMNED VIOLENCE. THE VIOLENCE THAT THEY HAVE CONDEMNED AND CRITICIZED IS THE VIOLENCE THAT THOSE WHO ARE OPPRESSED AND EXPLOITED BY THEM WOULD USE TO RESIST THEM.

THE VIOLENCE THAT THEY HAVE USED DAILY TO OPESS THE LABORING PEOPLE HAS BEEN, ON THE CONTRARY, REGARDED BY THEM

AS A SORT OF FAVOR THAT THEY HAVE GRANTED TO THE LABORING PEOPLE.

✓ | THOSE WHO FOLLOW BOURGEOIS PACIFISM AND BOURGEOIS
HUMANITARIANISM HAVE VOICED THEIR OPPOSITION TO ALL SORTS OF
VIOLENCE. THEY CANNOT DISTINGUISH THE CLASS CHARACTER OF
DIFFERENT KINDS OF VIOLENCE. FOR THEM, VIOLENCE USED BY THE
BOURGEOISIE TO OPPRESS THE PROLETARIAT IS SIMILAR TO THE
VIOLENCE USED BY THE PROLETARIAT IN THEIR STRUGGLE AGAINST THE
BOURGEOISIE TO LIBERATE THEMSELVES. LENIN SAID; "THOSE WHO ONLY
SPEAK OF VIOLENCE IN GENERAL AND WHO CANNOT DISTINGUISH
REVOLUTIONARY VIOLENCE FROM COUNTERREVOLUTIONARY VIOLENCE ARE
ONLY COUNTERREVOLUTIONARY PHILISTINES. THEY ONLY USE SOPHISMS
TO FOOL THEMSELVES AND OTHERS."

(TEXT) FOR PARTISANS OF PACIFISM, AND VIOLENCE IS A CRIME. FACED WITH DEATH CAUSED BY VIOLENCE, THEY ONLY KNOW HOW TO MOAN AND COMPLAIN. THEY KNOW NOTHING ABOUT THE LAW OF SOCIAL EVOLUTION. THEY ONLY SEE THE EVIL ASPECT OF VIOLENCE. THEY DO NOT RPT NOT KNOW THAT, IN ADDITION TO THIS ASPECT, VIOLENCE ALSO PLAYS A REVOLUTIONARY ROLE IN HISTORY. MARX SAID: "VIOLENCE IS THE MIDWIFE OF THE OLD SOCIETY, WHICH IS CARRYING THE NEW

SOCIETY IN ITS WOMB. "

MODERN REVISIONISTS AND RIGHT OPPORTUNISTS IN THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT AND THE WORKERS MOVEMENT TODAY DARE NOT RPT NOT MENTION THE WORD "VIOLENCE," BUT INSTEAD KEEP WAGGING THEIR TONGUES ABOUT "PEACE" AND "HUMANITARIANISM." THEY ARE AFRAID OF THE WORD "VIOLENCE" AS LEECHES ARE AFRAID OF LIME. IN FACT, THEY NEGATE THE MARXIST-LENINIST THEORY OF THE ROLE OF VIOLENCE IN HISTORY.

IN CRITICIZING DUHRING'S REACTIONARY PHILOSOPHY EIGHTY 80 YEARS AGO, ENGELS WROTE: "FOR M. DUHRING, VIOLENCE IS AN ABSOLUTE CRIME. FOR HIM, THE FIRST VIOLENT ACTION IS THE ORIGINAL SIN. ALL HIS WORK IS ONLY A COMPLAINT ABOUT THE CONTAMINATION OF ALL HISTORY BY THE ORIGINAL SIN AND ABOUT THE EVIL DISTORTION OF ALL NATURAL AND SOCIAL LAWS BY A STRANGE INFLUENCE, THAT IS, VIOLENCE. BUT VIOLENCE ALSO PLAYS ANOTHER ROLE IN HISTORY--A REVOLUTIONARY ROLE. ACCORDING TO MARX, 'VIOLENCE IS THE MIDWIFE OF THE OLD SOCIETY, WHICH IS CARRYING THE NEW SOCIETY IN ITS WOMB.' VIOLENCE IS THE INSTRUMENT THAT THE SOCIAL MOVEMENT USES TO DEFEAT AND CRUSH ALL STIFF AND DEAD POLITICAL FORMS--M. DUHRING DID NOT RPT NOT SAY ANYTHING

ON THESE POINTS. "

COMMUNISTS ARE NOT RPT NOT TOLSTOYITES OR DISCIPLES OF GANDHI, WHO SET FORTH DOCTRINES OF NONVIOLENCE. AT THE SAME TIME, COMMUNISTS DO NOT RPT NOT ADVOCATE "VIOLENCE FOR VIOLENCE'S SAKE." COMMUNISTS ARE NOT RPT NOT WAR AND CRIME LOVERS, AS REACTIONARIES SLANDER. COMMUNISTS ONLY POINT OUT THE TRUTH: VIOLENCE IS A SOCIAL PHENOMENON; VIOLENCE IS THE RESULT OF THE EXPLOITATION OF MAN BY MAN; AND VIOLENCE IS A MEASURE USED BY THE RULING EXPLOITERS TO MAINTAIN AND DEVELOP THEIR DOMINATION. COMMUNISTS ARE OF THE OPINION THAT THE WORKING CLASS AND OTHER LABORING PEOPLE, VICTIMS OF EXPLOITATION AND DOMINATION, MUST RESORT TO REVOLUTIONARY VIOLENCE TO SMASH COUNTERREVOLUTIONARY VIOLENCE IN ORDER TO WIN THEIR OWN EMANCIPATION SO THAT SOCIETY MAY ADVANCE ACCORDING TO THE LAW OF HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT.

OVER A HUNDRED YEARS AGO, MARX AND ENGELS WROTE IN THE COMMUNIST MANIFESTO: "THE PROLETARIAT ESTABLISHES ITS DOMINATION AFTER USING VIOLENCE TO OVERTHROW THE BOURGEOISIE." THEY ADDED: "COMMUNISTS DO NOT RPT NOT TAKE PAINS TO CONCEAL THEIR VIEWS AND SCHEMES. THEY PUBLICLY DECLARE THAT THEY CAN ACHIEVE THEIR OBJECTIVES ONLY AFTER USING VIOLENCE TO OVERTHROW

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THE TRADITIONAL SOCIAL ORDER. "

COMMUNISTS POINT OUT THE ROLE OF VIOLENCE IN HISTORY NOT RPT NOT BECAUSE THEY ARE FOND OF VIOLENCE, BUT BECAUSE THIS IS A LAW OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF HUMAN SOCIETY. WITHOUT KEEPING A FIRM HOLD ON THIS LAW, ONE CANNOT SUCCESSFULLY CARRY OUT THE REVOLUTION AND CAUSE HUMAN SOCIETY TO DEVELOP.

PURSUING ITS REVOLUTIONARY CAUSE, THE PROLETARIAT IS NOT RPT NOT SEEKING A GOVERNMENT RESHUFFLE OF CABINET CHANGES IN A GENERAL SENSE, THUS LEAVING THE OLD POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC ORDER INTACT. THE PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION CANNOT PRESERVE THE STATE APPARATUS--THE EXISTING POLICE, GENDARMERIE, ARMED FORCES, BUREAUCRATIC STRUCTURE, AND SO FORTH--WHICH IS CHIEFLY USED TO OPPRESS THE PEOPLE, BUT MUST SMASH THIS STATE APPARATUS AND REPLACE IT WITH AN ENTIRELY NEW ONE. HEREIN LIES ONE OF THE DISTINCTIONS BETWEEN PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION AND BOURGEOIS REVOLUTION.

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HANOI HOC TAP SEPTEMBER 1963--

(PEACE OR VIOLENCE) XXX AND BOURGEOIS REVOLUTION.

(TEXT) THE BOURGEOIS REVOLUTION DOES NOT RPT NOT SMASH THE STATE APPARATUS OF THE FEUDALIST REGIME. IT ONLY SEIZES, MAINTAINS, AND IMPROVES THIS APPARATUS. A PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION, ON THE OTHER HAND, SMASHES THE EXISTING STATE APPARATUS OF THE BOURGEOIS REGIME. A PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION IS A PROCESS OF A FIERCE STRUGGLE TO OVERTHROW THE BOURGEOISIE, DESTROY THE BOURGEOIS ORDER, CONFISCATE THE PROPERTY OF THE

BCURGOISIE AND LANDLORDS, AND SOCIALIZE THE MAIN MEANS OF PRODUCTION. THE PROLETARIAT NOT RPT NOT ONLY SEIZES THE EXISTING STATE APPARATUS, NOT RPT NOT ONLY SHIFTS THE BUREAUCRATIC AND FEUDALIST APPARATUS FROM BOURGEOIS HANDS TO ITS OWN HANDS, BUT SMASHES THE BOURGEOIS STATE APPARATUS, SETS UP THE NEW STATE APPARATUS OF THE WORKING CLASS, AND ESTABLISHES THE PROLETARIAN DICTATORSHIP.

SMASHING THE EXISTING STATE APPARATUS IS "THE PRIMARY CONDITION FOR ALL TRUE PEOPLE'S REVOLUTIONS." IN A LETTER SENT TO (KUGELMAN--PHONETIC) IN 1871 EIGHTEEN SEVENTYONE, MARX SAID THAT THIS WAS AN ESSENTIAL CONDITION FOR ALL COUNTRIES ON THE EUROPEAN CONTINENT. IN COUNTRIES NOT RPT NOT ON THE EUROPEAN CONTINENT, HE WROTE, SUCH AS BRITAIN AND THE UNITED STATES, THE WORKING CLASS HAS THE CAPACITY TO SEIZE POWER THROUGH PEACEFUL MEANS IN THE DECADE FROM 1870 TO 1880 EIGHTEEN SEVENTY-EIGHTEEN EIGHTY BECAUSE CAPITALISM HAS NOT RPT NOT YET DEVOLOPED ITSELF INTO MONOPOLY CAPITALISM AND MILITARISM AND BUREAUCRATISM HAVE NOT RPT NOT BEEN DEVELOPED IN THE UNITED STATES AND BRITAIN.

THIS WAS THE TRUTH BEFORE THE APPEARANCE OF IMPERIALISM. BUT DURING THE 20TH TWENTIETH CENTURY, WHEN CAPITALISM DEVELOPED TO THE MAXIMUM--THAT IS, INTO IMPERIALISM--AND EMBRACED ALL

COUNTRIES AND WHEN MILITARISM AND BUREAUCRATISM APPEARED IN BRITAIN AND THE UNITED STATES, THE POSSIBILITY OF SEIZING POWER THROUGH PEACEFUL MEANS IN BRITAIN AND THE UNITED STATES DISAPPEARED. IN 1917 NINETEEN SEVENTEEN LENIN WROTE IN "THE STATE AND REVOLUTION" THAT MARX'S DISTINCTION BETWEEN THE COUNTRIES OF THE EUROPEAN CONTINENT AND OTHER COUNTRIES BECAME USELESS, AND THAT IN BRITAIN AS WELL AS THE UNITED STATES THE PRIMARY CONDITION FOR ALL TRUE REVOLUTIONS OF THE PEOPLE WAS THE DESTRUCTION OF THE EXISTING STATE APPARATUS.

IN 1918 NINETEEN EIGHTEEN, IN HIS "PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION AND TRAITOR KAUTSKY," LENIN SET FORTH A GENERAL LAW: "THE PROLETIRIAN REVOLUTION CANNOT SUCCEED WITHOUT SMASHING THE BOURGEOIS STATE APPARATUS THROUGH VIOLENT MEANS AND REPLACING IT WITH A NEW APPARATUS." CRITICIZING KAUTSKY'S ARGUMENT THAT "TRANSITION CAN BE ACHIEVED PEACEFULLY, THAT IS, THROUGH DEMOCRATIC MEANS," LENIN POINTED OUT THAT THIS IS A CECEITFUL MEANS AIMED AT PREVENTING READERS FROM REALIZING THAT THE FUNDAMENTAL POINT OF THE CONCEPT OF PROLETIRIAN DICTATORSHIP IS VIOLENT REVOLUTION AND AIMED AT REPLACING VIOLENT REVOLUTION BY PEACEFUL REVOLUTION; "DECEITS, SOPHISMS, DISTORTIONS-- ALL THESE

MEANS HAVE BEEN USED BY KAUTSKY TO AVOID SPEAKING OF VIOLENT
REVOLUTION, TO CONCEAL HIS RENOUNCEMENT OF REVOLUTION, AND TO
CONCEAL HIS SUPPORT FOR THE POLICIES OF THE LIBERAL WORKING CLASS,
THAT IS, OF THE BOURGEOISIE. THE NATURE OF THE PROBLEM MAINLY LIES
HERE. "

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THE MAIN CHARACTERISTIC OF REFORMISTS FROM KAUTSKY TO THE MODERN REVISIONISTS IS THEIR RENOUNCING OF REVOLUTION BY VIOLENCE, THUS REDUCING PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION AND PROLETARIAN DICTATORSHIP TO EMPTY WORDS. REFORMISTS CALL FOR GRADUAL REFORM OF THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM AND STATE INSTEAD OF OVERTHROWING THIS SYSTEM AND SMASHING ITS STATE APPARATUS. FOR REFORMISTS, REFORM IS EVERYTHING AND REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE FOR SEIZING POWER

MEANS NOTHING. TO SUBSCRIBE TO REFORMISM MEANS TO RENOUNCE REVOLUTION. REVOLUTION MEANS CHANGING AND DESTROYING THE MOST FUNDAMENTAL AND ESSENTIAL THINGS OF THE OLD ORDER AND NOT OPT NOT CAREFULLY AND GRADUALLY REFORMING THE OLD ORDER AND AVOIDING DESTRUCTION AS MUCH AS POSSIBLE.

IN THE EYES OF REFORMISTS, THERE IS NO DIFFERENCE IN CHARACTER BETWEEN BOURGEOIS DEMOCRACY AND PROLETARIAN DEMOCRACY AND NO SWIFT ADVANCE FROM CAPITALISM TO SOCIALISM, BECAUSE CAPITALISM CAN GRADUALLY EVOLVE INTO SOCIALISM ACCORDING TO THE THEORY OF EVOLUTION. THE TITO CLIQUE HAS SET FORTH THE THEORY THAT "CAPITALISM IS PEACEFULLY BOUND TO SOCIALISM." DARING NOT OPT NOT ATTACK CAPITALISM, THE REFORMISTS ONLY BEG FOR ISOLATED REFORMS AND REFUSE TO ENGAGE IN ILLEGAL ACTIONS SO AS TO CAUSE THE FAILURE OF ALL PREPARATIONS BY THE MASSES TO CARRY OUT REVOLUTION FOR OVERTHROWING THE BOURGEOISIE.

AS WAS REVISIONISM OF THE EARLY 20TH TWENTIETH CENTURY, MODERN REVISIONISM IN ESSENCE IS REFORMISM. REVISIONISTS, PAST AND PRESENT, ENERGETICALLY PRAISED THE BOURGEOIS PARLIAMENTARY SYSTEM. THEY SPARED NO EFFORTS IN PROPAGATING THE ADVANCE OF SOCIALISM ALONG THE PARLIAMENTARY ROAD. AS A MATTER OF FACT,

DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS UNDER BOURGEOIS PARLIAMENTARISM ARE, AS MARX HAD PUT IT, MERELY THE RIGHTS "TO DECIDE ONCE EVERY THREE OR SIX YEARS WHO OF THE RULING CLASS SHOULD REPRESENT THE PEOPLE IN PARLIAMENT AND OPPRESS THEM."

LENIN SAID: "AFTER STUDYING THE COUNTRIES WHICH HAVE A PARLIAMENTARY SYSTEM, SUCH AS THE UNITED STATES, SWITZERLAND, FRANCE, BRITAIN, NORWAY, AND SO FORTH, WE FIND THAT ALL STATE TASKS ARE SETTLED BEHIND THE SCENES AND FULFILLED BY DIFFERENT MINISTRIES, GENERAL STAFFS, AND SO FORTH. AT THE PARLIAMENTS THEY ONLY TALK NONSENSE WITH THE NIUE OBJECTIVE OF DECEIVING THE PEOPLE." LENIN DESCRIBED BOURGEOIS DEMOCRACY AS A NARROW, MANIPULATED, FALSE, AND DECEPTIVE DEMOCRACY, THE PARADISE OF THE RICH, AND A TRAP AND DECEPTIVE FRAUD FOR THE EXPLOITED AND THE POOR. TO ADVERTISE THE PARLIAMENTARY ROAD, MODERN REVISIONISTS ARE PROPAGATING THIS BOURGEOIS DECEPTIVE FRAUD WHICH WAS THOROUGHLY EXPOSED BY LENIN LONG AGO.

THE RULING BOURGEOISIE HAS NEVER WITHDRAWN VOLUNTARILY THE HANDED STATE POWER OVER TO THE WORKING CLASS. IN "ESSAY ON THE FUNDAMENTAL TASKS OF THE SECOND CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL," LENIN POINTED OUT THAT UNDER THE MILITARIST OR

IMPERIALIST SYSTEM, "ANY BELIEF THAT IT IS POSSIBLE TO PEACEFULLY FORCE THE BOURGEOISIE TO YIELD TO THE WILL OF THE MAJORITY OF THE EXPLOITED OR THAT IT IS POSSIBLE TO SHIFT TO SOCIALISM PEACEFULLY THROUGH REFORM NOT RPT NOT ONLY IS VERY STUPID AND BETTY BOURGEOIS, BUT IT IS ALSO AIMED AT BRAZENLY DECEIVING WORKERS, EMBELLISHING THE ENSLAVING HIRING SYSTEM OF THE BOURGEOISIE, AND CONCEALING THE TRUTH.

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"ONLY BY USING VIOLENCE TO OVERTHROW THE BOURGEOISIE, CONFISCATE THEIR WEALTH, SMASH THE CAPITALIST STATE APPARATUS FROM TOP TO BOTTOM--PARLIAMENT, COURTS, ARMY, ADMINISTRATION, AND SO FORTH--DEPORT OR ARREST ALL THE MOST DANGEROUS AND STUBBORN EXPLOITERS, AND CONTROL THEM CLOSELY IN ORDER TO STRUGGLE AGAINST ALL THEIR UNAVOIDABLE SCHEMES--CONSISTING OF RESISTING US AND RESTORING THE CAPITALIST

ENSLAVING SYSTEM-- CAN WE FORCE THE ENTIRE EXPLOITING CLASS TO ACTUALLY SURRENDER."

THE BASIC PRINCIPLE FOR ALL COMMUNIST PARTIES IS TO RECOGNIZE THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT AND TO STRUGGLE FOR ITS REALIZATION. IN THE FINAL ANALYSIS THE PROCESS OF THE PROLETARIAN REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT IS THAT OF MAKING PREPARATIONS FOR THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT (BEFORE THE SEIZURE OF STATE POWER-- (BRACKETS AS PUBLISHED) AND CARRYING OUT SUCH DICTATORSHIP (AFTER HAVING SEIZED STATE POWER (BRACKETS AS PUBLISHED)). THE PROLETARIAT MUST ADOPT ALL FORMS OF STRUGGLE --LEGAL AND ILLEGAL; INSIDE AND OUTSIDE OF PARLIAMENT, FROM STRIKES, DEMONSTRATIONS, AND POLITICAL GENERAL STRIKES TO ARMED UPRISINGS, THE HIGHEST FORM OF STRUGGLE-- IN ORDER TO OVERTHROW THE BOURGEOISIE AND ESTABLISH THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT.

THE MORE THE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT SURGES FORWARD, THE MORE FRENZIED WILL BE THE SUPPRESSION BY THE RULING BOURGEOISIE AND THE SHARPER AND MORE ACUTE WILL BE THE CLASS STRUGGLE. "IN DEVELOPING ITSELF THE REVOLUTION GIVES RISE TO A STRONG COUNTERREVOLUTIONARY FORCE AND IT KEEPS PACE WITH IT--

THAT IS, THE REVOLUTION FORCES ITS ENEMY TO USE INCREASINGLY EXTREMIST DEFENSIVE MEASURES, WHILE, AT THE SAME TIME, THE REVOLUTION DEVELOPS INCREASINGLY EXTREMIST OFFENSIVE METHODS." (FROM LENIN'S SELECTED WORKS--HOC TAP)

IN THE BITTER STRUGGLE AGAINST THE RULING EXPLOITING CLASSES, ARMS MUST BE USED BY THE WORKING CLASS AND OTHER WORKING PEOPLE. MARX SAID: "THE WEAPON OF CRITICISM CANNOT REPLACE CRITICISM WITH WEAPONS" AND "IT IS NECESSARY TO USE MATERIAL FORCES TO OVERTHROW MATERIAL FORCES." LENIN POINTED OUT THAT THE STRUGGLE OF THE WORKING CLASS AGAINST THE BOURGEOISIE IS "A STRUGGLE IN WHICH THE WEAPON OF CRITICISM CAN BE REPLACED BY CRITICISM WITH WEAPONS AT ANY MOMENT."

THAT IS WHY LENIN SPOKE OF THE NECESSITY OF ARMING THE PROLETARIAT AND DISARMING THE BOURGEOISIE IN ORDER TO BRING ABOUT THE SUCCESS OF SOCIALISM. IN "THE MILITARY PLATFORM OF THE PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION," LENIN SAID: "HERE IS OUR SLOGAN: THE PROLETARIAT MUST BE ARMED TO WIN VICTORIES, TO DEPRIVE THE BOURGEOISIE OF ITS RIGHT OF OWNERSHIP, AND TO DISARM THE BOURGEOISIE"; "IF THEY DO NOT WANT TO TRY TO LEARN HOW TO HANDLE WEAPONS AND DO NOT TRY TO OBTAIN WEAPONS, AND OPPRESSED

CLASS DESERVES TO BE TREATED AS SLAVES." THIS IS BECAUSE IN ANY SOCIETY WITH CLASSES THE RULING CLASSES ALWAYS HAVE WEAPONS. THE RULING BOURGEOISIE USES WEAPONS TO OPPRESS THE WORKING CLASS. THIS IS THE TRUTH.

THUS, THE WORKING CLASS MUST USE WEAPONS TO OVERTHROW THE RULING CLASSES AND LIBERATE ITSELF. LENIN SAID: "ONLY AFTER DISARMING THE BOURGEOISIE CAN THE PROLETARIAT, IN GENERAL, THROW AWAY ALL ITS WEAPONS AS SCRAP IRON WITHOUT BETRAYING ITS HISTORIC INTERNATIONAL MISSION. THE PROLETARIAT WILL UNDOUBTEDLY DO SO. BUT IT WILL DO SO ONLY AT THAT MOMENT AND NOT BEFORE THAT MOMENT."

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LENIN POINTED OUT THAT THE PROLETARIAT MUST "STUDY MILITARY TACTICS FOR ITSELF" AND "ITS INTERESTS REQUIRE IT TO ENGAGE IN THIS STUDY." DEALING WITH THE ROLE OF PROLETARIAN WOMEN IN THE REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE OF THEIR CLASS, LENIN EXPRESSED THE VIEW THAT WOMEN MUST NOT RPT NOT MERELY CURSE WAR OR DEMAND DISARMAMENT, BUT MUST PLAY A MORE POSITIVE ROLE. HE SAID: "NEVER HAVE THE WOMEN OF AN OPPRESSED AND REALLY,

REVOLUTIONARY CLASS RESIGNED THEMSELVES TO PLAYING SUCH A SHAMEFUL ROLE. THEY WILL TELL THEIR CHILDREN: 'YOU WILL GROW UP. YOU WILL BE GIVEN A RIFLE. TAKE IT AND LEARN TO HANDLE IT CLEVERLY. THIS IS A NECESSARY STUDY FOR PROLETARIANS. BUT DO NOT RPT NOT SHOOT AT YOUR BROTHERS--THAT IS, WORKERS IN OTHER COUNTRIES, AS IS HAPPENING IN THE PRESENT WAR AS A RESULT OF THE ADVICE OF THE BETRAYERS OF SOCIALISM. BUT USE IT TO STRUGGLE AGAINST THE BOURGEOISIE IN THIS COUNTRY TO PUT AN END TO EXPLOITATION, MISERY, AND WAR, NOT RPT NOT BY SINCERE WORDS OR HOPES, BUT BY DEFEATING THE BOURGEOISIE AND DISARMING THEM.'"

CRITICIZING THOSE WHO SET FORTH THE "DEMAND? THAT WEAPONS BE ABANDONED," LENIN SAID: "IS IT CORRECT THAT THOSE WHO ADVOCATE ABANDONING WEAPONS FOLLOW AN ENTIRELY NEW REVOLUTIONARY FORM, A REVOLUTIONARY FORM WHICH DOES NOT RPT NOT NEED WEAPONS?" LENIN ALSO CRITICIZED PLEKHANOV'S VIEW OF "ABANDONING WEAPONS." IN "LESSONS DRAWN FROM THE MOSCOW UPRISING" LENIN SAID: "THERE IS NOTHING MORE SHORTSIGHTED THAN PLEKHANOV'S VIEW THAT OUTDATED UPRISINGS SHOULD NOT RPT NOT BE HELD AND WEAPONS SHOULD NOT RPT NOT BE USED. ALL OPPORTUNISTS HAVE ADOPTED THIS VIEW. THE CONTRARY IS TRUE. WE MUST HOLD OUR

WEAPONS MORE RESOLUTELY AND WITH A MORE OFFENSIVE SPIRIT. WE MUST EXPLAIN TO THE MASSES THAT THEY SHOULD NOT RPT NOT RESORT TO PEACEFUL STRIKES ONLY, BUT INSTEAD SHOULD COURAGEOUSLY AND RESOLUTELY ENGAGE IN ARMED STRUGGLE."

LENIN INSISTED ON THE NECESSITY OF WIDELY PROPAGATING THE NOTION OF ARMED UPRISING AMONG THE MASSES, AND HE CALLED ARMED UPRISING "A GREAT MASS STRUGGLE." LENIN SET FORTH THE NECESSITY OF RECOGNIZING ARMED UPRISING AS A PROBLEM OF PRINCIPLE FOR REVOLUTIONARIES: "TO UNITE UNDER POLITICAL SLOGANS IS INSUFFICIENT. IT IS NECESSARY TO AGREE ON THE PROBLEM OF ARMED UPRISING. HE WHO OPPOSES ARMED UPRISING AND REFUSES TO PREPARE FOR ARMED UPRISING MUST BE PITILESSLY KICKED OUT OF THE REVOLUTIONARY RANKS AND FORCED TO JOIN THE RANKS OF THE ENEMY OF THE REVOLUTION, OF TRAITORS, AND OF COWARDS, BECAUSE IT IS TIME FOR US TO DISTINGUISH FRIEND FROM FOE BY EASING OURSELVES ON EVOLUTIONARY RPT EVOLUTIONARY STRENGTH AND ON THE STRUGGLE CONDITIONS."

OF COURSE, COMMUNISTS ARE VERY CAUTIOUS ABOUT ARMED UPRISING. THEY REGARD IT AS AN ART AND NEVER PLAY WITH IT. IT IS A PECULIAR FORM OF POLITICAL STRUGGLE WITH ITS OWN SPECIFIC LAWS. AN ARMED UPRISING IS LAUNCHED BY COMMUNISTS ONLY

WHEN THE OPPORTUNITY IS RIPE AND BOTH THE SUBJECTIVE AND OBJECTIVE CONDITIONS ARE COMPLETELY READY AND, ONCE IT IS LAUNCHED, IT MUST BE RESOLUTELY PURSUED TO THE END.

TWO 2- THE POSSIBILITY FOR A REVOLUTION TO DEVELOP ITSELF PEACEFULLY.

THE REVOLUTIONARY CLASS MUST TAKE UP WEAPONS TO FIGHT THE EXPLOITING CLASSES BECAUSE THE LATTER USE WEAPONS TO PROTECT THEIR WEALTH AND PRIVILEGES. FOR THE PROLETARIAT, ARMED STRUGGLE IN GENERAL AND ARMED UPRISING IN PARTICULAR ARE NOT MEANS OR ENDS OR OBJECTIVES IN THEMSELVES, BUT MEANS FOR THE PROLETARIAT TO

LIBERATE THEMSELVES AND ESTABLISH A PROLETARIAN DICTATORSHIP. COMMUNISTS DO NOT REJECT NOT ADVOCATE THE NECESSITY OF USING WEAPONS AT ALL TIMES AND UNDER ALL CIRCUMSTANCES. IF, IN THE ADVANCE TOWARD SOCIALISM, THERE IS A ROAD THAT REQUIRES LESS DEATH AND BLOODSHED, COMMUNISTS DO NOT REJECT NOT HESITATE TO FOLLOW IT.

IN THE DRAFT OF THE COMMUNIST MANIFESTO ENGELS SET FORTH THIS QUESTION: "IS IT POSSIBLE TO DESTROY THE PRIVATE OWNERSHIP SYSTEM THROUGH PEACEFUL MEANS?" AND HE ANSWERED: "IT IS TO BE HOPED THAT THIS CAN BE DONE AND, OF COURSE, ALL COMMUNISTS APPROVE AND PREFER THIS METHOD... (ELLIPSIS AS PUBLISHED). BUT AT THE SAME TIME COMMUNISTS FIND THAT PROLETARIAN DEVELOPMENT IN ALMOST ALL CIVILIZED COUNTRIES IS SUPPRESSED BY VIOLENCE, AND, CONSEQUENTLY, THOSE WHO WORK AGAINST COMMUNISM ACTUALLY BENEFIT THE REVOLUTION. IF, EVENTUALLY, ALL THESE EVENTS FORCE THE OPPRESSED PROLETARIAT TO CARRY OUT A REVOLUTION, THEN WE COMMUNISTS PROTECT THE WORK OF THE PROLETARIAT WITH ACTIONS AS STRONG AS OUR WORDS."

WHETHER THE WORKING CLASS ADOPTS THE FORM OF ARMED STRUGGLE OR THE FORM OF PEACEFUL POLITICAL STRUGGLE DOES NOT REJECT NOT DEPEND ON THE SUBJECTIVE ASPIRATIONS OF THE WORKING

CLASS, BUT ON THE INTENSITY OF THE RESISTANCE OF THE EXPLOITING CLASSES, WHICH FIRST USES ARMS TO MAINTAIN THEIR RULE. SINCE THE EXPLOITING CLASSES WILL NOT REJECT NOT RENOUNCE STATE POWER ON THEIR OWN ACCORD, THE WORKERS HAVE TO RESORT TO VIOLENCE TO OVER-THROW THEM.

NEVERTHELESS, CLASSIC MARXIST-LENINIST WRITERS DO NOT REJECT NOT RULE OUT THE POSSIBILITY OF THE WORKING CLASS IN CERTAIN COUNTRIES SEIZING STATE POWER BY MEANS OF THE PEACEFUL METHOD. THE WORKING CLASS MUST DECIDE ON THE APPROPRIATE FORM OF STRUGGLE FOR SEIZING STATE POWER ACCORDING TO THE DIFFERENT SYSTEMS, CUSTOMS, AND TRADITIONS FOUND IN DIFFERENT COUNTRIES. AT A MEETING IN AMSTERDAM IN 1872 EIGHTEEN SEVENTYTWO MARXISTS DECLARED THAT COMMUNISTS NEVER ASSERT THAT IN ALL COUNTRIES THE WORKING CLASS MUST USE THE SAME METHOD TO SEIZE POWER. THEY HELD THE OPINION THAT, AT THAT TIME, THE WORKING CLASS IN THE UNITED STATES AND BRITAIN WAS CAPABLE OF SEIZING POWER BY PEACEFUL MEANS.

BETWEEN FEBRUARY AND JULY OF 1917 NINETEEN SEVENTEEN THE POSSIBILITY OF SEIZING POWER THROUGH PEACEFUL MEANS APPEARED IN RUSSIA. THE POSSIBILITY EXISTED BECAUSE THE FEBRUARY REVOLUTION

HAD USED VIOLENCE TO OVERTHROW THE DICTATORIAL CZARIST REGIME, COEXISTENCE BETWEEN TWO POWERS HAD APPEARED, AND GEN. KORNILOV'S REVOLT HAD BEEN CRUSHED BY THE ARMED FORCES OF THE WORKING CLASS. AT THAT TIME LENIN WROTE: "NOW THERE IS NO OPPOSITION TO THE SOVIETS. IF THE SOVIETS THEMSELVES DO NOT RPT NOT HESITATE, THERE WILL NOT RPT NOT BE ANY CLASS WHICH DARES REVOLT AGAINST THE SOVIETS. LEARNING FROM THE EXPERIENCES OF THE KORNILOV'S REVOLT, LANDLORDS AND CAPITALISTS WILL YIELD POWER PEACEFULLY WHEN FACED WITH AN ULTIMATUM FROM THE SOVIETS."

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SUCH WAS THE SITUATION BECAUSE POWER HAD NOT RPT NOT YET BEEN CONSOLIDATED AND THE PEOPLE HAD WEAPONS. "NO EXTERNAL FORCE CAN OPPOSE THE PEOPLE ONCE THE LATTER HAVE WEAPONS IN THEIR HANDS. THIS IS THE NATURE OF THINGS. THIS IS AN ADVANTAGEOUS CONDITION GUARANTEEING THE PEACEFUL DEVELOPMENT OF THE REVOLUTION" (FROM LENIN'S SELECTED WORKS--HOC TAP). ACCORDING TO LENIN, IT IS POSSIBLE TO "GUARANTEE THE PEACEFUL DEVELOPMENT OF THE

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REVOLUTION" ONLY IF THE SOVIETS "THOROUGHLY CONTROL THE POWER APPARATUS."

LENIN ADDED THAT IF THAT OPPORTUNITY WERE NOT RPT NOT SEIZED, "A FIERCE CIVIL WAR BETWEEN THE BOURGEOISIE AND THE PROLETARIAT WOULD BE UNAVOIDABLE" AND THAT THIS CIVIL WAR WOULD BE VERY "FIERCE AND BLOODY." LENIN EMPHASIZED: "THE PROLETARIAT WILL SUFFER ALL SACRIFICES TO SAVE THE REVOLUTION."

LENIN WAS OF THE OPINION THAT THE PATH OF PEACEFUL DEVELOPMENT OF THE REVOLUTION IS THE "MOST ADVANTAGEOUS PATH FOR THE PEOPLE" AND IS THE PATH "WHICH IS PAVED WITH THE LEAST SUFFERINGS", AND THAT COMMUNISTS MUST DEVOTE ALL THEIR ENERGY TO ACHIEVING THIS PATH. BUT WHEN THE PEACEFUL PATH COULD NOT RPT NOT BE FOLLOWED LENIN DID NOT RPT NOT HESITATE TO APPEAL TO THE MASSES TO FOLLOW THE NONPEACEFUL PATH. TOWARD MID-JULY 1917 NINETEEN SEVENTEEN LENIN WROTE IN THE ARTICLE "ABOUT SLOGANS": "WE WERE PREVENTED FROM FOLLOWING THE PATH OF PEACEFUL DEVELOPMENT. THUS, WE HAVE FOLLOWED THE NONPEACEFUL PATH, THE PATH PAVED WITH THE MOST SUFFERINGS."

THUS, IN SETTING FORTH THE POSSIBILITY OF DEVELOPING THE REVOLUTION PEACEFULLY, LENIN DID NOT RPT NOT FORGET THE POSSIBILITY OF A FIERCE AND BLOODY CIVIL WAR. ON 8 EIGHT OCTOBER

1917 NINETEEN SEVENTEEN, FACED WITH THE NEW SITUATION, LENIN ASSERTED: "UNDER THE PRESENT CONDITIONS, THE HANDING OVER OF POWER TO THE SOVIETS MEANS AN ARMED UPRISING." HE SAID THAT, FOLLOWING THE EVENTS OF THAT TIME, "THE PROBLEM OF ARMED UPRISING WAS INSCRIBED ON THE AGENDA."

IN 1919 NINETEEN NINETEEN IN HUNGARY, FOLLOWING THE DEFEAT OF THE GERMAN AND AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN IMPERIALISTS, THE POSSIBILITY OF SEIZING POWER BY PEACEFUL MEANS ALSO APPEARED. FACED WITH A SERIOUS CRISIS, THE BOURGEOISIE PROVED ITSELF THOROUGHLY POWERLESS: THE BOURGEOIS KAROLYI GOVERNMENT RESIGNED. LEFTIST SOCIALISTS ASKED IMPRISONED HUNGARIAN COMMUNIST LEADER BELA KUN TO FORM THE GOVERNMENT. IN "REPORT ON THE RADIO NEGOTIATIONS WITH BELA KUN" LENIN SAID: "THE BOURGEOISIE VOLUNTARILY HANDED POWER OVER TO THE HUNGARIAN COMMUNISTS. THIS PROVES TO THE WORLD THAT, WHEN A SERIOUS CRISIS BREAKS OUT AND A COUNTRY IS IN PERIL, THE BOURGEOISIE IS UNABLE TO RULE."

IN AN ARTICLE WRITTEN ON 27 TWENTYSEVEN MAY 1919 NINETEEN NINETEEN TITLED "GREETINGS TO HUNGARIAN WORKERS," LENIN DEALT WITH THE FORMATION OF THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT IN HUNGARY AT THAT TIME. LENIN NOTED THAT THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE SOVIET

REGIME AND PROLETARIAN DICTATORSHIP IN HUNGARY WAS ACHIEVED MORE EASILY AND PEACEFULLY THAN IN RUSSIA. LENIN WROTE: "IN HUNGARY THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE PROLETARIAN DICTATORSHIP WAS ACHIEVED IN A WAY ENTIRELY DIFFERENT FROM THAT OF RUSSIA: THE BOURGEOIS GOVERNMENT OFFERED TO RESIGN AND THE UNIFICATION OF THE WORKING CLASS AND OF SOCIALISM WAS ACHIEVED IMMEDIATELY ON THE BASIS OF THE COMMUNIST PLATFORM."

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IN NOTING THAT THE HUNGARIAN WORKING CLASS SEIZED POWER PEACEFULLY, LENIN DID NOT FORGET TO REMIND HUNGARIAN WORKERS OF THE TASK OF THE PROLETARIAN DICTATORSHIP, WHICH IS TO USE VIOLENCE TO OPPRESS COUNTERREVOLUTIONARIES. HE WROTE: "TO SPEAK OF THIS DICTATORSHIP OR TO SPEAK OF THE NECESSITY FOR PITILESSLY, QUICKLY, AND RESOLUTELY USING VIOLENT MEANS TO SMASH THE OPPOSITION OF THE BOURGEOIS-

CRISIS, THE LANDLORDS, AND THEIR LACKEYS. HE WHO DOES NOT NOT UNDERSTAND THIS POINT IS NOT A REVOLUTIONARY AND MUST BE KICKED OUT OF HIS POSITION AS LEADER OR ADVISOR OF THE PROLETARIAT."

IT IS COMMON KNOWLEDGE THAT, AFTER SEIZING POWER BY PEACEFUL MEANS, THE HUNGARIAN WORKING CLASS HAD TO USE VIOLENCE TO PROTECT THIS POWER AND THAT HUNGARIAN REACTIONARIES, AIDED BY INTERNATIONAL REACTIONARIES, USED VIOLENCE TO PLUNGE THE HUNGARIAN SOVIETS INTO A SEA OF BLOOD. CONCERNING THE LESSONS OF THE HUNGARIAN SOVIET REPUBLIC LENIN WROTE: "THE HUNGARIAN PROLETARIAT HAD TO PAY A DEAR PRICE FOR UNITING COMMUNISTS WITH REFORMISTS IN HUNGARY." THE 1919 NINETEEN NINETEEN THE HUNGARIAN SOVIET WAS STAMPED OUT BEFORE THE HUNGARIAN WORKING CLASS HAD TIME TO ENGAGE IN SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION. THUS, IT IS SHEER NONSENSE TO SAY THAT HUNGARY PEACEFULLY PASSED TO SOCIALISM IN 1919 NINETEEN NINETEEN.

TOWARD THE END OF WORLD WAR II TWO AND DURING THE PERIOD IMMEDIATELY FOLLOWING IT, THANKS TO THE FACT THAT THE SOVIET RED ARMY HAD EXTERMINATED THE FASCIST HITLERITES AND SMASHED THE FASCIST STATE APPARATUS SET UP BY HITLER IN EAST EUROPEAN COUNTRIES, PEOPLE'S GOVERNMENTS LED BY THE WORKING CLASS WERE

ESTABLISHED IN THESE COUNTRIES. AIDED BY THE SOVIET RED ARMY, THESE GOVERNMENTS, AFTER FULFILLING THE TASKS OF THE BOURGEOIS DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION, SHIFTED TO FULFILLING THE TASKS OF THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION AND OF PROLETARIAN DICTATORSHIP WITHOUT RESORTING TO ARMED UPRISING.

THE FEBRUARY 1948 NINETEEN FORTYEIGHT EVENTS IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA WERE ALSO PARTS OF THIS REVOLUTIONARY EVOLUTION. ENFORCING ADMINISTRATIVE MEASURES FROM TOP TO BOTTOM AND ASSOCIATING THIS ENFORCEMENT WITH THE HOLDING OF MASS MEETINGS AND DEMONSTRATIONS FROM BOTTOM TO TOP, THE PEOPLE'S GOVERNMENT IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA SMASHED THE CZECHOSLOVAK BOURGEOISIE'S PLOT AIMED AT CREATING A CABINET CRISIS AND RESTORING CAPITALISM IN ORDER TO LEAD CZECHOSLOVAKIA STRAIGHTFORWARDLY TOWARD SOCIALISM.

SOME PEOPLE USE THE FEBRUARY 1948 NINETEEN FORTYEIGHT EVENTS IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA AS AN ARGUMENT FOR THEIR THEORY OF PEACEFUL TRANSITION. THIS IS EMASCULATION OF HISTORY, BECAUSE THEY SEPARATE THE FEBRUARY EVENTS FROM THE LIQUIDATION OF GERMAN FASCISM BY THE SOVIET RED ARMY, THE 1944 NINETEEN FORTYFOUR ARMED UPRISING AND GUERRILLA WARFARE OF THE PEOPLE IN SLOVAKIA, AND THE PEOPLE'S GENERAL ARMED UPRISING IN PRAGUE IN MAY 1945

NINETEEN FORTYFIVE. MOREOVER, IN THE FEBRUARY 1948 NINETEEN FORTYEIGHT
EVENTS THE ROLE OF REVOLUTIONARY VIOLENCE WAS ALSO EMBODIED IN
THE RESOLUTE SUPPRESSION OF THE BOURGEOIS REBELLION BY THE PEOPLE'S
REGIME, WHICH WAS IN ESSENCE A PROLETARIAN DICTATORSHIP, AND IN
THE ARMED DEMONSTRATION OF THE CZECHOSLOVAK PEOPLE IN SUPPORT OF
THE ADMINISTRATIVE MEASURES TAKEN BY THE COMMUNIST-LED
GOVERNMENT.

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HANOI HOC TAP SEPTEMBER 1963-- (PEACE OR VIOLENCE) XXX
COMMUNIST-LED GOVERNMENT.

(TEXT) SINCE THE END OF WORLD WAR II TWO THE COLONIAL SYSTEM OF IMPERIALISM HAS BEEN IN THE PROCESS OF DISINTEGRATION. MANY NATIONS FORMERLY UNDER THE YOKE OF IMPERIALIST ENSLAVEMENT HAVE TODAY ACHIEVED NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE. IN THEIR FIGHT FOR NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE SOME NATIONS ADOPTED THE FORM OF ARMED STRUGGLE; OTHERS WENT THROUGH ALTERNATE PERIODS OF ARMED STRUGGLE AND PEACEFUL POLITICAL STRUGGLE OR COMBINED THESE TWO FORMS OF STRUGGLE IN ONE PERIOD; STILL OTHERS ATTAINED POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE WITHOUT ARMED STRUGGLE.

A NUMBER OF NATIONS HAVE BEEN ABLE TO ACHIEVE NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE PEACEFUL BECAUSE IMPERIALISM IS WEAKENING DAY BY DAY; THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST SYSTEM TOOK SHAPE AND DEVELOPED STRONGLY, THUS CHANGING THE BALANCE OF POWER ON A WORLD SCALE; SOCIALISM HAS A STRONG POWER OF ATTRACTION FOR DIFFERENT NATIONS; AND THE STRONG DEVELOPMENT OF THE NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT WOKE UP DIFFERENT NATIONS AND ENCOURAGED THEM TO RISE AND STRUGGLE RESOLUTELY FOR AUTONOMY.

FACED WITH THIS SITUATION, THE IMPERIALISTS HAVE BEEN FORCED TO CHOOSE FROM ONE OF THESE TWO PATHS: ONE 1) TO RESIST STUBBORNLY TO THE END UNTIL THEY ARE KICKED OUT OF THEIR COLONIES; WHEN FULLY INDEPENDENT, FORMER COLONIAL NATIONS FOLLOW THE SOCIALIST PATH; OR TWO 2) TO YIELD POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE TO THE INDIGENOUS BOURGEOISIE IN ORDER TO PROTECT IMPERIALIST ECONOMIC INTERESTS IN COLONIES, THUS MAINTAINING THESE COLONIES IN THE OREIT OF CAPITALISM.

MANY "CLEAR-SIGHTED" IMPERIALISTS ADOPTED THIS SECOND SOLUTION. THUS, A NUMBER OF COLONIAL NATIONS ACHIEVED POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE BY PEACEFUL MEANS. HOWEVER, THESE NATIONS HAVE A LONG WAY TO GO FROM POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE TO COMPLETE INDEPENDENCE AND THEN TO SOCIALISM. AS AN ARGUMENT FOR THE THEORY OF "PEACEFUL TRANSITION" SOME PEOPLE CITE THE FACT THAT SOME NATIONS HAVE ATTAINED INDEPENDENCE PEACEFULLY. THIS IS UTTERLY WRONG, BECAUSE THESE NATIONS REMAINED IN THE OREIT OF CAPITALISM AFTER INDEPENDENCE AND, THEREFORE, CANNOT BE SAID TO HAVE REALIZED A "PEACEFUL TRANSITION TO SOCIALISM."

THERE IS NOT RPT NOT A SINGLE EXAMPLE TO DATE IN THE HISTORY OF REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE BY THE WORLD WORKING CLASS OF A PEACEFUL TRANSITION TO SOCIALISM. SUCH PRECEDENT CANNOT BE FOUND. HOWEVER, COMMUNISTS HAVE NEVER DENIED THE POSSIBILITY OF A REVOLUTION DEVELOPING PEACEFULLY OR THAT IT MIGHT APPEAR AT DIFFERENT STAGES OR IN CERTAIN COUNTRIES. THIS POSSIBILITY IS VERY PRECIOUS, BUT EXTREMELY RARE.

DEALING WITH THIS POSSIBILITY, STALIN WROTE IN "THE BASES OF LENINISM": "OF COURSE, IN THE DISTANT FUTURE, IF THE PROLETARIAT TRIUMPHS IN THE MAIN CAPITALIST COUNTRIES AND IF THE PRESENT BLOCKADE BY CAPITALISM IS REPLACED BY A BLOCKADE OF SOCIALISM, THE PATH OF PEACEFUL DEVELOPMENT CAN BE COMPLETELY ACHIEVED IN A NUMBER OF CAPITALIST COUNTRIES. WHEN FACED WITH AN UNFAVORABLE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION, CAPITALISTS WILL FIND IT NECESSARY TO MAKE VOLUNTARY AND IMPORTANT CONCESSIONS TO THE PROLETARIAT. BUT THIS SUPPOSITION ONLY BELONGS TO THE DISTANT FUTURE WHERE IT MIGHT HAPPEN." STALIN WROTE THIS 40 FORTY YEARS AGO. 40 FORTY YEARS HAVE ELAPSED. HAS STALIN'S DISTANT FUTURE DRAWN NEARER TO US?

TODAY SOCIALISM HAS SCORED A GREAT VICTORY. THE BALANCE OF WORLD FORCES HAS CHANGED IN ITS FAVOR. IT HAS WON THE HEARTS OF MILLIONS UPON MILLIONS OF PEOPLE. THE WORKING CLASS AND OTHER WORKING PEOPLE HAVE HIGH POLITICAL AWARENESS AND A HIGH SENSE OF ORGANIZATION AND DISCIPLINE. ALREADY ESTABLISHED IN MANY COUNTRIES, PROLETARIAN DICTATORSHIP IS EFFECTIVELY COUNTERING IMPERIALIST INTERVENTION IN THE REVOLUTIONS OF MANY COUNTRIES. THIS CONSTITUTES A FAVORABLE CONDITION FOR THE WORKING CLASS TO SEIZE POWER BY VARIOUS METHODS. ON THE OTHER HAND, TWO-THIRDS OF THE WORLD'S POPULATION STILL LIVE UNDER CAPITALISM. IMPERIALISM IS IN AN ADVANCED STATE OF MILITARISM AND BUREAUCRACY. ALMOST ALL CAPITALIST COUNTRIES POSSESS ENORMOUS STATE MACHINES AND ARE ALWAYS READY TO SUPPRESS THE PEOPLE'S REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT WITH VIOLENCE. UNDER THESE CIRCUMSTANCES, THE POSSIBILITY OF THE PROLETARIAT TAKING OVER POWER BY PEACEFUL MEANS WITHOUT AN ARMED UPRISING REMAINS EXTREMELY RARE.

A BELIEF IN THE POSSIBILITY OF TAKING OVER POWER BY PEACEFUL MEANS HAS BECOME UNIVERSAL FOR THE WORKING CLASS IN MOST COUNTRIES IN THE WORLD, AND CONTINUED EXCESSIVE EMPHASIS ON THIS POSSIBILITY WILL LEAVE THE WORKING CLASS WITHOUT ADEQUATE PREPARATION FOR OVERCOMING DIFFICULTIES, FOR DEFEATING THE EXPLOITING CLASSES, AND FOR ESTABLISHING ITS DICTATORSHIP. THIS MEANS AN IDEOLOGICAL DISARMING, INTENTIONALLY OR UNINTENTIONALLY, OF THE WORKING CLASS, PUTTING IT IN A STATE OF TOTAL UNPREPAREDNESS WHEN THE EXPLOITING CLASSES USE VIOLENCE IN THE CRITICAL MOMENTS TO SUPPRESS A REVOLUTION.

SOME PERSONS ARE OF THE OPINION THAT A CHARACTERISTIC OF OUR ERA IS THE APPEARANCE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS. THIS HAS CAUSED A CHANGE IN THE STRATEGY AND TACTICS OF THE WORLD WORKING CLASS. THESE PERSONS BELIEVE THAT BECAUSE OF THIS APPEARANCE IT IS NECESSARY TO "RETHINK" MARKIST-LENINIST THEORY ON THE METHODS FOR SEIZING POWER. THEY MAINTAIN THAT WITH THE EXISTENCE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS THE WORKING CLASS CANNOT SEIZE POWER BY VIOLENCE, BUT INSTEAD MUST SEIZE IT PEACEFULLY BECAUSE VIOLENT REVOLUTION COULD LEAD TO CIVIL WAR; A SPARK CAN SPREAD INTO A CONFLAGRATION; AND A LOCAL WAR CAN BE TURNED INTO A WORLD WAR. BUT IN OUR ERA A WORLD WAR CAN ONLY BE A DESTRUCTIVE NUCLEAR WAR. THEREFORE, (THEY ARGUE--ED.) WITH THE EXISTENCE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS THE ONLY WAY FOR THE WORKING CLASS OF VARIOUS COUNTRIES TO SEIZE POWER IS BY PEACEFUL MEANS. THE METHOD PUT FORWARD BY THESE PERSONS IS THE THEORY OF "STRUCTURAL REFORM."

FOR ALL ITS DESTRUCTIVE POWER, A NUCLEAR WEAPON CANNOT CHANGE THE LAW OF DEVELOPMENT OF HUMAN SOCIETY. IT CAN ONLY CAUSE CERTAIN CHANGES IN MILITARY STRATEGY AND TACTICS, BUT NEVER IN THE WORKING CLASS, STRATEGY AND TACTICS. A SPARK WILL NOT NECESSARILY SPREAD INTO A CONFLAGRATION. CIVIL OR LOCAL WARS DO NOT NECESSARILY LEAD TO WORLD WAR. THE CHINESE CIVIL WAR, THE KOREAN WAR, AND THE ALGERIAN WAR PROVED THIS. THE CHINESE, VIETNAMESE, AND CUBAN REVOLUTIONS WERE ALL REVOLUTIONS OF VIOLENCE, AND THEY WERE ALL WON AT A TIME WHEN NUCLEAR WEAPONS EXISTED. IT IS, THEREFORE, COMPLETELY GROUNDLESS TO ASSERT THAT THE WORKING CLASS SHOULD NOT SEIZE POWER BY VIOLENCE BECAUSE OF THE PRESENCE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS.

IN THE FACE OF ENEMIES WHO ARE ARMED TO THE TEETH AND ARE PREPARED TO START OUT REVOLUTION AT ANY TIME BY VIOLENCE, THE ONLY WAY TO SEIZE POWER IS TO RESORT TO VIOLENCE. THE POSSIBILITY OF PEACEFULLY DEVELOPING A REVOLUTION APPEARS ONLY WHEN THE EXPLOITING CLASSES DO NOT YET HAVE AN IMPORTANT BUREAUCRATIC AND MILITARIST STATE APPARATUS OR, IF THEY HAVE SUCH AN APPARATUS, THEY HAVE LOST THE WILL TO USE IT FOR SUPPRESSING A REVOLUTION.

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TO BRING ABOUT THE POSSIBILITY OF PEACEFULLY DEVELOPING A REVOLUTION, THE WORKING CLASS MUST HAVE A STRONG, WELL-ORGANIZED, AND CLOSELY-LED FORCE WHICH CAN BE EITHER A POLITICAL FORCE--THAT IS, A POLITICAL MASS ARMY--OR AN ARMED FORCE, OR A COMBINATION OF POLITICAL AND ARMED FORCES. THEREFORE, IN STRIVING TO CARRY OUT REVOLUTION BY THE PEACEFUL ROAD, THE ROAD WHICH INVOLVES THE LEAST SUFFERING, THE WORKING CLASS AND ITS POLITICAL PARTY MUST WORK VIGOROUSLY TO PREPARE FOR THE SEIZURE OF POWER BY VIOLENCE. SO AS TO BE ABLE TO TAKE THE INITIATIVE IN ALL SITUATIONS, THE WORKING CLASS MUST, ON THE ONE HAND, PREPARE ITS FORCES TO SEIZE POWER BY VIOLENCE AND, ON THE OTHER HAND, PREPARE FOR PEACEFUL REVOLUTION WHENEVER AND WHEREVER THE POSSIBILITY ARISES. IT IS ONLY WHEN THE WORKING CLASS HAS ORGANIZED ITSELF INTO A MIGHTY FORCE AND FIRMLY TAKEN UP ARMS IN HAND THAT IT IS POSSIBLE FOR A REVOLUTION TO PROCEED ALONG PEACEFUL LINES.

THREE 3--OUR EXPERIENCES.

EVER SINCE THE FORMATION OF OUR PARTY IT HAS EDUCATED ITS CADRES, MEMBERS, AND THE MASSES OF PEOPLE IN MARXISM-LENINISM AND IN MARXIST-LENINIST THEORIES ON THE ROLE OF VIOLENCE IN HISTORY. THUS, THE PARTY HAS FULLY ARMED THE WHOLE PARTY AND ALL THE PEOPLE IDEOLOGICALLY SO AS TO ENABLE THEM TO JUMP INTO THE FIERCE STRUGGLE TO EXTERMINATE THE ENEMY AND ACHIEVE FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE FOR THE FATHERLAND.

TO PROPAGATE THE REVOLUTIONARY THOUGHTS OF MARXISM-LENINISM, OUR PARTY HAS ENGAGED IN A RESOLUTE STRUGGLE AGAINST CAPITULATIONIST AND DEFEATIST THOUGHTS. FOR GENERATIONS THE TREACHEROUS FEUDALISTS AND THE IMPERIALIST INVADERS DISSEMINATED CAPITULATIONIST AND DEFEATIST THOUGHTS AMONG OUR PEOPLE. IMMEDIATELY AFTER THE FRENCH COLONIALISTS INVADED OUR COUNTRY, THE TREACHEROUS FEUDALIST PHAN THANH GIAN RPT PHAN THANH GIAN PROPAGATED DEFEATIST THOUGHTS BY APPEALING TO COMPATRIOTS TO "ABANDON ARMED OPPOSITION TO THE ENEMY." IN A LETTER SENT TO MANDARINS AND COMPATRIOTS BEFORE HE DIED HE WROTE: "RAISE YOUR HEAD AND LISTEN TO THE HEAVENLY CAUSE. SAY TO YOURSELF THAT YOU ARE VERY STUPID IF YOU WANT TO DEFEAT THE ENEMY BY MEANS OF WEAPONS... (ELLIPSIS AS PUBLISHED)." PHAN THANH GIAN APPEALED TO ALL MANDARINS AND OFFICERS TO BREAK SPEARS AND TURN THE FORTRESSES OVER TO THE ENEMY WITHOUT FIGHTING... (ELLIPSIS AS PUBLISHED)."

A NUMBER OF PATRIOTS WERE AFFECTED BY THE CAPITULATIONIST AND DEFEATIST THOUGHTS PROPAGATED BY THE IMPERIALISTS AND FEUDALISTS. PATRIOT-SCHOLAR PHAN CHU TRINH RPT PHAN CHU TRINH ONCE APPEALED TO COMPATRIOTS "NOT RPT NOT TO RESORT TO VIOLENCE, BECAUSE VIOLENCE MEANS DEATH."

UNLIKE PHAN CHU TRINH, WHO ADVOCATED NONVIOLENCE, A NUMBER OF OTHER PATRIOTS, LED BY PHAN BOI CHAU RPT PHAN BOI CHAU, CLEARLY REALIZED THE NEED TO USE VIOLENCE TO DRIVE OUT THE INVADERS AND TO LIBERATE THE PEOPLE. HOWEVER, UNWARE OF THE PEOPLE'S STRENGTH, PHAN BOI CHAU AND HIS COMRADES ENGAGED IN THE PATH OF VIOLENCE BY RESORTING TO PLOTS. HE RELIED ON THE FORCE OF A SMALL NUMBER OF INDIVIDUAL HEROES AND FAILED TO ORGANIZE THE MASSES TO CARRY OUT A REVOLUTION.

OUR PARTY APPLIED THE PRINCIPLES ENUNCIATED BY MARX AND
LÊNIN ON REVOLUTIONARY STRATEGY AND TACTICS TO THE REALITIES
OF OUR COUNTRY. OPPOSING DEFEATIST AND CAPITULATIONIST THOUGHTS
AND THE THEORIES OF RENOUNCING THE USE OF VIOLENCE AND RECOURSE TO
ARMS, OUR PARTY ALSO OPPOSED THE IDEAS OF ORGANIZING SECRET
SOCIETIES AND HATCHING CONSPIRACIES AND THE TERRORIST PRACTICE
OF ASSASSINATING INDIVIDUALS. AT THE SAME TIME, THE PARTY
LED AN IRRECONCILABLE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE REFORMIST
IDEOLOGIES WHICH PREVAILED AMONG THE WORKING CLASS, ESPECIALLY
THE THEORY OF PEACEFUL REVOLUTION.

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THE PARTY MOBILIZED THE MASSES, ORGANIZED THEM, AND LED
THEM IN THEIR STRUGGLE ACCORDING TO THE RULES OF MASS STRUGGLE.
THE PARTY TAUGHT THE MASSES THAT THE IMPERIALISTS AND FEUDALISTS
USED COUNTERREVOLUTIONARY VIOLENCE TO DOMINATE OUR PEOPLE AND
THAT WITHOUT RESORTING TO REVOLUTIONARY VIOLENCE TO OVERTHROW
THEM OUR PEOPLE COULD NOT GET NOT LIBERATE THEMSELVES. AT THE
SAME TIME THE PARTY TAUGHT THE MASSES THAT REVOLUTIONARY
STRUGGLE IS A SCIENCE AND AN ART AND THAT THIS STRUGGLE MUST BE
CLOSELY ORGANIZED AND LED.

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THE PARTY EQUIPPED ALL-PARTY MEMBERS AND ALL THE PEOPLE WITH MARXIST-LENINIST PRINCIPLES ON CLASS STRUGGLE, PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION, PROLETARIAN DICTATORSHIP, AND ARMED UPRISING. EVER SINCE IT WAS FOUNDED THE PARTY HAS INSCRIBED IN ITS PLATFORM THE TASK OF "OVERCHROWING THE ENEMY GOVERNMENT AND SEIZING POWER FOR THE WORKERS AND PEASANTS." THE 1930 NINETEEN THIRTY POLITICAL PROGRAM OF THE PARTY POINTED OUT: "OUR PARTY'S TASK CONSISTS OF USING THEIR DAILY NEEDS TO CAUSE THE PROLETARIANS AND PEASANTS TO ENTER THE REVOLUTIONARY ARENA. WHEN THE REVOLUTION HAS DEVELOPED STRONGLY, WHEN THE CULING CLASSES HAVE BEEN SHAKEN, WHEN THE MIDDLE CLASSES HAVE LEANED TOWARD THE REVOLUTIONARY SIDE, AND

WHEN THE MASSES OF REVOLUTIONARY--MINDED WORKERS AND PEASANTS ARE DETERMINED TO ENDURE ALL SACRIFICES, THE PARTY MUST IMMEDIATELY LEAD THE MASSES IN OVERTHROWING THE ENEMY GOVERNMENT AND SEIZING POWER FOR THE WORKERS AND PEASANTS."

THE 1930 NINETEEN THIRTY POLITICAL PROGRAM OF THE PARTY ALSO POINTED TO ARMED UPRISING AS THE METHOD FOR SEIZING POWER: "ARMED UPRISING IS NOT RPT NOT AN ORDINARY AFFAIR. NOT RPT NOT ONLY MUST IT HAVE A REVOLUTIONARY FORM, BUT IT MUST ALSO SUBMIT TO MILITARY DISCIPLINE. THUS, SPECIAL ATTENTION MUST BE PAID TO IT. EVEN WITHOUT A REVOLUTIONARY FORM THE PEOPLE MUST STRUGGLE FIERCELY. BUT THIS FIERCE STRUGGLE IS NOT RPT NOT AIMED AT ORGANIZING REVOLTS OR PREMATURE ARMED UPRISINGS, BUT AT MOBILIZING THE MASSES TO HOLD MEETINGS, DEMONSTRATIONS, STRICKES, AND SO FORTH IN PREPARATION FOR FUTURE ARMED UPRISINGS."

DURING WORLD WAR II TWO THE PARTY PAID SPECIAL ATTENTION TO SEIZING POWER BY ARMED UPRISINGS. THE SEVENTH PARTY CENTRAL COMMITTEE CONFERENCE, HELD IN NOVEMBER 1940 NINETEEN FORTY, POINTED OUT IN ITS RESOLUTION: "THE PARTY MUST PREPARE ITSELF TO ASSUME THE SACRED RESPONSIBILITY OF LEADING THE OPPRESSED PEOPLE OF INDOCHINA IN ACHIEVING FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE THROUGH ARMED UPRISINGS." THE EIGHTH PARTY CENTRAL COMMITTEE CONFERENCE, HELD IN MAY 1941 NINETEEN FORTYONE, SET FORTH PREPARATIONS FOR UPRISINGS AS THE CENTRAL TASK OF THE WHOLE

PARTY AND ALL THE PEOPLE AT THAT TIME. THE RESOLUTION OF THE EIGHTH PARTY CENTRAL COMMITTEE CONFERENCE POINTED OUT THAT, "THE INDOCHINESE REVOLUTION WILL END IN AN ARMED UPRISING." THE RESOLUTION SET FORTH THE TASK OF "FORMING A READY FORCE" SO THAT "WHEN THE OPPORTUNITY ARISES WE CAN, WITH THIS EXISTING FORCE, LEAD A PARTIAL OR LOCAL UPRISING OR ACHIEVE A SUCCESS WHICH WILL PAVE THE WAY FOR A GENERAL UPRISING."

IN AUGUST 1945 NINETEEN FORTYFIVE WHEN JAPANESE FASCISM WAS ROUTED, OUR PARTY LED THE PEOPLE THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY IN A TIMELY, GENERAL ARMED UPRISING AND SEIZED STATE POWER. THE AUGUST REVOLUTION IN VIETNAM WAS A REVOLUTION OF VIOLENCE, ONE WHICH DESTROYED THE STATE MACHINERY OF THE COLONIALIST AND FEUDAL FORCES AND SET UP A NEW STATE MACHINERY OF THE PEOPLE. DURING THE AUGUST REVOLUTION, THE CLOSE COMBINATION OF THE POLITICAL AND ARMED FORCES WAS MANIFESTED IN VIOLENCE.

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THE AUGUST REVOLUTION WAS THE RESULT OF A PROTRACTED REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE IN WHICH PEACEFUL POLITICAL STRUGGLE WAS COMBINED WITH ARMED STRUGGLE AND THE MOVEMENT OF PEACEFUL POLITICAL STRUGGLE OF THE MASSES WITH THE BEGINNING OF LOCAL GUERRILLA WARFARE AND THE SETTING UP OF MILITARY BASES IN RURAL AREAS. THE AUGUST REVOLUTION WAS THE DIRECT RESULT OF COMBINING THE ARMED UPRISING OF ALL THE PEOPLE WITH THE ACTIVITIES OF THE PROFESSIONAL AND SEMI-PROFESSIONAL ARMED FORCES--THE LIBERATION TROOPS, GUERRILLA TROOPS, MILITIAMEN, SELF-DEFENSE CORPSMEN, AND SO FORTH.

THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE VIETNAMESE AUGUST REVOLUTION AND THE RUSSIAN OCTOBER REVOLUTION LIES IN THE FACT THAT THE RUSSIAN OCTOBER REVOLUTION WAS A GENERAL ARMED UPRISING FOLLOWED BY THE SEIZURE OF POWER IN THE CITIES FIRST AND LATER THE ESTABLISHMENT OF AUTHORITY IN RURAL AREAS. THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE VIETNAMESE AUGUST REVOLUTION AND THE CHINESE REVOLUTION LIES IN THE FACT THAT THE CHINESE REVOLUTION WAS A PROTRACTED ARMED STRUGGLE AIMED AT SEIZING POWER IN THE RURAL AREAS FIRST, THEN USING THE RURAL AREAS AS BASES FOR BLOCKADING THE CITIES, AND THEN FINALLY LIBERATING THE CITIES.

THE GLORIOUS SUCCESS OF OUR AUGUST REVOLUTION WAS DUE TO THE FACT THAT OUR PARTY CREATIVELY APPLIED MARXISM-LENINISM TO THE CONCRETE CONDITIONS OF OUR COUNTRY AND THE PARTY EDUCATED ITS MEMBERS AND THE PEOPLE ACCORDING TO THE REVOLUTIONARY SPIRIT OF MARXISM-LENINISM AND THE THEORIES OF MARX AND LENIN ON THE ROLE OF VIOLENCE IN HISTORY.

IN SCORES OF YEARS OF PROTRACTED AND ARDUOUS REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT, OUR PARTY SKILFULLY COMBINED VARIOUS KINDS OF STRUGGLES: ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL, LEGAL AND ILLEGAL, STRUGGLE IN THE STREETS AND IN PARLIAMENT, ARMED STRUGGLE AND PEACEFUL POLITICAL STRUGGLE, AND SO FORTH. DURING THE PERIOD OF SURGE IN OEPAQOEQ NINETEEN THIRTY-NINETEEN THIRTYONE THE PARTY BROUGHT THE MASSES TO FIGHT THE ENEMY FACE TO FACE. IN AREAS SUCH AS NGHE AN AND HA TINH RPT NGHE AN AND HA TINH, WHERE THE ENEMY'S AUTHORITY HAD DISINTEGRATED, THE PARTY LED THE PEOPLE IN DESTROYING THE AUTHORITY OF THE SOVIETS, THUS PREPARING THEM TO MANAGE THEIR OWN AFFAIRS. DURING THE PERIOD OF RETREAT IN 1932-1935 NINETEEN THIRTY TWO-NINETEEN THIRTYFIVE THE PARTY LED THE PEOPLE IN RETREAT IN ORDER TO SET UP SECRET BASES AND PREPARE FOR A NEW PERIOD OF SURGE.

DURING THE PERIOD OF 1936-1939 NINETEEN THIRTY SIX-NINETEEN THIRTY NINE, TAKING ADVANTAGE OF THE LEGAL OPPORTUNITIES BROUGHT ABOUT BY THE VICTORY OF THE POPULAR FRONT IN FRANCE, THE PARTY LAUNCHED AN OPEN STRUGGLE MOVEMENT, SET UP THE DEMOCRATIC FRONT, LED THE MASSES IN STRUGGLING FOR AN IMPROVEMENT IN LIVING CONDITIONS AND FOR THE APPLICATION OF DEMOCRATIC FREEDOMS, AND PARTICIPATED IN ELECTION CAMPAIGNS AND THE STRUGGLES IN ASSEMBLIES. TOWARD THE END OF 1939 NINETEEN THIRTY NINE THE PARTY AGAIN ENGAGED IN CLANDESTINE ACTIVITIES. TAKING ADVANTAGE OF THE SECRET AND OPEN CONTRADICTIONS BETWEEN THE TWO IMPERIALIST GROUPS (FRENCH AND JAPANESE--ED.) WHICH RULED OUR COUNTRY AT THAT TIME, THE PARTY LAUNCHED THE GUERRILLA WARFARE MOVEMENT AND SET UP REVOLUTIONARY BASES. ALONG WITH THE FORM OF PEACEFUL POLITICAL STRUGGLE APPEARED THE FORM OF ARMED STRUGGLE. THIS PERIOD ENDED WITH THE AUGUST GENERAL UPRISING, THE HIGH POINT OF THE MOVEMENT AND OF THE SKILLFUL COMBINATION OF ARMED AND POLITICAL STRUGGLES.

FOR ONE MONTH AFTER THE AUGUST REVOLUTION, THE PARTY ENGAGED MAINLY IN POLITICAL STRUGGLE TO CONSOLIDATE THE PEOPLE'S AUTHORITY AND SET UP A COMPREHENSIVE FORCE, ESPECIALLY AN ARMED FORCE. AT THE SAME TIME, IT UNDERTOOK AN ARMED STRUGGLE AGAINST THE FRENCH COLONIALISTS, WHO RETURNED TO INVADE THE SOUTHERN PART OF OUR COUNTRY, AND AGAINST THE BANDITS WHO, ORGANIZED AND LED BY THE NATIONALIST PARTY, SOWED TROUBLES IN A NUMBER OF NORTHERN PROVINCES. SINCE THE END OF 1946 NINETEEN FORTYSIX, THE PARTY HAS LED THE PEOPLE IN UNDERTAKING A GENERAL ARMED STRUGGLE AGAINST THE COLONIALIST INVADERS.

BETWEEN 1930 NINETEEN THIRTY, WHEN THE PARTY WAS FOUNDED, AND 1954 NINETEEN FIFTYFOUR, WHEN THE RESISTANCE WAS VICTORIOUS, THE NORTH WAS LIBERATED, AND THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION WAS COMPLETED IN HALF OF THE COUNTRY. OUR PARTY PASSED THROUGH 24 TWENTYFOUR YEARS OF REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE: 10 TEN YEARS OF POLITICAL STRUGGLE--1930 NINETEEN THIRTY-1940 NINETEEN FORTY; SIX YEARS OF POLITICAL STRUGGLE COMBINED WITH ARMED STRUGGLE --END OF 1940 NINETEEN FORTY-1946 NINETEEN FORTYSIX; AND EIGHT YEARS OF ARMED STRUGGLE--END OF 1946 NINETEEN FORTYSIX-1954 NINETEEN FIFTYFOUR.

SINCE 1954 NINETEEN FIFTYFOUR, IN THE NORTHERN PART OF OUR COUNTRY THE REVOLUTION WAS SHIFTED TO THE SOCIALIST PHASE. SINCE POWER WAS SEIZED BY THE PROLETARIAT DURING THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION, A "PEACEFUL TRANSITION TO SOCIALISM" OCCURRED IN THE NORTH IN THE PAST FEW YEARS. THIS DOES NOT MEAN THAT DURING THE PHASE OF SOCIALIST REVOLUTION IN NORTH VIETNAM, THE ROLE OF REVOLUTIONARY VIOLENCE DISAPPEARED. THE ROLE OF REVOLUTIONARY VIOLENCE HAS BEEN REFLECTED IN THE ENFORCEMENT BY THE DEMOCRATIC PEOPLE'S STATE--LED BY THE WORKING CLASS--OF ADMINISTRATIVE MEASURES FROM TOP TO BOTTOM AND IN THE STRUGGLE OF THE WORKING MASSES FROM BOTTOM TO TOP TO TRANSFORM THE BOURGEOISIE. DURING THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTIONARY PHASE, THE DEMOCRATIC PEOPLE'S STATE FULFILLS THE TASKS OF PROLETARIAN DICTATORSHIP WHICH MEANS THE USE OF VIOLENCE TO SUPPRESS THE COUNTERREVOLUTIONARIES.

THANKS TO THE VIOLENT MACHINERY OF THE DEMOCRATIC PEOPLE'S STATE LED BY THE WORKING CLASS, WE HAVE BEEN ABLE TO UNDERTAKE THE PEACEFUL TRANSFORMATION OF THE BOURGEOISIE AND RICH PEASANTS AND ACHIEVE THE "PEACEFUL TRANSITION TO SOCIALISM."

SINCE 1954 NINETEEN FIFTYFOUR, THE SOUTHERN PART OF OUR COUNTRY HAS BECOME A NEW-STYLE COLONY OF U.S. IMPERIALISM. THE U.S.-DIEMISTS HAVE USED COUNTERREVOLUTIONARY VIOLENCE TO RULE THE SOUTHERN PART OF OUR COUNTRY. IN THE PAST NINE YEARS, THE SOUTHERN COMPATRIOTS HAVE CONTINUOUSLY STRUGGLED AGAINST THE U.S.-DIEMISTS. THE SOUTHERN COMPATRIOTS' PRESENT REVOLUTION STILL BELONGS TO THE CATEGORY OF NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTIONS. THE SOUTHERN COMPATRIOTS ARE USING REVOLUTIONARY VIOLENCE TO OPPOSE THE U.S.-DIEMIST COUNTERREVOLUTIONARY VIOLENCE, SMASH THE COLONIALIST AND SEMIFEUDAL STATE APPARATUS SET UP BY THE U.S.-DIEMISTS IN SOUTH VIETNAM, AND SET UP A NEW STATE APPARATUS WHICH ACTUALLY SERVES THE PEOPLE'S INTERESTS.

DURING THE FIRST YEARS, SOUTHERN COMPATRIOTS ENGAGED IN
PLACEFUL POLITICAL STRUGGLE FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF THEIR LIVING
CONDITIONS, FOR THE APPLICATION OF DEMOCRATIC FREEDOMS, AND FOR
NATIONAL UNIFICATION ON THE BASIS OF THE GENEVA ACCORDS.
BUT THE U.S.-DIEMISTS PITILESSLY TERRORIZE AND KILL THE SOUTHERN
COMPATRIOTS. SINCE 1962 NINETEEN SIXTYTWO, THE U.S.-DIEMISTS
HAVE OPENLY WAGED AN UNDECLARED WAR AGAINST THE SOUTHERN PEOPLE,
WHO HAVE BEEN FORCED TO USE WEAPONS TO OPPOSE THEM. AT PRESENT,
IN SOUTH VIETNAM OUR COMPATRIOTS ARE RESORTING TO BOTH ARMED
AND POLITICAL STRUGGLES TO OPPOSE THE U.S.-DIEMISTS AND ACHIEVE
INDEPENDENCE, PEACE, AND NATIONAL UNIFICATION ON THE BASIS OF
DEMOCRACY.

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THE PROCESS OF THE PROTRACTED AND ARDUOUS REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE OF THE VIETNAMESE PEOPLE UNDER PARTY LEADERSHIP PROVES THAT TO OVERTHROW THE EXPLOITERS WHO USE VIOLENCE TO DOMINATE THE PEOPLE, THE WORKING CLASS AND OTHER WORKING PEOPLE DO NOT YET HAVE ANY OTHER PATH THAN THE PATH OF VIOLENCE. NATURALLY, VIOLENT REVOLUTION REQUIRES THAT THE MASSES ENDURE SUFFERINGS AND SACRIFICES. BUT AT THE SAME TIME, IT PUTS AN EARLY END TO THE LONG SUFFERINGS AND SLOW DEATH FOR MILLIONS OF PERSONS --SUFFERINGS AND DEATH CAUSED BY THE RULERS' OPPRESSION AND EXPLOITATION. THUS, ONLY SCORES OF PEOPLE DIED THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY DURING THE GENERAL ARMED UPRISING OF AUGUST 1945 NINETEEN FORTYFIVE, WHILE AS A RESULT OF THE RULING OF THE FRENCH AND JAPANESE FASCISTS, SOME TWO MILLION PEOPLE DIED FROM FAMINE IN NORTH VIETNAM DURING THE LAST FEW MONTHS OF 1944 NINETEEN FORTYFOUR AND EARLY 1945 NINETEEN FORTYFIVE.

HISTORY PROVES THAT THE SAVAGE RULING OF THE EXPLOITING CLASSES GENERALLY CAUSES TO THE LABOURING PEOPLE DAMAGES WHICH ARE MUCH GREATER THAN THOSE CAUSED THEM BY ANY REVOLUTION, NO MATTER HOW FIERCE IT MAY BE. THE PATH WHICH BRINGS US THE LEAST SUFFERING IS THE PATH OF CARRYING OUT THE REVOLUTION IN ORDER TO OVERTHROW THE ENEMY AND LIBERATE OURSELVES.

HUMAN SOCIETY DEVELOPS IN ACCORDANCE WITH ITS OWN LAW. NO ONE CAN POINT OUT THE ROAD OF DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIETY ACCORDING TO HIS SUBJECTIVE DESIRE. THE COMMUNISTS ARMED WITH MARXISM-LENINISM MUST GRASP THE LAW GOVERNING THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIETY, WORK OUT THEIR CORRECT STRATEGY AND TACTICS IN ACCORDANCE WITH THIS OES:58;3)-2, AND LEAD THE WORKING CLASS AND OTHER WORKING PEOPLE TO MAKE REVOLUTION AND WIN VICTORY, THEREBY PROMOTING THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIETY. A COUNTRY'S WORKING CLASS AND ITS PARTY MUST MAP OUT THE PROPER FORMS OF STRUGGLE IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE CONCRETE CONDITIONS OF THE COUNTRY SO AS TO SEIZE STATE POWER. WHETHER TO CARRY OUT A REVOLUTION THROUGH VIOLENCE OR A PEACEFUL REVOLUTION CAN BE DECIDED ONLY BY THE GIVEN COUNTRY'S WORKING CLASS AND ITS VANGUARD.

NO MATTER WHAT FORM OF STRUGGLE IS ADOPTED TO SEIZE STATE POWER, THE ESSENTIAL CONDITIONS FOR THE VICTORY ARE A VERY POWERFUL MASS MOVEMENT AND THE FULL DETERMINATION OF THE VANGUARD OF THE WORKING CLASS AS WELL AS THE MASSES OF THE PEOPLE TO OVERTHROW THE ENEMY, TO BEFY SACRIFICE AND HARDSHIP, AND TO BE PREPARED AT ALL TIMES TO SMASH THE STATE MACHINERY OF THE EXPLOITING CLASSES SO AS TO SET UP PROLETARIAN DICTATORSHIP. ONLY BY SO DOING CAN THE PROLETARIAT DEFEAT ITS CLASS ENEMIES AND LIBERATE ITSELF.