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HOC TAP ON VIOLENCE IN S. VIETNAM REVOLUTION

Hanoi HOC TAP in Vietnamese July 1964--S

(Article by Le Chuong titled, "The Role of Violence in the Revolution for the Liberation of South Vietnam")

(Editor's note: All ellipses and brackets as published)

(Text) The revolutionary struggle of our southern compatriots against the U.S. imperialist aggressors and their lackeys has been going on for 10 years. During these past 10 years our southern compatriots have struggled persistently, valiantly, and undauntedly, have undergone multiple sufferings and sacrifices and, at the same time, have continuously achieved many successes.

The U.S. imperialists and their lackeys have wanted to stifle the revolutionary movement, to kill cadres, and to disintegrate the revolutionary force of the southern people. Yet, not only has the southern revolutionary movement not been eradicated, but its strength is growing day by day; not only was the revolutionary base not destroyed, but it is developing, and the revolutionary organization has been stabilized.

During the past five years the southern people's valiant struggle has turned to a new phase--the phase of combining political struggle with armed struggle--thus causing the revolutionary movement to develop strongly. The struggle of the southern people has foiled the U.S. Staley-Taylor plan for the "pacification" of South Vietnam within 18 months, annihilated and disintegrated the ranks of hundreds of thousands of enemy troops, seized tens of thousands of weapons, smashed in large numbers the "strategic hamlets," expanded the liberation region, and rapidly developed the revolutionary forces--thereby causing our friendly strength to increase and enemy strength to decline.

Through 10 years of persistent and perilous struggle, the southern people have not only achieved great success in developing their forces and in weakening the enemy forces, but have also achieved another important result; through the realities of their struggle, the southern people have developed a correct line of struggle and have used it very flexibly to defeat the enemy.

Following the signing of the 1954 Geneva agreements on Indochina, the U.S. imperialists ousted the French colonialists and put the Diem-Nhu country-selling clique in power in place of Bao Dai and Buu Loc in the southern part of our country. To cover up their colonialistic nature and to trick our people and the world people, the U.S. imperialists have dressed their lackeys in the southern administration in a form of false "national independence" and have set up the so-called "constitution," "National Assembly," "national army," and so forth. But since the U.S. imperialists were the invaders of our country and Diem and Nhu were the sellers of our country--after our people had successfully carried out the August revolution and the resistance struggle against the French and the U.S. interventionists--their vicious tricks could not cover up the country-selling and traitorous face of the southern authorities.

Our people's revolution and resistance struggle were neither aimed at topping an old colonialist regime to accept a neocolonialist regime, nor at overthrowing the Nguyen feudalist clique to accept the Ngo feudalist and bourgeois compradors, but at carrying out thoroughly the national democratic revolution in the entire country, doing away with the feudalists and imperialists, and building a peaceful, unified, independent, democratic, rich, and powerful Vietnam. Therefore, the neocolonialist regime established by the U.S. imperialists in South Vietnam is not recognized by the people and has no foundation in the people. On the contrary, our people are resolutely opposed to it.

To give firm support to the country-invading and country-selling regime, the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen have used force as a principal measure to subdue the people and have used all forms and methods of violence to repress and smash the patriotic movement of our southern compatriots. Since 1954 the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys have adopted the following principal measures to cope with our people: 1) terrorism, involving "anticommunist denunciation" and "anticommunism"; 2) mopping-up operations and "pacification"; and 3) a "national policy" of "strategic hamlets." During the first years of their rule over South Vietnam, the U.S.-Diemists' primary basic policy was terror, including "anticommunist denunciation." They knew the communists to be a most patriotic people constituting the force leading the people's undaunted and valiant resistance struggle and that the picture of the communists was deeply engraved in the hearts and minds of our people. Therefore, they had directed the spearhead of their fight at the organization leading the revolution, at the former resistance fighters, and at the most active patriots. They continuously and repeatedly launched "anticommunist denunciation campaigns" in order to uproot the masses' revolutionary organization. They clamored that "there is no security in the south," that "the communists are threatening everywhere," that "South Vietnam is in a state of war," that "South Vietnam is on a volcano," and clamored that "the communists must be killed wherever they are found," that "we must be determined and daring in facing the communists," and so forth. The U.S. imperialists and their henchmen also enacted the 10/59 law establishing military tribunals to harm those whom they falsely charge with "carrying out sabotage activities," and so forth. They sent their guillotines everywhere to behead on the spot anyone whom they consider as having "violated the security" of their regime.

Throughout the 10 years of their administration in South Vietnam, the southern authorities have used their armed forces everywhere to conduct mopping-up operations, make arrests, torture, and kill. They sent reactionary officials to the rural areas to help the class revanchists to rise up. The traitors, surrenderers, and hooligans were encouraged to rise up to seek revenge and engage in pillage, extortion, and killing. The atmosphere in the countryside was tense. The murder of people and the sound of gunfire were daily factors in a chaotic rural situation.

The U.S. imperialists and their henchmen have committed many mass massacres in Huong Dien, Chi Thanh, Ngan Son, at Duoc market, in Kim Doi, Mo Cay, Cu Chi, Binh Thanh, Phu Loi, and so forth with a view to destroying the revolutionary base and intimidating the people. They had concentrated thousands of troops to conduct "pacification campaigns" in Nam Bo, the western highlands, and interzone Five. In these military operations they demolished people's houses, burned paddy, raped women, and tortured and killed people in an extremely barbarous manner. They used planes to drop bombs and spray poisonous chemicals on the villages to destroy crops and kill animals.

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In July 1961 the U.S. imperialists started the implementation of the Staley-Taylor plan for the "pacification" of South Vietnam within 18 months. In addition to strengthening the rebel army, giving "aid" in weapons, and expanding military operations, they also carried out a program to herd the people into "agrovilles" and "strategic hamlets". U.S. generals and colonels had stated that "the present war is a dispute for control over the countryside." Therefore, they considered the establishment of "strategic hamlets" as a "national policy" was designed to separate the peasants from the revolutionary forces in order to annihilate the guerrillas according to the motto "empty the water to catch the fish." "Strategic hamlets" or "agrovilles" were concentration centers, prisons, and a form of military post surrounded by barbed wire, high embankments, deep trenches, watchtowers, and guard posts. Inside these hamlets there were "militiamen," "combatant youth," a system of wicked officials, intelligence, espionage . . . designed to confine and control the people, to enable the imperialists and their henchmen to establish their domination over the countryside, and to mobilize the people's human and material power to serve their war of aggression and enslavement.

With their terrorist trick of "anticommunist denunciation," "pacification," and establishment of "strategic hamlets," the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen have carried out a policy of repression which is the most tragic in our country's history. Since 1954 they have arrested and detained over 400,000 people, tortured and disabled over 1 million, killed 150,000, and wounded 200,000. They have herded hundreds of thousands of people into "agrovilles" and millions of people into "strategic hamlets." They have transformed the South Vietnamese people into prisoners doing hard labor and turned South Vietnam into a horrible hell

A reactionary administration which survives only by the use of violence has to strengthen its reactionary state machinery to the utmost by, first of all, building a mercenary army to serve as the backbone of that administration. The mercenary army in the southern part of our country also serves the U.S. imperialists' policy of aggression in Indochina and southeast Asia. The army of the southern administration is comprised of the units of rebel troops from the former French Union Army, which was defeated by our army and people.

The U.S. imperialists and their henchmen reorganized these forces. On the one hand they eliminated the armed organizations of the Binh Xuyen, Cao Dai, and Hoa Hao religious sects, and on the other hand built these forces into a mercenary army consisting of various branches and services which have been equipped, trained, and completely directed by the United States.

Toward the end of 1959 the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen completed the formation of an armed and regular troops, 60,000 civil guardsmen, and 100,000 militiamen. The Staley-Taylor plan provided for the following increase in these forces: the regular troops were to be increased to 270,000 and the civil guard to 100,000.

At the beginning of 1964 U.S. Defense Secretary McNamara, who arrived in the southern part of our country at a time when the U.S. imperialists' lackeys were suffering continuous defeats, mapped out a plan for transforming the 100,000 civil guardsmen into regulars and transforming the semiarmed militia into a fully armed force with a view to increasing the southern army to 600,000 men.

The U.S. imperialists rapidly built and developed military bases, and gave particular attention to the expansion of strategic lines of communications, airfields, and military seaports. National highways Nos. 1 and 14 and the roads linking Nam Bo with the western highlands and linking South Vietnam with Laos were enlarged. Tan Son Nhut and Bien Hoa airports became the United States' largest airfields in southeast Asia; and the Da Nang, Ban Me Thuot and Nha Trang airfields were enlarged to handle jetplanes. The Saigon, Da Nang, and Nha Trang naval bases were improved to handle large ships.

The U.S. imperialists also set up a system of "land development centers" stretching from the northern highlands through the eastern region of Nam Bo and the Plaine of Reeds to Cai San, turned the system into a base for the implementation of their military plans, and used this strategic region to dominate a large region in south-east Asia, including Cambodia, Laos, and Thailand.

The U.S. imperialists also have overshadowed the South Vietnamese "Defense Ministry" with an "assistance" command, which was in fact a military command, and at the beginning of 1962 they set up a military command in Saigon, headed by General Harkins, to direct the military forces in South Vietnam and Thailand. The number of U.S. military "advisers" and technicians was firmly increased from 200 officers in 1954 to nearly 30,000 officers, soldiers, and technical personnel in 1964. During his trip to Saigon in March of this year, McNamara decided to increase the number of U.S. officers and soldiers in South Vietnam by 6,000 in order to have sufficient men to assume direct command over the company units of the rebel army; and of this number, the U.S. has recently introduced over 4,000 into the south.

With such a command and "adviser" setup, the Americans have been controlling their lackeys' from the Defense Ministry and general staff right down to divisions and basic tactical units. They make decisions and directly supervise the organization, equipping, training, operation planning, and fight planning of the southern armed forces. In addition to building a gigantic armed force, the Americans and their lackeys have been actively militarizing administrative organs; almost all province and district chiefs are officers. They have concentrated the administrative power in military hands in order to create favorable conditions for oppression, raids, and "pacification." They have militarized the mass organizations which they have set up, such as "the Republican Youth," "The Women's Solidarity League," and so forth, to serve their "general mobilization" plan.

All these actions of the Americans and their lackeys were aimed at destroying the revolution, enslaving the people, and turning South Vietnam into a new-style colony and a military base for the U.S. imperialists. The U.S. imperialists and their lackeys have sown suffering, death, and war everywhere in South Vietnam, from rural to urban areas and from the delta to the mountainous region. Our people long for peace, but they do not have peace. They long for independence, but they do not have independence. They long for democracy, but they do not have democracy. It is crystal clear that the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys have done the cruelest of the things that were denounced by Lenin decades ago: "It is the reactionary classes which are habitually the first classes to use violence and civil wars--that is, to 'put swords on their agenda.'" The southern people must unite and rise up to struggle against the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys to protect their own life, wealth, and survival.

After their defeat at Dien Bien Phu, the French colonialists were forced to sign the 1954 Geneva accords on Indochina recognizing the independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity of Vietnam. But gradually the Americans supplanted the French, monopolized South Vietnam, and enforced the two major policies of terror and war, thus unmasking their basic line--to use force to invade and enslave South Vietnam.

To carry out their war policy actively, the U.S. imperialists set up in South Vietnam a regime that was the most dictatorial and warlike in southeast Asia. The U.S. imperialists maintained this regime to serve their aggressive goals. They relied upon the feudalist and bureaucratic elements and upon the most reactionary and corrupt bourgeois compradors in the South Vietnamese society, who were represented by the Ngo family. They regularly adopted dictatorial and fascist measures to impose their rule. They had a clear characteristic of class hatred and nourished the foolish intention to provoke war and impose their rule on our entire country. Their main policy was to carry out repression by force; their main tactic was to conduct mopping-up operations aimed at carrying out their "pacification" plan; their main tool was the armed forces; and the consequence of their actions was aggressive war and civil war.

Ngo Dinh Nhu, Ngo Dinh Diem's political adviser, once said: "Whether the people love or hate us is no problem. The problem is how to firmly maintain our regime." This brief statement of the sanguinary reactionary of the Ngo family was sufficient to justify every gendarmerie and police act of the southern authorities.

Because of their unpopularity, the puppet authorities of the Americans have been unable to rule South Vietnam through political measures and administrative laws. They have had to rely on police and secret agents and to rule the people by means of armed forces and military acts. Bayonets and guns have been the main buttress and strength of the southern authorities. Without these--or if they were weak--the southern authorities could not exist for even a few days. The southern authorities have had to use force to rule the people because of the following main reasons:

1--The setting up of the administration in South Vietnam by the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys was a very long step backward in history, compared with the people's democratic government set up following the August revolution. Our compatriots in South Vietnam have clearly recognized that the people's democratic government is a government of the people as a whole, a truly democratic and national salvation government, and that the government called "the Republic of Vietnam" is a country-selling government manned by a group of bureaucratic landlords and the most reactionary pro-American bourgeois compradors and lackeys of the Americans. Such a government has been condemned by all our people.

2--Because the government set up by the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys has not had a just cause, has been unpopular, and has not been able to set up broad social bases among all walks of life, this government has not had a steady buttress. Its unjust nature has forced it to rely on the armed forces to implement fascist and dictatorial policies in order to exist.

3--The U.S. imperialists and their lackeys set up their government in South Vietnam, where the masses of people, especially the workers and peasants, have had high political enlightenment and were educated and trained by our party during the war of resistance.

These masses have had a clear political standpoint and they have been able to distinguish friends from foes. Therefore, deceitful tricks and demagogic policies have failed to deceive and seduce them. In view of this, the government of the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys has had no other choice than to use force and coercion to continue its rule.

4--The Government of the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys has been run by the cruelest and most reactionary feudal landlords and the pro-American bourgeois compradors in conjunction with the ruffians and hooligans and a number of traitors and persons who have given up. They owe bloody debts to the people. The revolutionary people have nurtured profound hatred for these rulers, who have been eager to suppress the revolution and kill the people. For their part, the people have also been determined to rise up and overthrow them. Between the people and the rulers there is absolutely no basis for reconciliation or for "peaceful coexistence." Therefore, a life-and-death struggle between the revolutionary people and the counterrevolutionary government has been inevitable and necessary.

In short, a country-selling government that harms the people by acting as a lackey of the imperialists, that fails to enjoy popular recognition and support, and that has to deceive and flatter the people has had no choice but to use force to exist and, especially, to maintain its rule. The more it seeks to survive, the more it reveals its cruel and wicked face, the more it is opposed by the people and is isolated, and the more it is involved in insoluble contradictions. This situation will prompt it to use more force and resort to more barbarous tricks in order to maintain the unstable, contradictory, and permanently critical fate of a traitorous government. This is also a vicious circle in which the southern authorities are involved, a circle which has no exit.

The aim of the revolution to liberate our compatriots in South Vietnam is to defeat the aggression and frustrate the warmongering policies of the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys. To that end it is necessary to smash the reactionary administrative machinery and the imperialists' mercenary army. This revolution can and should be settled only by the use of revolutionary acts and the force of the masses to defeat the enemy force; it absolutely cannot be settled by laws and accords.

A revolutionary does not protest conciliation and negotiations. But laws and accords consistent with the basic interests of the people and the country can be achieved only through a long, acute struggle of the people against the enemy. Because of his reactionary and stubborn nature, the enemy of the people will never volunteer to withdraw and give the power back to the people. It is illusory to hope to persuade the cruel enemy of the people to comply with accords. Faced with the counter-revolutionary drive, including a war conducted by the imperialists and their lackeys, the oppressed and enslaved people are presented only one choice--to conduct a revolutionary struggle and to use the revolutionary force in the form of political struggle or armed struggle or political struggle in conjunction with armed struggle to deal with the enemy.

The liberation revolution in South Vietnam aims at settling irreconcilable contradictions between our people and imperialism, between the revolution and the counter-revolution, and between--on the one hand--the workers, peasants, petty bourgeois, national bourgeois, and other patriotic walks of life and individuals, and--on the other hand--the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys.

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The contradictions between our people in South Vietnam and the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys are antagonistic. The correct solution must not be to reconcile the contradictions and the classes, but must involve conducting a thorough revolution aimed at eliminating the contradictions. These contradictions must be settled by an acute, life-and-death struggle between ourselves and the enemy. It is impossible to believe in the "peaceful good will" of the imperialists or to count on "talks" and "negotiations" with them, as advocated by the modern revisionists.

Some people argue that we should endeavor to build and make North Vietnam strong and prosperous, using "economic competition" to beat the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys in South Vietnam. They believe that "this method will require less sacrifice," and they say that "war does not bring any good to anyone, while peace is very profitable for everyone." (It is noted that these people use here the two words "war" and "peace" in a general manner, failing to distinguish between a just war and an unjust war and between democratic peace and enslaved peace.)

Some 10 years have elapsed. Our people have come to realize clearly that the expectant path--the path of using "peaceful competition," which can be achieved through the building of the economy in North Vietnam, as a replacement for the revolutionary struggle in South Vietnam--is not a path for preventing and driving back the aggression and enslavement by the U.S. imperialists, but it is a path leading to failure and annihilation.

Whom will this sort of "peace" benefit if our people agree to follow that path, bowing their heads in prisons and in thousands of "strategic hamlets" in South Vietnam? What would the revolutionary situation be if during the past 10 years our compatriots in South Vietnam had not been determined to struggle and use revolutionary force to oppose counterrevolutionary force? One thing certain is that the revolutionary movement would be smashed; the freedom, democracy, and security of the southern people would be eliminated; and even the peace in North Vietnam would not be insured.

Our people do not want war and are very eager to live in peace. But when the U.S. imperialists don the wreath of war, our people cannot idly suffer it. They must unite and rise up and knock them down. By doing so, they are not warmongers; rather they are using a just war to annihilate those who have created an unjust war in order to live in peace and freedom.

During the past few years, faced with the positive war preparations by the U.S. imperialists, some people have repeated often that "in the world today there are only two paths--either peaceful coexistence or destructive war." This argument is not sound in the face of the revolutionary realities in the world today. Particularly with regard to our country, it is incorrect. During the past 10 years, the U.S. imperialists and their bloodthirsty lackeys have never coexisted peacefully with our people. And our compatriots in South Vietnam have not been able to coexist peacefully with them. In spite of this, South Vietnam has not experienced a destructive nuclear war.

Our people have found their own path, which is the path of revolutionary struggle, the path of using revolutionary force to defeat counterrevolutionary struggle, the path of using revolutionary force to defeat counterrevolutionary force.

This path leads the revolution to progress according to ". . . the offensive strategies which involve destroying each war policy; advancing toward complete destruction of the entire war-provoking plan of imperialism led by the United States; driving imperialism back step by step; and overturning each organ of imperialism in order to advance toward eliminating imperialism completely" (Le Duan: "Some Problems in the International Tasks of Our Party," HOC TAP, February 1964, p. 15).

The path of "negotiating" and "becoming reconciled" with and making concessions to the U.S. imperialists, the path of "holding hands and walking" with the U.S. imperialists is not a path to consolidate peace, nor is it a path to drive back aggression and enslavement by the U.S. imperialists in South Vietnam. Failure to attack the imperialists, contenting oneself with maintaining one's defensive position and even retreating before their aggressive and bellicose acts, is only to tolerate and encourage them, causing them to "put on a high-and-mighty manner" and giving them more freedom to carry out war. Such an instrument only increases the danger of world war, and does not reduce it.

Comrade Le Duan pointed out: "Only after their hands and feet are bound through repeated attacks by the world people will the imperialists be unable to create war. Only if they are made ever weaker will their capabilities to wage war decline and will the power to protect peace increase" (Le Duan: "Some Problems in the International Tasks of Our Party," HOC TAP, February 1964, p. 16). Therefore, the revolutionary struggle of the southern compatriots does not contradict their task of protecting world peace; on the contrary, it is a great, positive contribution to the struggle against the warmongering imperialists and for peace, national independence, democracy, and socialism throughout the world.

With their personal experience, our compatriots in South Vietnam know full well the stubborn and aggressive nature of the U.S. imperialists. Therefore, the only correct way to carry out a revolutionary struggle is to overthrow them; the only correct step is to organize revolutionary forces, to make preparations in all fields, and to carry out a struggle in all appropriate forms in order to smash their machinery of violence and achieve complete victory.

The liberation of South Vietnam can be settled only by force. But how has this revolution been conducted, and what are the methods and forms of the struggle; as a result of a period of hard struggle against the enemy, the southern people have found appropriate measures and have asserted that the correct strategic line is to conduct a protracted political and armed struggle.

After the reestablishment of peace with the earnest implementation of the 1954 Geneva accords on Indochina, we had troops regrouped in North Vietnam, handing power over to the adversary for temporary management, pending negotiations and general elections to reunify the country. However, the U.S. imperialists gradually replaced the French colonialists, organized the rebel army and government, and destroyed the independence, democracy, and national unification of our people, thereby forcing our people to rise up and struggle.

Based on the world balance of power, we see clearly that the revolutionary forces in the world since World War II have been permanently on the offensive against colonialist imperialism. Following World War II, in South Vietnam the enemy had a government and an army, while we had none.

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The balance of power in South Vietnam at that time was as follows: the enemy was strong, while we were weak; while the enemy had a huge machinery for violence, we had only the people. Under this circumstance, the revolution could not be on the offensive; it had to stand temporarily on the defensive. During the first years, political struggle was the only appropriate struggle to prevent an enemy attack, to protect the revolutionary forces and make preparations, in all fields, for a hard protracted struggle.

Faced with the continued sabotage of the 1954 accords by the U.S. imperialists, who tried hard to transform South Vietnam into a new-style colony and into their own military base, our people in the south organized tens of thousands of meetings, demonstrations, strikes, and classroom walkouts to protest strongly the U.S. imperialists' aggression in South Vietnam, the killing of and use of terrorism and reprisals against former resistance fighters by the lackeys of the Americans, and the setting up of a fascist, dictatorial regime by the Americans and their lackeys.

In the cities, workers, both male and female, and the laboring people struggled to demand pay increases and to urge the settlement of the unemployment problem, the building of an independent economy, and the development of national production. They also struggled for freedom, democracy, and peaceful unification of the fatherland. The national bourgeoisie production. They also struggle for freedom, democracy, and peaceful unification of the fatherland. The national bourgeoisie and other walks of life struggled to protest against the U.S. imperialists for disrupting the economy and to demand that consumption of locally produced goods be encouraged and that imports of goods from foreign countries be restricted. The intellectuals and students struggled to oppose decadent U.S. culture and to demand that the Vietnamese language be taught in universities and that national culture be protected and developed.

In the rural areas, the peasants were determined to struggle against the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys, who stole their land through the farce of "agrarian reform."

They demanded that taxes be reduced. They opposed "anticommunist denunciation," the drafting of youth into the army, and the recruiting of peasants to go to build "land resettlement centers." They protested the concentration of people into "agrovilles and strategic hamlets."

The ethnic minority people in the mountain areas struggled in many ways to protest the increase in taxes, to oppose mopping-up operations and the concentration of people, and to demand autonomy.

These continual and strong struggles illustrated the indomitability and strong will of our compatriots in South Vietnam. They not only showed the strength of the masses in their struggle to support their everyday interests and to prevent cruel acts by the enemy, but they were also of great significance, for they helped mobilize, organize, and educate the masses so that the latter might be trained to increase their combat strength.

But in the face of the policy of force of the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys, these legal and illegal political struggles were not strong and effective enough to prevent the enemy's mopping-up operations, killings, and imprisonments. Instead, they lacked the strength and ability to frustrate all plots of enslavement and aggression of the U.S. imperialists. The furious, bloody, oppressive acts of the enemy caused the revolutionary struggle of the people in South Vietnam to stop confining itself to a simple political form and to a state of "peace" that enabled the enemy to speculate with peace to kill the masses ruthlessly.

In 1905, when the Czar of Russia pursued a reactionary war with the Japanese imperialists, Lenin called on the Russian working class to rise up to overthrow the Czarist regime. He said: "It is impossible to demand peace alone, because peace under the Czar is no better (but usually worse) than his war. It is impossible to raise the 'whatever peace it may be' slogan; rather, peace must go along with the overthrow of the despotic regime, and only the liberated people and a legislative national assembly are free to decide peace. This means that peace must not be promoted at any cost, but that it can be achieved by the overthrow of the despotic regime" (Lenin: "Bellicose Militarism and the Strategy of the Socialist Democratic Party Against Militarism," Vietnamese, QUAN DOI NHAN DAN publishing house, Hanoi, 1963, p. 12).

Between 1959 and 1960 the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys used all the services and branches of their army to conduct large-scale "pacification" and mopping-up operations. They sent the guillotine everywhere and used fascist law 10-59 to kill indiscriminately the revolutionary masses and the patriotic people. These ruthless and cruel acts did not illustrate the strength of the enemy, but they marked the end of the temporarily stable period of the southern authorities and the beginning of a continuous, protracted critical period. The people in South Vietnam at that time had to push their struggle to make a new step forward--that is, to include grenades and spike-studded traps in their "agenda" to answer the "agenda" of the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys, which was made of bayonets and weapons.

In an interview with Australian journalist Burchett late in 1963, President Ho pointed out: "Not until tens of thousands of persons were ruthlessly killed and tens of thousands of others imprisoned in the Ngo Dinh Diem clique's prisons and concentration camps, where they died one after another, did the patriots in South Vietnam come to realize that they were given no choice but to fight to protect their very lives. It grieved them to have to choose between these two paths--either hold weapons to fight or let themselves be annihilated." Along with their political struggle, our people in South Vietnam needed to engage in an armed struggle to fight the fascist dictatorial rule of the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys.

In the rural areas, the masses rose up with rudimentary weapons in hand to punish the cruel rebel officials. They disarmed the "self-defense corpsmen" in order to equip themselves with the latter's weapons. They destroyed a great number of "strategic hamlets," won back the land which had been seized by the enemy, and liberated each large area under oppression by the rebel authorities. Such organizations as self-defense groups, guerrilla units, and armed propaganda teams were activated to destroy the rebel authorities, tyrants, spies, and rangers, to assure security in the villages, to counter the enemy mopping-up operations, raids, and killings, and to protect the lives and property of the compatriots.

From the large, broad struggle movement of the masses emerged a new struggle form, the armed struggle; and a new organization, the liberation troops. The coming into existence of this new struggle form not only met an urgent demand, but it was also an objective and inevitable tendency of the revolutionary movement. It did not contradict the political struggle, nor did it replace the political struggle; instead it was a supplement to the political struggle and it paved the way for the latter to develop. Conversely, the development of the political struggle created favorable conditions for the armed struggle to be broadened with every passing day.

The armed struggle movement gradually became a regional guerrilla movement, which has progressed into the guerrilla warfare reflected by the fighting against the enemy's mopping-up and "pacification" operations, the attacks against and destruction of "strategic hamlets," and the surrounding of posts, intercepting of reinforcement troops, attacks against enemy convoys on roads and rivers, and so forth. Guerrilla warfare has also been reflected in uprisings in the enemy's ranks, during which troops killed their commanding officers and joined the people with weapons, or acted as fifth columnists and cooperated with the liberation troops in attacking the enemy, or defected in great numbers to the people's ranks. Along with the armed struggle, the revolts by the peasants to seize power in each locality have occurred and gradually expanded to many other areas, thereby liberating each large rural area.

Dealing the enemy strong blows thanks to the association between the political struggle and the armed struggle, our people have frustrated the "strategic counter-offensive" of the U.S. imperialists, caused the first phase of their "special war" to go bankrupt, and frustrated a series of their "famous" tactics, such as the "helicopter-borne" tactic, the "amphibious" tactic, and the "vertical envelopment" tactic, long boasted about by the U.S. imperialists. The struggle between ourselves and the enemy is entering an acute, decisive stage. Our people in South Vietnam have suffered many hardships and sacrifices, but they have also achieved ever greater victories, and they will certainly achieve final victory.

In the process of their revolutionary struggle to win and maintain power, our people have acquired much experience in using and associating political struggle methods with the armed struggle. From 1930 to 1940 our people conducted a political struggle against imperialism and feudalism. From 1941 to the 1945 August revolution our people, using political struggle methods together with armed struggle, set up revolutionary bases, organized the liberated areas, and applied guerrilla tactics in the rural areas.

The success of the August revolution in overthrowing the French and Japanese and restoring power to the people was due to the association between the political struggle and the armed struggle. The August revolution was an armed revolt of all our people. During the period from 1946 to 1954, our people throughout the country conducted an armed struggle to oppose the French colonialists and the U.S. interventionists in order to protect national independence.

During the first years following the reestablishment of peace, the compatriots in South Vietnam engaged in a political struggle in peace. But the warlike and terrorist policies of the enemy forced the compatriots to take up rifles to carry out an armed struggle. They are now applying in a creative manner political struggle methods in conjunction with the armed struggle.

In the immediate future, as well as throughout the process of the revolution, political struggle will play the same important, decisive role as armed struggle. But concerning different areas, it is possible that political struggle methods will be considered principle in the one place, while armed struggle will be considered as principle in the other. When applied to each period of time, it is possible that at times political struggle will be considered more important than the armed struggle, and that at other times armed struggle will be considered as more important than political struggle. Political struggle in conjunction with armed struggle provides extremely great strength for the revolution.

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The political struggle involves widely mobilizing the masses in the rural areas, in the cities, in various political centers, and in the areas in the enemy's rear to struggle through meetings, demonstrations aimed at frightening the enemy, strikes, market strikes, and classroom walkouts, during which petitions, legal and illegal, are to be submitted to the rebel authorities, demanding that they settle the economic and political problems of the masses. These are occasions for mobilizing the masses ideologically and to educate and train them to embark on higher struggle forms. At the same time, with the political struggle, the people may be able to restrict the enemy's cruel acts and plots to enlarge the war.

The armed struggle involves using the armed forces to fight enemy military forces that are controlling and oppressing the people in "strategic hamlets," posts, and strongholds, to fight cruel enemy army units and cruel rebel tyrants, and, finally, to smash the enemy's ruthless machinery, winning power for the people.

The uniting of political struggle with armed struggle illustrates the masses' political force associated with the strength of the armed struggle; it illustrates the strength of the city people's political activities associated with the strength of the rural armed and unarmed people; and it illustrates the political strength of the people in the rural areas under enemy control and in the enemy political and administrative centers associated with the strength of the revolutionary army and the people's paramilitary forces fighting before the enemy eyes. Thus, in the present large-scale fighting, not only the army, guerrilla units, and youths, but also the majority of the people, including women, children, and oldsters, have gone to the front to fight the enemy. Not only the peasants in the rural areas, but also the workers and laborers in the city, along with intellectuals, students, and peddlers have gone to the front. Not only the agricultural and industrial masses have gone to the front, but a number of soldiers in the enemy units have also participated in the revolutionary struggle. All these people form a revolutionary wave of a united worker-peasant-soldier bloc, or a united people, to attack the enemy's army in all fields and surround it from all directions.

Our people in South Vietnam are victoriously fighting the enemy with the strength of a three-spearhead offensive, which means they are attacking the enemy politically and with the armed forces and are trying to disintegrate enemy soldier ranks. These tactics aim at defeating the enemy in each action, battle, and operation, thereby leading him to complete defeat in the entire war.

With this struggle method, our people in South Vietnam can defeat any imperialists no matter how strong their troops and generals may be and no matter how modern their weapons may be. Naturally, our people in South Vietnam cannot achieve victory quickly, but have to fight protractedly--that is, undergo a hard, drawn-out struggle period which will make our forces increasingly stronger and the enemy forces increasingly weaker--before they are able to achieve complete victory over the enemy. The protracted political and armed struggle is a correct strategic line, the newest characteristic, and the great invention of our people in South Vietnam in their struggle against the U.S. aggressors.

The following conditions have enabled the southern compatriots to carry out this strategic line:

1--The U.S. imperialists invade South Vietnam under a new circumstance that differs from past circumstances. As old-style colonialism becomes old-fashioned and is strongly condemned by the people of the world, the U.S. imperialists have to use a new-style colonialist regime through their "special war" in order to implement their enslavement and war policy. This means that the Americans do not directly rule South Vietnam and use the great forces of the expeditionary army directly to attack and occupy South Vietnam, but that they have to use the puppet authorities and the mercenary army composed of native soldiers. To deceive the people, the U.S. imperialists have declared that South Vietnam is "independent" and has its own government, army, national assembly, diplomatic organs, and so forth.

The southern people's fight against the Americans is a struggle to overthrow the rebel southern government and smash its army. The southern people are able and in a position to conduct a political struggle to oppose this government, to unmask its false face of "independence," and to advance toward overthrowing it. The use by the U.S. imperialists of the rebel Vietnamese Army to conduct a fight against the southern people in the form of a civil war has also created conditions and possibilities for the people to carry out their political struggle and, especially, to proselyte enemy soldiers in order to smash the rebel army through political campaigns in conjunction with fighting. On the other hand, because the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys have used terror and war to enslave the people, the revolution has inevitably had to embark on an armed struggle so as to have enough strength to frustrate all their schemes of violence.

2--The struggle to liberate South Vietnam is completely just. It is consistent with the interests of the national liberation movement and the world peace movement. Therefore, it is approved and supported by people throughout the world. Stepping up the political struggle in conjunction with the armed struggle, the southern people have raised higher the character of the just cause of their revolutionary struggle. This is a good method for causing the people of the world to support the revolutionary struggle of the southern people more strongly.

Because of their just cause, our people in South Vietnam have demonstrated an absolute political superiority. Moreover, they constitute a bloc of unyielding, revolutionary masses who have high revolutionary enlightenment, who have conducted their political struggle for some dozen years, and who carried out their armed struggle during the past war of resistance. By associating their political struggle with their armed struggle, they have developed their political superiority and transformed this political and moral superiority into material strength in order to increase further their strength for defeating the enemy army, which is using the force of arms as its main strength to oppose the people.

The aggression by the U.S. imperialists against South Vietnam is a reactionary and unjust act. It is contrary to the love for peace of the people of the world and to the legal principles of the Geneva accords. For this reason, our people in South Vietnam have raised high the national liberation banner and conducted a political struggle in conjunction with an armed struggle. This is a good way to reveal the reactionaries' aggressive face and make them isolated before public opinion in the world and the United States. This is also a remarkable blow to the international gendarme--the U.S. imperialists.

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After 10 years of hard struggle, our people in South Vietnam have progressed steadily and firmly into a position of driving back the U.S. imperialist aggression. This revolutionary struggle has had the effect of binding the hands and feet of the U.S. imperialists, thereby making it impossible for them to carry out their "to the north" plot to sabotage and destroy North Vietnam and the socialist camp. This struggle has also bitterly defeated the first phase of their "special war," prompting the chieftains in the U.S. Government to admit that the antiguerrilla war in South Vietnam is "difficult" and "protracted" and that this war is "slipping into a dead end tunnel."

Naturally, the U.S. imperialists are not resigned to suffering defeat. They are finding ways to increase their forces to continue and step up the war in South Vietnam. The struggle of our people in South Vietnam will encounter many difficulties and hardships, but ultimately the U.S. imperialists will certainly suffer complete defeat, and our people will achieve complete victory.

Our people in South Vietnam have achieved many victories and they will certainly defeat the U.S. imperialists because an oppressed people, though small and weak, will surely achieve final victory if they rise up as a bloc, if they are determined to struggle against colonialist imperialism to achieve independence and democracy, and if they are approved and supported by the people of the world. Our people in South Vietnam are a heroic people who have traditions of indomitable struggle and rich experience in struggle. They know how to apply lively and correct struggle methods in a creative manner. Therefore, they will certainly be able to defeat the U.S. imperialist aggressors and their lackeys.

The correct path which the southern people have chosen is to conduct a revolutionary struggle, to use the revolutionary force to fight counterrevolutionary force, and to use the national liberation war to counter the aggressive war of the imperialists. ~~This path must not "overevaluate peace."~~ The form of this revolutionary struggle is to struggle both politically and militarily, to associate closely the political struggle with the armed struggle throughout the revolutionary process and in each battle, and to use the three-spearhead offensive tactics to fight the enemy. The trend of this revolutionary struggle is simultaneously to defeat the U.S. aggressors and frustrate their policy of preparing for and enlarging the war and to associate the task of liberating South Vietnam with the task of protecting world peace.

It is not because of their subjective aspirations that the southern compatriots have chosen these struggle methods. Their application of these methods has been due to the fact that they have known how to use objective laws consistent with the dialectical development of the social realities in South Vietnam and the world. Our people in South Vietnam will certainly be victorious because the southern revolution is consistent with the law of objective development of history.