TRƯỌNG·CHINH
SELECTED WRITINGS

FORWARD ALONG THE PATH
CHARTED BY KARL MARX

(Speech at a cadres' conference to mark
the 150th birthday of Karl Marx)

(1968)
Dear comrades,

Karl Marx, the greatest thinker of our time, the founder of scientific communism, the greatest teacher and leader of the world proletariat, was born 150 years ago.

This year, together with the workers and labouring people of all countries, the oppressed nations and all progressive mankind, we celebrate Karl Marx’s 150th birthday at a time when his doctrine has won brilliant successes in the world and in our country.

On this occasion, I wish to elaborate the three following questions:

1. Karl Marx, a dedicated revolutionary, the founder of scientific communism.

2. How has our Party applied Marxism-Leninism in Viet Nam?

3. Let us march forward under the banner of Marxism-Leninism and fulfil brilliantly our immediate tasks.
KARL MARX, A DEDICATED REVOLUTIONARY,
THE FOUNDER OF SCIENTIFIC COMMUNISM

Karl Marx was born on May 5, 1818, at Trier, Rhenish Prussia, into a lawyer’s family. When a student, he joined the Young Hegelians and tried to draw atheistic and revolutionary conclusions from Hegel’s idealistic philosophy. After graduation, in 1841, he contributed to the Rhenish Gazette with the radical bourgeois leaders in Rhineland and eventually became its editor-in-chief.

The democratic inclination of the Rhenish Gazette and its influence among the masses frightened the royal government of Prussia into banning it.

Marx’s contribution to the Rhenish Gazette, though short-lived, had a strong influence on his thinking. Engaged in intense political activities, he had the opportunity to gain a better understanding of the political life in Germany and of the wretched condition of the labouring masses. Discussions in the Rhenish Gazette on various problems relating to the labouring people’s material interests set Marx the task of thoroughly investigating questions of political economy and of correctly determining the relationship between the State and law on the one hand, and the material conditions of society on the other. A Contribution to the Critique of
Hegel's Philosophy of Law completed by Marx in the autumn of 1843 marked the first change in his world outlook, from idealistic to materialistic, and from revolutionary democratism to communism.

Immediately after the banning of the Rhenish Gazette, Marx decided to go abroad and publish a revolutionary paper to be circulated in Germany.

In October 1843, he went to Paris. There he published the Franco-German Year Book. France's capital was a thriving industrial centre where a fierce struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie was unfolding. This had a decisive influence upon Marx's thinking. He frequented workers' quarters in the Paris suburbs, contacted underground revolutionary organizations of French and German workers, and dedicated his efforts to a critical study of English classical political economy and French utopian socialism. During his stay in Paris he reached extremely important conclusions. In the preface of A Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Law, he wrote: "As philosophy finds its material weapon in the proletariat, so the proletariat finds its spiritual weapon in philosophy. And once the lightning of thought has squarely struck this untouched soil of the people, the emancipation of the Germans into men will be accomplished."

This proposition and many others show how the philosopher and revolutionary fighter had merged in Marx, and how the young intellectual full of revolutionary ardour and thirst for truth had placed firm confidence in the historical mission of the proletariat. From that time he devoted all his energy and abilities to its emancipation.
Whilst in Paris, Marx gave up idealism and revolutionary democratism to adopt materialism and communism. Engels in the English industrial centre of Manchester followed a similar path. From then the collaboration between the two men grew ever closer so that the life work of each became the work of both, and Engels' name was inseparably associated with Marx's.

Banished from France, Marx left for Brussels in early 1845. In France as in Belgium, together with Engels he thoroughly criticized Hegel's idealistic philosophy and Feuerbach's metaphysical materialism. On this basis he elaborated a scientific world outlook for the proletariat. In Brussels, Marx made strenuous efforts in propaganda and agitation work among the proletarian masses and set up the German Workers' Union.

In early 1847, Marx and Engels joined the League of the Just, an underground organization comprising workers from Germany and many other countries, and completely reshaped it. The League of the Just was renamed Communist League. The Second Congress of the League convened in late 1847 unanimously adopted the principles of the Programme put forward by Marx and Engels, and entrusted them with the drafting of a manifesto to expound these principles. Thus, the Manifesto of the Communist Party, an immortal document of scientific socialism, came into being, establishing the Marxist doctrine as the comprehensive revolutionary doctrine of the proletariat.

Lenin said about the Manifesto of the Communist Party: "With the clarity and brilliance of genius, this work outlines a new world conception, consistent materialism, which
also embraces the realm of social life, dialectics, as the most
comprehensive and profound doctrine of development, the
theory of class struggle and of the epoch-making revolu-
tionary role of the proletariat — the creator of a new, communist
society...”

Ending the Manifesto, Marx and Engels raised the slogan
"Workers of all countries, unite!", calling on the world
proletariat to close its ranks in the struggle to overthrow the
rule of the bourgeoisie and build a new society.

The February Revolution (1848) which broke out in
France had a resounding echo in the neighbouring countries.
The frightened Belgian government arrested Marx and
expelled him from Belgium. He moved to Paris where he
worked actively for the progress of the proletarian movement.
The Central Committee of the Communist League appointed
him its President. In April 1848, together with Engels he
returned to Germany and took a direct part in the seething
revolutionary movement there. In June the same year, he
published the New Rhenish Gazette, the only journal voic-
ing the viewpoint of the proletariat in the democratic
movement in Europe at that time. In this journal he profound-
ly analysed the momentous events of the revolutionary years
of 1848-1849, laid bare every scheme and manoeuvre of the
reactionary forces and the bourgeoisie, and guided and
couraged the masses in their struggle. But the Revolution
failed and the New Rhenish Gazette was prohibited. Marx
was indicated by the Prussian government and banished in
May 1849. He returned to Paris but was again expelled by

1 V. I. Lenin, Marx, Engels. Marxism.
the French government shortly afterward. He then left for London where he was to complete the main work of his lifetime: *Capital*.

In 1859 Marx's *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* was published. His theory on value was systematically expounded for the first time. In 1867 the first volume of *Capital* appeared, of which Engels said:

"As long as there have been capitalists and workers on earth, no book has appeared which is of as much importance for the workers as the one before us. The relation between capital and labour, the axis on which our entire present system of society turns, is here treated scientifically for the first time..." ¹

In the early 1860's the proletarian movement again surged up so powerfully that Marx could think of realizing his long-cherished dream: the establishment of an international organization of the proletariat to unite, educate and lead the latter in its struggle for self-liberation. In September 1864, the *International Workingmen's Association*, or *First International*, was founded with Marx as its guiding force. He himself drafted nearly all the documents issued by its Central Committee. The great achievement of the *International* was to unite the workers' movement in various countries and direct its activities toward common action, to fight non-proletarian socialist theories, and secure triumph for Marx's revolutionary theory in this movement.

After the failure of the Paris Commune (1871) the *International* could no longer operate efficiently. In application of the resolution of the Hague Congress (1872),

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¹ F. Engels, *Marx's Capital.*
FORWARD ALONG THE PATH...

it temporarily withdrew from the political scene. The First International had fulfilled its historical mission and had opened a period of extensive development in the workers' movement, that of the formation of many socialist workers' parties with a mass character.

Despite the dissolution of the First International the role played by Marx and Engels as leaders of the international workers' movement continued to be strengthened. By giving instructions and critical advice, Marx and Engels showed constant concern for the setting up of genuine proletarian parties in various countries, especially in Germany and France. Such well-known works as Marx's Critique of the Gotha Programme and Engels' Anti-Dühring were written with this specific aim.

The correction of the drafts of the second, third and fourth volumes of Capital occupied most of Marx's time, but his health did not enable him to finish this gigantic work. The strain from mental overwork coupled with material privation soon reduced his robust strength. Marx breathed his last on March 14, 1883, in London, at the age of 65.

Dear comrades,

Where does Marx's genius lie? In the fact that he provided timely and judicious solutions to the great problems of the epoch, posed by progressive mankind.

By the middle of the 19th century, world capitalism had reached a high degree of development, and the productive forces of society had gone through a fairly vigorous growth. On the one hand, large-scale industry in its expansion had
impoverished various strata of the labouring people and, on the other, it had turned out a great amount of commodities for which there were only limited markets. The clash between over-production and the destitution of the working people reflected the intensifying conflict between the productive forces of society and the capitalist relations of production, between Labour and Capital.

From spontaneous actions such as the wrecking of machinery, the proletariat soon became conscious of its class interests and gradually reorganized itself for a more vigorous fight against the rule of the bourgeoisie. The struggle of the proletariat, particularly the French proletariat, had a strong influence on the shaping of Marx's scientific socialism.

In the domain of natural sciences, man had also achieved remarkable successes. The three great discoveries of the 19th century on the origins and evolution of the species, on the cell, and on the conservation and transformation of energy, together with other feats of science, had an influence on the shaping of Marxist philosophy.

In this historical context, Marx inherited in a critical way, and inventively developed the three main trends of 19th century thought, namely German classical philosophy, English classical political economy, and French utopian socialism.

In philosophy, Marx resolutely repudiated idealism which was constantly wedded to religion. He was critical of non-dialectical mechanistic materialism, which only sought to explain the world without trying to change it.

He developed the gains of German classical philosophy, more particularly Hegel's dialectics and Feuerbach's materialism, and upon the strength of the new findings of natural
FORWARD ALONG THE PATH...

sciences, he conceived his own *dialectical materialism*. This is the science of the general laws of motion of nature, society and thought, the most perfect, exhaustive and comprehensive theory of evolution, the theory of man's knowledge of the objective world.

Marx's dialectical materialism provided the proletariat and mankind with a wonderful tool of thought.

Applying dialectical materialism to an examination of human society, he completely revolutionized man's conception of world history. Earlier, idealism had attributed historical change to man's thought and the most important historical developments to outstanding heroes. Disposing of such an erroneous view, he proved that the material world was an objective reality existing independently of human consciousness and that the latter was only the reflection of the former. The material life of society, social-being, exists prior to social spiritual life, and does so independently of man's consciousness. The latter is determined by that objective reality. It is the conditions of the material life of a society which determine its social theories, its political, legal, literary and artistic views, its political regime, and so on. Economy is the basis of society, on which are founded its political system, laws, philosophy, ethics, literature, arts, etc.

What is the main decisive factor which moulds the conditions of the material life of society? The mode of production. By using instruments of production, man produces material wealth which enables him to subsist. The producers, together with the instruments of production, make up the productive forces of society. As individual labour alone cannot produce material wealth, collective production is necessary, and thus
connections are established among labourers. At times, the connections take the form of labourer-to-labourer relations: at times, they assume that of exploiter-to-exploited relations. During its uninterrupted process of development, the productive forces at a given time violently clash with the relations of production. Then a social revolution breaks out, destroys the outdated relations of production, and sets up new ones to make possible a vigorous growth of the productive forces.

Human history up to the 19th century (when Marx founded scientific socialism) had in the main experienced the following relations of production: primitive communist, slave, feudal, and capitalist. Marx and Engels show that when the ownership of the means of production was instituted, the process also created exploiting and exploited classes. Since class society emerged, the history of man has been that of class struggle. The masses of the people are the genuine makers of history, and class struggle is the motive force which impels forward its development. The appearance and survival of classes is dependent on material conditions, economic conditions in which production and exchange of daily necessities of life are carried out in each given historical period.

In his preface to *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*, Marx wrote: “In the social production of their life, men enter into definite relations that are indispensable and independent of their will, relations of production which

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1. Do Asian relations of production belong to a different category from that of the Western ones? And what are in fact those “Asian modes of production” mentioned by Marx? These are questions to be carefully considered before serious answers can be found.
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correspond to a definite stage of development of their material productive forces. The sum total of these relations of production constitutes the economic structure of society, the real foundation, on which rises a legal and political superstructure and to which correspond definite forms of social consciousness. The mode of production of material life-conditions the social, political and intellectual life process in general. It is not the consciousness of men that determines their being but, on the contrary, their social being that determines their consciousness. At a certain stage of their development, the material productive forces of society come into conflict with the existing relations of production, or — what is but a legal expression for the same thing — with the property relations within which they have been at work hitherto. From forms of development of the productive forces these relations turn into their fetters. Then begins an epoch of social revolution. With the change of the economic foundation the entire immense superstructure is more or less rapidly transformed...

"In broad outlines, Asiatic, ancient, feudal and modern bourgeois modes of production can be designated as progressive epochs in the economic formation of society. The bourgeois relations of production are the last antagonistic form of the social process of production, antagonistic not in the sense of individual antagonism, but of one arising from the social conditions of life of the individuals; at the same time, the productive forces developing in the womb of bourgeois society create the material conditions for the solution of that antagonism. This social formation brings, therefore, the pre-history of human society to a close".
Marx's historical materialism demonstrates that under capitalism the growth of the productive forces reaches such a level as renders capitalist relations of production no longer suitable and their breaking up by proletarian revolution inevitable. This proposition leads us directly to socialism and arms the proletariat with a most incisive weapon which is not only capable of interpreting the world, but what is more important, of changing it.

In political economy, Marx's most significant discovery is his surplus value theory. This supplies the most thorough explanation of the relations between Capital and Labour, and exposes the exploitation of the latter by the former in the capitalist mode of production.

English classical political economy, the exponents of which were Adam Smith and Ricardo, had been credited with momentous achievements. In studying capitalist economy which emerged first in England, those two economists had come to the conclusion that labour alone was the source of all wealth, of all value. But owing to their class limitations, they were unable to give the reason why the wage-earners did not get the whole product of their labour and were unable to explain correctly the source of the capitalists' wealth.

For nearly half a century, Marx carried out research on the economic system of capitalist society, starting from its basic unit, the commodity, to extended large-scale mechanized industry, and succeeded in formulating the economic law of the motion of capitalist society. His conclusions: the capitalist mode of production conditions the existence of two social classes; on the one hand, the capitalists who own the bulk of the means of production and means of living; and
on the other, the proletariat, deprived of all means of production and forced to sell its labouring power for the means of living necessary to its survival. The value of a commodity is determined by the amount of social labour needed for its manufacture. The proletarian who sells his labouring power to the capitalist is paid a wage which corresponds only to a part of the time of labour he spends, the value of the rest, the surplus value, being pocketed by the employer. This viewpoint eloquently proves that all the wealth of the bourgeoisie is made up of the surplus value produced by the proletariat and appropriated by the capitalists.

Capitalist primitive accumulation, the emergence of capitalism in the course of history, means essentially savage and ruthless despoliation of small producers by the bourgeoisie. Capitalism came about by the elimination of small production, the abolition of small producers' private ownership based on individual labour and its replacement by capitalist private ownership based on exploitation of the labour of the proletariat through the agency of the wage system. Brought to ruin by the bourgeoisie, millions of small producers turned proletarians and were assembled in great factories to produce all material wealth while a handful of capitalists were living leisurely on the fat of the land, on the fruits of their labour. Marx concluded: "Centralization of the means of production and socialization of labour at last reach a point where they become incompatible with the capitalist framework. This framework is burst asunder. The knell of capitalist private property sounds. The expropriators are expropriated."¹

¹ Karl Marx, Capital, Volume I, Part III.
Marx's scientific socialism was founded on his own historical materialism and political economy. On the strength of his findings in these fields, he established that the eventual destruction of capitalism and its supplanting by socialism is an inevitable and objective historical necessity.

For the first time in human history, he elaborated a comprehensive theory on class struggle and made the fullest use of it. In the Manifesto of the Communist Party, Marx and Engels wrote: "The history of all hitherto existing societies is the history of class struggles (except the history of the primitive community, Engels added subsequently - T.C.).

"Free man and slave, patrician and plebeian, lord and serf, guild-master and journeyman, in a word, oppressor and oppressed, stood in constant opposition to one another, carried on an uninterrupted, now hidden, now open, fight, a fight that each time ended either in a revolutionary re-constitution of society at large, or in the common ruin of the contending classes...

"The modern bourgeois society that has sprouted from the ruins of feudal society has not done away with class antagonisms. It has but established new classes, new conditions of oppression, new forms of struggle in place of the old ones.

"Our epoch, the epoch of the bourgeoisie, possesses, however, this distinctive feature: it has simplified the class antagonisms. Society as a whole is more and more splitting up into two great hostile camps, into two great classes directly facing each other: Bourgeoisie and Proletariat." 1

Making an objective appraisal of the attitudes of various classes with vested interests in the economic base and their respective social positions under capitalism, Marx and Engels said: “Of all the classes that stand face to face with the bourgeoisie today, the proletariat alone is a really revolutionary class. The other classes decay and finally disappear in the face of Modern Industry; the proletariat is its special and essential product.”

Marx shed a bright light on the role of the proletariat in world history, as the grave-digger of capitalism, and builder of a new society, a classless, communist society, free from exploitation of man by man.

He also blazed the only trail for the proletariat to attain self-liberation: under the leadership of the communist party, its vanguard, the proletariat, in close alliance with the peasantry, will use revolutionary violence to overthrow the capitalist rule and seize power for itself.

The dictatorship of the proletariat occupies a central position in Marx’s scientific socialism. In his review of different class struggles which had taken place in human history, more particularly that of nineteenth-century France, Marx commented: “What I did that was new was to prove: 1. that the existence of classes is bound up with particular historical phases in the development of production; 2. that class struggle necessarily leads to the dictatorship of the proletariat; 3. that this dictatorship itself only constitutes the transition to the abolition of all classes and to a classless society...”

1. Ibid.
2. K. Marx, Letter to J. Weydemeyer.
Having analysed the economic and political conditions of capitalist society, Marx concluded that between the latter and communist society, there will be a period of revolutionary transformation, when the state must be the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat. Therefore, the road to communism must necessarily pass through the dictatorship of the proletariat. Marx also highlighted the objective inescapability of the two stages of communism: the lower one which is socialist society, and the higher one which is communist society. In the former, the main means of production fall under socialist ownership of two kinds: ownership of the whole people, and collective ownership; the principle determining the distribution of goods is: “From each according to his ability, to each according to his work”. In communist society, all means of production are the common property of the whole people, the basic difference between manual work and mental work is wiped out, just as that between the towns and the countryside; classes no longer exist, the state is no more; man enjoys all-round development; labour becomes a need and habit for everyone; the productive forces are greatly increased, goods are superabundant and the principle applied in society is: “From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs.”

Marx was the first to chart the proletariat’s line of struggle for self-liberation, to enlighten it on its historical mission, to organize and lead it in the fight to liberate itself and mankind from all forms of oppression and exploitation. Regarding revolutionary struggle as his raison d’être and greatest source of happiness, he carried it out valiantly,
passionately and dedicatedly to emancipate the proletariat, in
defiance of the enemy's persecution and repression, and in
the face of hardships and privations.

Throughout his life, he stood in the forefront of the fight
of the proletariat, devoting his heart and soul to its organization
and education and guiding its revolutionary effort to
overthrow the bourgeoisie. Not only was Marx a thinker, he
was also — first and foremost — a revolutionary.

While struggling for the revolutionary cause of the pro-
letariat, he and Engels had to put up a bitter fight against
all un-proletarian tendencies in the workers' movement from
the "Prussian socialism" of the Lassalle group in Germany
to the Proudhon circle's petty-bourgeois socialism in France
and Belgium, from the rightist opportunism of English
trade-union leaders to the German communists' "leftist"
adventurism, from Bakunin anarchism in Russia to bourgeo
capitalism on the questions of war and colonies, etc. It was
in this process that Marxism grew and was forged into the
invincible weapon of the proletariat.

As the most outstanding proletarian leader, Marx supplied
his class with important principles regarding the strategy and
tactics of revolutionary struggle, namely: To establish the
proletariat's leadership (through its political party) over the
whole struggle for the emancipation of the labouring masses;
to set up a steadfast alliance between the proletariat and the
masses of the peasantry, to enlist the wholehearted support
of the peasantry for its revolutionary attempt to topple capital-
ism and build a new society; to co-ordinate the drive of
the proletariat with democratic and national liberation move-
ments: constantly and thoroughly to grasp the ultimate
goals of class struggle without neglecting the struggle for everyday interests so as to rally the broad masses of the people and push them forward; to change fighting tactics in time to suit changes in the revolutionary situation and in the relation of forces between classes; to display unfailing loyalty to proletarian internationalism, and so on.

Karl Marx is no more, but his doctrine is wielding growing influence and will last for ever. We always highly value revolutionary theory, and have no doubt that it is perfectly capable of changing society if the following three prerequisites exist: 1. It must reflect the objective laws of society; 2. It must be the exponent of the thinking, and champion of the rights, of the vanguard class of society; 3. It must penetrate deep into the masses of the people, and make it possible to mobilize, organize and lead them into action.

The cogency of Marxism precisely resides in its ability to reflect accurately the objective laws of historical development, and to represent the most advanced class, the most revolutionary class of modern society, the proletariat, and hence to strike roots into the broad masses, to win the hearts and minds of millions and millions of people, and stir them into an implacable and uncompromising fight against the enemy of their class, against world bourgeoisie, and into the building of a classless, communist society.

Lenin said: “The Marxist doctrine is omnipotent because it is true. It is complete and harmonious and provides men with an integral world conception which is irreconcilable with any form of superstition, reaction or defence of bourgeois oppression...
"Marx's philosophical materialism alone has shown the proletariat the way out of the spiritual slavery in which all oppressed classes have hitherto languished. Marx's economic theory alone has explained the true position of the proletariat in the general system of capitalism."  

After Marx's death, Engels, his most intimate comrade and companion in-arms, acting as continuator, brought to completion Marx's interrupted works, while keeping aloft the banner of militant Marxism and giving a fresh impetus to the workers' movement. Engels founded and headed the Second International until the end of his life. He spurred the international workers' movement forward and speeded up the formation of proletarian parties with a mass character in many countries.

Carrying on Marx's and Engels's work, Lenin imaginatively developed their doctrine in the new stage of history, the stage of imperialism and proletarian revolutions. He tirelessly combated reformism, rightist and "leftist" revisionism then existing in the Second International. He challenged dogmatism and other opportunistic trends in defence of the purity of Marxism, and raised it to a higher stage of development, that of Leninism, at a time when capitalism was in its death throes and proletarian revolution topped the order of the day of the world proletariat. Such works by Lenin as *What Is To Be Done? Two Tactics of Social-Democracy in the Democratic Revolution; Materialism and Empirio-Criticism; Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism; The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade...*  

Kautsky; The State and Revolution; "Left-Wing" Communism, an Infantile Disorder and a series of other writings added to the theoretical wealth of Marx's doctrine in the realm of philosophy, political economy and scientific socialism as well as to the strategy and tactics of the proletariat.

Lenin showed the essence and features of imperialism and its serious contradictions which make it the highest stage of capitalism. Examining the development of capitalism in the epoch of imperialism he formulated the law of the uneven development of capitalism and came to the extremely important conclusion that the proletarian revolution can perfectly triumph at first in a number of countries or even in one single country. He laid special stress on the question of revolutionary violence and dictatorship of the proletariat whose task, he pointed out, is to fight the class enemy inside and outside the country, to build a new society, the classless, communist society. The important mission of the proletariat is to work out and put into effect "a new organization of labour of a standard higher than capitalism" and its most complex long-term duty is to transform the millions of small producers and thereby to prevent the resurgence of capitalism.

He also pointed out that for the proletarian revolution to triumph, a close alliance with the masses of the peasantry at home and with the proletariat of all countries and oppressed peoples of the world is indispensable. His war-cry "Proletarians of all countries and oppressed peoples, unite!" has become the clarion call rallying all revolutionary forces on the earth in the battle against the common enemy, imperialism, and for national independence, democracy and socialism.
He built the Russian Bolshevik Party, a new-type party of the proletariat, and led the Russian proletariat and working people to success in the Great October Socialist Revolution (1917) and in the setting up of the first proletarian dictatorship state in the world. The October Revolution has ushered in a new epoch in man’s history, the epoch of the collapse of capitalism and of the victory of socialism on a world scale.

He founded the Communist International, i.e. the Third International, to supersede the Second International which had degenerated after Engels’s death, due to the betrayal of the revisionists Bernstein and Kautsky. The new body played an important part in the defence of the revolutionary spirit of Marxism, in the expansion of the international communist and workers’ movement, in the preparation for the world proletariat to overthrow the imperialist rule and seize power.

After his death, Stalin, the disciple and continuator of Marx, Engels, and Lenin, held high the revolutionary standard of the proletariat. He fought implacably rightist and “leftist” opportunism and preserved the purity of Marxism-Leninism, while making an inventive use of it in the construction of socialism in the Soviet Union, and impelling forward world revolution. True to Marxism-Leninism, Stalin did everything in his power to strengthen the Party ideologically and organizationally, to maintain and consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, to carry out socialist industrialization, agricultural collectivization and cultural revolution, to enforce equal rights for all fraternal nationalities of the country, and at the same time to give all-out support to the revolution in various countries of the
world. As a result, the gains of the revolution were preserved and increased, and the Soviet Union was built into a powerful socialist state in the midst of capitalist encirclement.

In the Second World War, the Soviet Communist Party (Bolshevik) headed by Stalin led the exceptionally heroic fight of the Soviet Army and people to a glorious victory over fascism, thereby safeguarding the first socialist state in the world and paving the way for the triumph of the revolution in a series of countries in Eastern Europe and in Asia, and that of our August Revolution. The greatest historical event after the October Revolution was the Chinese Revolution whose success dealt a staggering blow at imperialist positions in Asia, and tilted the world balance of forces in favour of peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

Today, the world socialist system, which consists of thirteen countries in three continents, with a population of more than a thousand million, has been established. The movement of the working class and labouring people in the capitalist countries for democracy and social progress and the national liberation revolution in Asia, Africa and Latin America are vigorously growing. The colonial structure of imperialism is swiftly sliding towards disintegration with a momentum that no reactionary force can halt.

All this represents a tremendous achievement for Marxism-Leninism, for Karl Marx and, generally, for the founders of scientific communism, and those who have developed it in the new conditions of world history.
Dear comrades,

During nearly a century of French colonialist rule, finding life impossible under the oppressive regime of the colonialists and the feudalists, our people had risen up to struggle courageously for the independence and freedom of the fatherland. For each one who fell, others rushed forward. But all national liberation movements before the birth of our Party had failed. One of the causes for this failure lies in the inability of former revolutionaries to develop the scientific world outlook of the proletariat, the most revolutionary class of our time, hence to work out an adequate programme capable of leading the Vietnamese revolution to victory.

Mankind has entered a new epoch which began with the Great October Socialist Revolution, that of transition from capitalism to socialism on a world-wide scale. The central force of our time is the working class.

The essential feature of our time is that the world socialist system is becoming the decisive factor in the evolution of human society.
“Today it is the world socialist system and the forces fighting against imperialism, for a socialist transformation of society, that determine the main content, main trend and main features of the historical development of society.”

In our time, to be successful any truly profound revolution of the masses of the people must be led by the authentic revolutionary party of the working class, the Marxist-Leninist party. The role of leader of the revolution played by the working class was expounded 120 years ago by Marx and Engels in the Manifesto of the Communist Party, the first revolutionary programme of the world working class.

Thanks to the resounding influence of the Great October Socialist Revolution and the dissemination efforts of Comrade Ho Chi Minh, the first Vietnamese to become a Marxist, Marxism-Leninism came to our country.

In 1930 the Indochinese Communist Party (now the Viet Nam Workers' Party) came into being, marking a great turning-point in the history of the Vietnamese revolution.

Applying Marxism-Leninism and holding firm to the revolutionary stand of the working class, our Party carried out a scientific analysis of the economic, political and social situation in our country and set forth a correct revolutionary programme which led the Vietnamese revolution steadily forward.

With the victory of the August Revolution, the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, the Vietnamese people's democratic state, came into being and the colonial system of imperialism was breached at its weakest link in Southeast Asia. This was

1. Declaration of the Meeting of Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties, Moscow, 1960.
the first victory of Marxism-Leninism in a colonial and semi-feudal country in Southeast Asia, and at the same time the greatest event in the history of the Vietnamese nation. For the first time the labouring people of our country became masters of their own land and devoted their talent and intelligence to building a new life.

After the August Revolution, and following nearly nine years of resistance, the Vietnamese people defeated the war of aggression of the French colonialists helped by the American imperialists, and at present they are recording great victories in the resistance to American aggression, for national salvation.

Following the victory of the resistance against the French colonialists, North Viet Nam advanced to the stage of socialist revolution, and the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam became the firm outpost of the socialist camp in Southeast Asia.

That our Party has led the Vietnamese revolution from one victory to another and recorded such tremendous achievements is due to the fact that it has applied Marxism-Leninism in a creative manner to the concrete conditions prevailing in Viet Nam and charted a correct revolutionary course for our country's working class and people. This is the line of the people's national democratic revolution advancing toward the socialist revolution in Viet Nam.

THE PEOPLE'S NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION

First of all, our Party took the view that Viet Nam was a colonial and semi-feudal country. Agriculture occupied the major part of the national economy. Foreign imperialists
relied on the feudal landowner class to oppress and exploit our people. The peasantry accounted for about 90 per cent of the population. For those reasons, in Viet Nam two fundamental contradictions had to be solved: first, that between the Vietnamese people and the imperialists who had robbed them of their country; and second, that between the broad masses of the people, the peasants especially, and the feudal landowner class. The essential contradiction, for the solution of which all forces should be concentrated, was that between the Vietnamese people on the one hand, and the imperialist aggressors and their lackeys on the other. Imperialism was relying on the feudal landowner class to rule over our country; on the other hand, the feudal landowner class was acting as an agent of the imperialists and relied on their protection to maintain its interests and privileges. That is why two tasks were set for the Vietnamese revolution:

1. To drive out the imperialist aggressors and win national independence — its anti-imperialist task.

2. To overthrow the feudal landowner class, carry out land reform, and put into effect the watchword “Land to the Tillers” — its anti-feudal task. These two tasks were closely linked together and could not be separated: to drive out the imperialists one had to overthrow the feudal landowners; conversely, to overthrow the feudal landowners, one had to drive out the imperialists.

Who in Vietnamese society was to overthrow the imperialists and feudalists? It was the four classes among the people: the working class, the peasantry, the petty bourgeoisie and
the national bourgeois. Essentially, however, it was the working class and the peasantry, for they constituted the great majority of the population, were the most heavily oppressed and exploited and had the greatest revolutionary capabilities. Leadership of the Vietnamese revolution must be exercised by the working class, for it is the most advanced and the most thoroughly revolutionary class; the working class alone is qualified for leading the Vietnamese revolution to total victory.

In short, the tasks of the revolution were to overthrow aggressor imperialism and the feudal landowner class with a view to winning national independence, and thus to put into effect the people's democratic rights, give land to the tillers, and turn Viet Nam from a colonial and semi-feudal country into a truly democratic and independent country. This revolution was carried out by the people under the leadership of the working class on the basis of the worker-peasant alliance. In our Party's view, this was the people's national democratic revolution, i.e., the new-style bourgeois democratic revolution in our country.

The Vietnamese people's national democratic revolution in fact involved two revolutionary movements which bore close relationship to each other, had influence on each other and pushed each other forward — the national liberation revolution and the agrarian revolution (or land reform). Because of the close collusion between the imperialists and the feudal landowner class to maintain their rule, it was impossible to overthrow the imperialists alone without striking at the feudalists, their agents. Moreover, the peasantry constituted the greatest force of the revolution; without the
participation of the broad masses of the peasantry, the people's national democratic revolution could not achieve success. In the process of the people's national democratic revolution, in order to mobilize the immense forces of the peasantry and consolidate the worker-peasant alliance, our Party advocated land reform, the overthrow of the feudal landowner class, the abolition of the regime of feudal land ownership, the implementation of the slogan "Land to the Tillers" and the satisfaction of the peasants' claims to land.

The close relationship between the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal tasks was a matter of revolutionary strategy. To separate these two tasks might lead the people's national democratic revolution to failure. However, they were not to be carried out abreast on an equal footing. This was an important experience of our Party in providing strategic guidance.

Why shouldn't the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal tasks be carried out abreast on an equal footing? Our country was a colonial country, so the imperialist yoke was weighing heavily on the Vietnamese people. The imperialist aggressors were the most powerful and truculent enemy of our entire people, of our nation. Only by overthrowing the imperialists could we win national independence, realize the people's democratic liberties and give land to the tillers.

Imperialism and the feudal landowner class were the two main targets of the people's national democratic revolution, the two main enemies to overthrow, but the more essential target, the more essential enemy was imperialism. In the people's national democratic revolution both tasks — the anti-imperialist and the anti-feudal — were essential, but the
anti-feudal task must yield to the anti-imperialist. That is why in the first stage of the people's national democratic revolution, the spearhead of the revolution must be directed essentially against the imperialist aggressors and all forces should be concentrated in order to overthrow them.

To overthrow the imperialist aggressor, stress should be laid on the question of national liberation. An anti-imperialist national united front should be founded, and the fire of revolutionary struggle should be concentrated on the imperialist aggressors and the feudalists, their devoted agents, in other words the king, mandarins and village tyrants.

In the people's national democratic revolution, the problem for our Party was to isolate the most dangerous enemy — the imperialist aggressors and their devoted servants, the feudalists — to divide the ranks of the latter, strip the former of their allies and weaken their prop, so as to overthrow them more easily. For this reason, it must rally all forces struggling against the imperialists and their lackeys, and carry out a policy of broad national union. The broader the anti-imperialist national united front, the more useful it was to the revolution. But the essential point was that it should be based on a firm worker-peasant alliance and put under the close leadership of our Party. Not only should it include all the classes of the people, all the fraternal nationalities living on Vietnamese soil, all the democratic parties, all the patriotic political and religious bodies, but also all the democratic personalities and patriotic notables of the feudal landowner class.

For those reasons, the anti-feudal task had to be carried out step by step. In implementation of the above-mentioned
policy of the anti-imperialist national united front, our Party divided the agrarian task into the three following stages:

a) First: to confiscate all the lands of the imperialists and the Vietnamese traitors and distribute them to the poor peasants; to re-distribute the communal lands in a just and fair manner.

b) Second: to reduce land rent and interest rates: to order a moratorium of debts and to cancel all debts to landowners;

c) Third: to carry out land reform, abolish feudal land ownership, confiscate, requisition or buy out lands belonging to the landowner class and distribute them to landless or land-poor peasants and put into effect the slogan "Land to the Tillers."

While applying this strategy of the people's national democratic revolution, we committed shortcomings and errors of a local and partial character. However, revolutionary realities over nearly forty years have proved that our Party's line of the people's national democratic revolution and its guiding principles concerning strategy and tactics are correct. It was for these reasons that the August Revolution (1945) triumphed and the resistance against the French colonialists (1945-1954) ended in victory.

Thus, in the first stage of the people's national democratic revolution, we did not yet carry out land reform. But in the process of the people's national democratic revolution, because of its requirements and in order to consolidate the worker-peasant alliance, at some given time land reform had to be
carried into effect, feudal land ownership abolished, and the political and social basis of the imperialists in our country destroyed.

The working class must provide firm leadership to the people's national democratic revolution and cannot share it with any other class, least of all let it fall into the hands of the national bourgeoisie. Experiences supplied by the revolution in our country have proved that only under the leadership of the working class could the people's national democratic revolution fulfil the two anti-imperialist and anti-feudal tasks as embodied in these major slogans:

— To overthrow aggressor imperialism and its agents, the feudalists;

— To found the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam; to realize the people's democratic freedoms (including freedom of religion);

— To confiscate all properties of the imperialist aggressors and the Vietnamese traitors and hand them over to the people's power;

— To abolish all taxes and corvées imposed by the imperialists and feudalists; to establish a just and fair taxation;

— To reduce land rent and interest rates, advance toward land reform, carry into effect the slogan "Land to the Tillers";

— To decree an eight-hour workday, raise wages and set a minimum wage; to promulgate labour legislation;

— To build and develop a national and democratic economy, culture and education;
— To found a revolutionary army of the people, set up a system of military service and organize national defence;

— To promote equality between men and women;

— To promote equality among all nationalities;

— To establish friendly relations with the socialist countries and all other countries which respect the independence and sovereignty of Viet Nam;

— To support the movement of revolutionary struggle of the working class and people of other countries; to defend world peace.

THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION

Following the great victory at Dien Bien Phu (1954) the North of our country was wholly liberated, while the imperialist and feudal regime was maintained in the South. Our Party's policy was to shift the North onto the stage of socialist revolution while continuing the struggle against imperialism and its servants so as to fulfil the tasks of the people's national democratic revolution in the South and advance toward the reunification of the country.

At that time two great problems were posed to our Party: Should we wait for the reunification of the country to be achieved before engaging in socialist revolution? Should the North go through the stage of capitalist development before advancing to socialism? To both questions, our Party's answer was: No.

After the fulfilment of the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal tasks, the North should switch over to the stage of socialist
revolution without any delay, without having to wait for national reunification. We stand for “uninterrupted revolution”. President Ho Chi Minh said:

“...Following the restoration of peace, the North of our country switched over from the people’s national democratic revolution to the socialist revolution. The immediate task of our entire people is to strive to build and consolidate the North, bring it gradually to socialism and at the same time struggle for national reunification with a view to building a peaceful, reunified, independent, democratic, and prosperous Viet Nam”.\(^1\)

The North is fully capable of bypassing the stage of capitalist development and advancing directly to socialism for the following reasons:

1. The entire revolutionary cause of the people in the North is under the direct leadership of the Viet Nam Workers’ Party, a genuine Marxist-Leninist party, on the basis of a strong worker-peasant alliance;

2. The completion of the people’s national democratic revolution in the North has created the basis for the shift to the socialist revolution;

3. Following the victory of the resistance against the French colonialists and the liberation of the North, the people’s democratic dictatorship in the North is fully capable of fulfilling the historical task of the dictatorship of the proletariat;

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4. The people in the North are highly patriotic and industrious; they know how to rely on their own means and are determined to build a new life for themselves in accordance with the Party's line;

5. Socialist construction in our country benefits from the wholehearted assistance of the fraternal socialist countries in all fields.

In fact, following the victory of the resistance against the French colonialists, the wholly liberated North entered the period of transition to socialism.

Our Party's general line during the period of transition to socialism is as follows:

"...To take the North toward socialism rapidly, vigorously and steadily, to build an abundant and happy life in the North, to consolidate the North and turn it into a strong base for the struggle for peaceful national reunification and to contribute to the strengthening of the socialist camp and to the preservation of peace in Southeast Asia and the world.

"To reach this goal, we must make use of the people's democratic state power to fulfil the historical tasks of the dictatorship of the proletariat, to carry out socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts, small trade and private capitalist industry and commerce; to develop the state economic sector, to carry out socialist industrialization by giving priority to the rational development of heavy industry, while striving to develop agriculture and light industry; to push ahead the socialist revolution in ideology, culture and technique, with a view to transforming our country into
a socialist country with modern industry, modern agriculture and advanced culture and science".  

With a view to the implementation of this general line, our Party's policy is on the one hand to strengthen dictatorship over the enemy of the people, repress the counter-revolutionaries, maintain order and security; on the other, to develop democracy with regard to the people, put their democratic rights into effect in a correct fashion, gradually build and consolidate socialist legality, and create conditions for the people to participate in a concrete manner in the management of the state. At the same time, our Party advocates the carrying out of the following three revolutions: revolution in relations of production, technological revolution, and ideological and cultural revolution.  

In the initial period of the socialist revolution, we consider socialist transformation the central task. Concurrently we begin building the material and technical basis of socialism, starting with key points. In socialist transformation, we regard agricultural co-operation as the central link: at the same time we carry out socialist transformation with regard to handicrafts, private capitalist industry and trade, and small trade. Socialist ownership takes on two forms: ownership by the entire people, and ownership by the collective. At present, socialist relations of production have won absolute supremacy in the national economy and have become a factor urging forward socialist construction in the North of our country.  

The revolution in relations of production should not be confined to transforming the ownership of means of

production but should also include the system of management and distribution. The aim of the transformation of relations of production is to establish the collective ownership of the labouring people over the essential means of production as well as production and distribution, thereby developing socialist democracy, and promoting the labouring masses’ spirit of initiative and creativeness in production work.

After the basic completion of the transformation of relations of production in the system of ownership, the technological revolution holds a key position. It must effectively serve socialist industrialization. We must carry out socialist industrialization and wage a technological revolution in order to make our economy truly independent and sovereign. We must set up a modern Vietnamese industry capable of transforming the present production, which relies mainly on handicraft labour, into a large-scale mechanized production, quickly developing the productive forces and incessantly increasing labour productivity.

In the process of socialist industrialization, we correctly combine industry with agriculture, regarding heavy industry as the corner-stone of the entire national economy and agriculture as the basis on which to develop industry. We give rational priority to the national development of heavy industry. At the same time we pay attention to the promotion of agriculture and light industry. We stress the development of centrally-run industry while attaching great importance to that of regional industry.

The technological revolution pushes socialism forward. In our country it is carried out in accordance with the principle: two-way advance, i.e., on the one hand, advance gradually
from handicrafts to semi-mechanization, then on to mechanization; and on the other, take a short cut by applying modern technique right away. The latter is conditional on receiving assistance from the fraternal socialist countries and on gradually training enough technicians and skilled workers to master modern technique.

Parallel to these two revolutions and with a view to effectively serving them, we carry out an ideological and cultural revolution. In the field of ideology we must foster and strengthen proletarian ideology, fight all forms of bourgeois ideology, criticize petty-bourgeois ideology and continue to do away with all vestiges of feudal and other erroneous ideologies. In the field of culture, we inherit in a critical way the national culture, and build for Viet Nam a new culture, socialist in content and national in character.

Our ideological and cultural revolution should fulfil the following tasks:

— To educate our people and make them fully understand Marxism-Leninism and the Party's line and policies: to turn these line and policies into revolutionary actions by the masses; to bring about political and moral unity among our people.

— To instil socialist ethics and revolutionary feelings into our cadres and people so as to imbue them with socialist consciousness as regards labour and social property; to infuse into them patriotism and proletarian internationalism; to imbue them with revolutionary heroism and bring into full play our people's tradition of persevering and indomitable struggle; to make everybody enthusiastically engage in patriotic emulation and carry into effect President Ho Chi
Minh's behest: “Be loyal to the country and devoted to the people, fulfil all tasks, overcome all difficulties, defeat all enemies”.

— To pursue to a completely successful end the struggle against illiteracy, especially in the mountain regions; to develop culture, education, literature and art, science and technology; to raise the cultural and technical level of our cadres and people ceaselessly so that everybody may apply his knowledge to the building of socialism and to the resistance against American aggression, for national salvation.

— To pursue the remoulding of former intellectuals and train a new generation of intellectuals sprung from the workers and peasants and absolutely dedicated to socialism.

At present, in the North of our country the struggle between the socialist path and the capitalist path is still going on until a definite answer can be given to the question, “Which will win?” This will be a protracted, difficult and complex struggle. Drives such as the repression of counter-revolutionaries, the development of democracy as regards the people, the transformation of relations of production, the technological revolution, the ideological and cultural revolution, constitute the content of the struggle between the two paths in the North of our country.

While carrying on the socialist revolution in the North, our Party keeps full grasp of the universal laws of the “process of socialist revolution and the construction of socialism” set forth in the Moscow Declaration of 1957, to which is added the law of “socialist industrialization” in keeping with the conditions of Viet Nam, a backward
agricultural country advancing toward socialism without passing through the stage of capitalist development. These laws are as follows:

— To achieve and consolidate the leadership over the labouring people of the working class whose nucleus is the Marxist-Leninist Party.

— To carry out the proletarian revolution in one form or another.

— To set up the dictatorship of the proletariat in one form or another.

— To bring about and consolidate the alliance between the working class and the fundamental masses of the peasantry and the other labouring strata.

— To abolish the system of capitalist ownership and set up a system of collective ownership of the basic means of production.

— To carry out a gradual socialist transformation of agriculture.

— To achieve socialist industrialization.

— To develop the national economy in a planned fashion, aimed at building socialism and communism and raising the living standards of the labouring people.

— To carry out socialist revolution in the ideological and cultural fields and train an intelligentsia which will be large in number and faithful to the working class, the toiling people and the cause of socialism.

— To do away with national oppression and bring about equality among the nationalities.
— To safeguard the fruits of socialism, to counter sabotage by internal and external enemies.

— To realize solidarity between our country's working class and the working class in all other countries; to carry into effect proletarian internationalism.

In sum, the people's national democratic revolution and the socialist revolution are two revolutionary strategies which follow two different courses of development. However, these two courses succeed each other without any interruption and are even closely connected with each other. For instance, a task belonging to one course may originate from the previous one; or a task belonging to one course may be completed only in the following one. The people's national democratic revolution is the basis of the socialist revolution which constitutes its necessary development.

THE PROBLEM OF VIOLENCE IN THE VIETNAMESE REVOLUTION

Dear comrades,

Marxism-Leninism considers that “the fundamental question of every revolution is the question of power”. Only by using the masses' revolutionary violence to smash the counter-revolutionary violence of the exploiting ruling classes can power be won by the people and a new society be built. Never will an exploiting class withdraw of its own consent from the political scene, renounce its power, and forsake the oppression and exploitation of the labouring people.

Marx considered violence as “the midwife of all old societies about to bring forth a new one”. Developing Marx's
thinking Engels carefully analyzed the “role of violence in history” in his famous work *Anti-Dühring*. Lenin, the greatest heir to Marx and Engels, said: “This view of violent revolution lies at the root of all the teachings of Marx and Engels”¹. “The bourgeois state cannot be superseded by the proletarian state (dictatorship of the proletariat) through the process of withering away, but as a general rule, only through a violent revolution”².

One fundamental criterion which helps distinguish between Marxist-Leninists and opportunists of all hues is whether or not they stand for the use of mass revolutionary violence to smash the state machinery of the exploiting classes (the bourgeoisie and the landowner class) and to set up a proletarian dictatorship state.

The two declarations issued at the meetings of representatives of communist and workers’ parties, held in Moscow in 1957 and 1960, mentioned the possibility of either peaceful or non-peaceful transition to socialism. Our Party agrees to this point of view. But at the same time it stresses that at present in many capitalist countries, state-monopoly capitalists have embarked on the path of militarization and fascistization in varying degrees, and are openly using violence to repress the working class and the labouring people. “That is why we must assert that the use of revolutionary violence to smash the state machinery of the bourgeoisie and set up a proletarian dictatorship state is a universal law with regard to the revolutionary struggle of the working class in the

¹. V. I. Lenin, *The State and Revolution*.
². Ibid.
capitalist countries in the present conditions. The possibility of a peaceful transition to socialism is very valuable, but could happen only very rarely. For this reason, while providing leadership for the revolution, the Communists should stand ready to face both the possibility of a non-peaceful and that of a peaceful transition, but they should "essentially prepare for the non-peaceful possibility"; in no case should they nurture illusions about an easy peaceful transition. The working class and people of colonial and neo-colonial countries should particularly guard against such illusions.

Since its birth, always faithful to the Marxist-Leninist concept of violent revolution, taking correct stock of the extremely reactionary nature of the imperialists and feudalists and the strength of the militant solidarity of the people, first and foremost, of the workers and peasants, our Party has viewed the path of violent revolution as the only correct path leading to the overthrow of the enemy of the class and the nation, the seizure of power by the people, the safeguarding of the revolutionary power, and victory for the revolution in our country. President Ho Chi Minh said:

"In the hard and difficult struggle against the enemy of the class and of the nation it is necessary to use revolutionary violence to oppose counter-revolutionary violence, seize power and defend it."

Indeed, in such a colonial and semi-feudal country as ours formerly, the imperialists and their agents oppressed our

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2. Ibid.
people in an extremely savage manner and did not allow them the least democratic freedom. They ceaselessly engaged in terroristic actions and repressed the revolutionary movement in an infinitely barbarous fashion. That is why our Party was very soon imbued with the Marxist-Leninist concept of violent revolution and has persistently kept to the road of violent revolution, which is the only correct one not only to seize power but also to safeguard revolutionary power. This is substantiated by the August Revolution, the former resistance war against the French colonialists, the present one against the American imperialists, the operations against the bandits in the past and all repressive measures against counter-revolutionaries in the North over the past years.

The whole wealth of experience gained by the Vietnamese revolution bears out the truth contained in Marxism-Leninism about violent revolution and repudiates all illusions about “peaceful transition” and all reformist compromising and legalist tendencies...

About the form of revolutionary violence, President Ho Chi Minh pointed out: “Adequate forms of revolutionary struggle should be adopted in keeping with the concrete situation; forms of armed and political struggle should be correctly and skilfully combined to win victory for the revolution”. 1

Under the leadership of our Party, the Vietnamese revolution has always used both forms — political struggle and armed struggle — to stage insurrections and win power:

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it has used both forces — the masses' political forces and the people's armed forces — to smash the state machinery of the imperialists and their agents and win power for the people. Armed forces combined with political forces, armed struggle combined with political struggle — such is the fundamental form of revolutionary violence in our country.

Right at the birth of our Party, a revolutionary tide of the masses surged all over the country, culminating in the Nghe-Tinh Soviets in 1930-1931. The worker and peasant masses in the two provinces of Nghe An and Ha Tinh rose up to overthrow the colonial administrators and the mandarins and village tyrants, and set up worker-peasant power in a number of rural areas. Although the uprising failed, it strongly awakened the revolutionary spirit of the people throughout the country. It brought out initial experiences on the combination of the two strategic tasks — the anti-imperialist and the anti-feudal — on the combination of the workers' struggle and that of the peasants, on the realization of worker-peasant alliance under the leadership of the working class, on the combination of the revolutionary movement in the countryside with that in the cities, on the combination of political and armed struggle, and so forth.

From 1936 to 1939, in face of the danger of fascism and of aggressive war by the fascists, and preparing for favourable opportunities to fight the enemy, our Party took as a basis for action the building of the masses' political forces. It skilfully combined illegal and legal actions, including the use of "Chambers of the people's representatives" and "Colonial councils", etc., to trigger off a seething movement of political struggle from urban to rural areas. This was directed against
the colonial reactionaries, king, mandarins, village tyrants, and for democratic freedoms, an improvement of the standard of living, against fascism and for the defence of world peace.

In the Second World War, the problem of armed insurrection was urgently set forth. Our Party advanced from political struggle to the mobilization for armed struggle, from the masses' political organizations to the building of paramilitary forces of the people (self-defence units for national salvation, self-defence combat units, guerrilla units of the National-Salvation Troops and the Liberation Troops). It properly combined the two forms of political and armed struggle during the years of preparations for the insurrection, during the pre-insurrection period and right in the course of the August 1945 General Insurrection. The August Revolution arose from the brilliant success of close coordination of political and armed forces in the countryside and the towns, of political and armed struggle with a view to winning total power for the people. That revolution was the product of the experience gained in the three revolutionary movements led by our Party: the movement for a national-democratic revolution in 1930-1931, the Democratic Front movement in 1936-1939 and the national liberation movement in 1939-1945. It was the re-staging of the Nghe-Tinh Soviets on a nation-wide scale. The victory of the August Revolution is the victory of the Marxist-Leninist concept of revolutionary violence applied by our Party in a creative manner to the concrete conditions prevailing in our country.

During the nation-wide, all-sided and protracted resistance war against the French colonialist aggressors (1945-1954),
the people's revolutionary violence was embodied in the combination of armed and political struggles, with armed struggle predominating. On account of our Party's correct leadership and our people's ardent patriotism, people's war developed strongly, growing in scale and in strength and gaining ever more victories. The resounding Dien Bien Phu victory brought our resistance against the French colonialists to glorious success. It restored peace in Indochina on the basis of international recognition of the independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of Viet Nam, and also of Cambodia and Laos.

At present, the American imperialists are pursuing a war of aggression in the South of our country and are waging a war of destruction, mainly through air attacks, against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. Confronted with this situation, all our compatriots across the country must use revolutionary violence to oppose the counter-revolutionary violence of the American imperialists and their lackeys so as to liberate the South, defend the North, and proceed to peaceful national reunification.

*To combine military struggle with political struggle, such is the fundamental form of revolutionary violence in the South at present.* This form is a product of the synthesis and enrichment of the experience gained in the August Revolution and the resistance war against the French colonialists. It has been used not only against the American imperialists' "special war" but also against their "limited war." Advancing from political demonstrations co-ordinated with armed propaganda in the years 1954-1959 to the concerted uprisings of 1960 and the present development of
people's war, our Southern compatriots have combined military and political struggles on a large-scale and have attacked the enemy militarily and politically and through propaganda and agitation work among their troops.

The offensive and uprising started early this year in the South is a new step in the development of the close coordination of military and political forces, of armed and political struggles, of military attacks and popular uprisings in both urban and rural areas, plains and mountains. It has opened a new period in our people's resistance against American aggression, for national salvation, and created conditions for our Southern compatriots to destroy ever more enemy forces, smash the puppet army, overthrow the puppet administration, crush the American imperialists' will of aggression, and seize power for the people.

At present, our people are combining military, political and diplomatic struggles to oppose the American imperialists.

With a view to conducting political struggle in combination with armed struggle, on the one hand our people have organized a National United Front which includes political parties and mass organizations, such as trade-unions, peasant associations, youth organizations, women's organizations, patriotic religious bodies, etc. On the other hand, they have built people's armed forces comprising regular troops, regional troops, self-defence militia and guerilla units, and people's armed police (when power has been won either in the whole country or in given regions).

The experience gained by the Vietnamese revolution over nearly forty years shows that the path of violent revolution is the only correct one to win national independence, people's