democracy and socialism. The fundamental form of violence in the Vietnamese revolution is the close combination of political and armed struggles, with either of them predominating according to the concrete situation prevailing in each period or each region.

Does our Party's line — combining military and political struggles to win power — mean a compromise between armed struggle and peaceful transition? Absolutely not! Our Party's line for winning power is the line of revolutionary violence, the fundamental form of which is the combination of armed and political struggles. In Viet Nam this line has been proved and is being proved a correct one. In our opinion, under the present circumstances when imperialism and militarism hold sway, to stand for a peaceful transition in the hope of seizing power is to nurture reformist illusions. A genuinely profound and broad revolution of the popular masses aimed at winning power should as a matter of course combine political struggle (for instance, general political strikes, school strikes, market strikes, office employees' strikes, political meetings and demonstrations, armed demonstrations for a show of strength, etc.) and armed attacks. A protracted people's war should all the more embody the combination of armed and political struggles in many forms.

With regard to the combination of political and armed struggles the Vietnamese revolution has gathered the following essential experiences:

1. In the course of the revolution, one must absolutely mobilize the masses to wage political struggle in many forms, thereby educating, encouraging and organizing them; develop the Party and the masses' political organizations (to build
a "mass political army"). Only at a certain point, when
conditions are favourable, should one build the people's
revolutionary armed forces and trigger off an armed struggle.
The masses' political organizations form the basis of the
people's armed forces. Only in such a way will the fish (the
people's armed forces) have water (the grass-roots mass
organizations) in which to swim.

2. One must raise the combination of military and political
struggles to a fairly high level: combination of actions
before, during and after the insurrection; during the insur-
rection for winning power just as in the war for liberation;
in rural and urban areas as well as between rural areas and
urban areas; on the operational, tactical and strategic planes
in the war of liberation. The highest form of combination
is that of general offensive with general insurrection.

3. Revolution in any country is essentially the doing of
the people of that country. Nobody can accomplish it in their
place. Revolutionary armed struggle in any country is first
and foremost the doing of the broad masses in that country
under the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist party. The
assistance extended by the revolution in other countries is
very precious, very important but it cannot replace the revolu-
tionary struggle waged by the people in their own country.
Such assistance can have influence only through that struggle.

THE PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC DICTATORSHIP

Marxism teaches that after seizing power, the working
class must build a state of its own, the State of the
dictatorship of the proletariat.

The task then facing the working class is a most heavy
one. It must seek to break up the resistance of the exploiting
classes, and to liquidate every attempt on their part to restore the power of capital. It must rally all the labouring strata around the working class in order to carry out socialist transformation and socialist and communist construction, and to bring about a classless society. It must concentrate its efforts on the setting up and strengthening of the defence forces in order to shatter every imperialist attempt at unleashing war and aggression. It must provide all-sided support and assistance to the revolutionary struggle of the working class, the labourers and the oppressed peoples in other countries for the triumph of socialism and communism throughout the world.

To fulfil these heavy tasks the working class must necessarily establish the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Marx said: "Between capitalist and communist societies lies the period of the revolutionary transformation of the one into the other. There corresponds to this also a political transition period in which the state can be nothing but the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat." 1

Lenin also pointed out: "The essence of Marx's teaching on the state has been mastered only by those who understand that the dictatorship of a single class is necessary not only for every class society in general, not only for the proletariat which has overthrown the bourgeoisie, but also for the entire historical period which separates capitalism from classless society, from communism." 2

1. K. Marx, Critique of the Gotha Programme.
2. V.I. Lenin, The State and Revolution.
Applying the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat to Russia during its two revolutionary stages — democratic revolution and socialist revolution — Lenin had the following view on dictatorship in the democratic revolution:

“A decisive victory of the revolution over tsarism is the revolutionary democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry... And such a victory will be precisely a dictatorship, i.e. it must inevitably rely on military force, on the arming of the masses, on an insurrection, and not on institutions of one kind or another, established in a lawful or peaceful way. It can be only a dictatorship, for the realization of the changes which are urgently and absolutely indispensable for the proletariat and the peasantry will call forth the desperate resistance of the landlords, of the big bourgeoisie and tsarism. Without a dictatorship it is impossible to break down that resistance and to repel the counter-revolutionary attempts. But of course it will be a democratic, not a socialist, dictatorship. It will not be able (without a series of intermediary stages of revolutionary development) to affect the foundation of capitalism.”

However, the working class does not stop at the stage of bourgeois democratic revolution, but should advance to socialist revolution. When bourgeois democratic revolution develops into socialist revolution, the dictatorship of the working class and the peasantry (worker-peasant dictatorship) will switch over to the dictatorship of the proletariat. The working class will then use dictatorship to liquidate capitalist ownership and establish collective ownership of

1. V. I. Lenin, Two Tactics of Social-Democracy in the Democratic Revolution.
the basic means of production, achieve socialist transformation and socialist construction, and eliminate exploitation of man by man.

In his *Two Tactics of Social-Democracy in the Democratic Revolution*, Lenin elaborated a comprehensive theory on the switch of bourgeois democratic revolution to socialist revolution.

The historical condition giving birth to worker-peasant dictatorship is the emergence of a new-type bourgeois democratic revolution directed by the working class, which differs from the old-type bourgeois democratic revolution conducted by the bourgeoisie, and engenders a transition state leading to the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Indeed, in the countries which carry out the new-type bourgeois democratic revolution, the worker-peasant dictatorship is a transition state due to grow into the dictatorship of the proletariat, of which it constitutes a basis and for the establishment of which it paves the way. In the history of human society the worker-peasant dictatorship falls under the category of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Lenin's theory on the worker-peasant dictatorship is related to his well-known proposition on the realization of the leadership of the working class on the basis of the worker-peasant alliance in the bourgeois democratic revolution. It concerns the transformation of the bourgeois democratic revolution into the socialist revolution and on the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat in order to build socialism and communism.

In Viet Nam, following the success of the August General Insurrection, the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam came
into being and the people’s democratic dictatorship was established. In fact, it was a worker-peasant dictatorship which, led by the working class, relentlessly fought against the imperialist aggressors and their lackeys — the representatives of the feudal landlords and the comprador bourgeoisie.

In our country the tasks of the people’s democratic dictatorship in the stage of the people’s national democratic revolution were:

— To smash the rule of the imperialists and their lackeys, the feudalists, to set up and consolidate the Democratic Republic, to establish and further the people’s democratic regime, and put into effect genuine democratic freedoms for the people.

— To organize the people’s all-out and protracted resistance against the French colonialist aggressors.

— To carry out land reform, abolish feudal land ownership, realize the slogan “Land to the Tillers” while still leaving intact the foundations of capitalism.

— To build and develop a national and democratic economy and culture.

— To prepare for the switch to socialist revolution politically, economically and ideologically.

— To strengthen solidarity between our people and those of the socialist countries, support the revolutionary struggle of the world’s peoples and safeguard world peace.

Only by accomplishing these tasks could our dictatorship of people’s democracy actually play its role as a worker-peasant dictatorship.
After our victory over the French colonialists, the North of our country, which had been completely liberated, entered the stage of socialist revolution; consequently since then our people's democratic dictatorship has assumed a new role: it fulfills the historical task of the dictatorship of the proletariat and, in essence, is a dictatorship of the proletariat.

The tasks of our dictatorship of people's democracy in the stage of socialist revolution are precisely the general tasks of the dictatorship of the proletariat applied as follows to the concrete conditions of our country:

"To break up the resistance of the class enemy whom the revolution has already overthrown, and foil their schemes and actions aimed at restoring the power of the bourgeoisie.

1. The question of worker-peasant dictatorship and proletarian dictatorship was asserted at the Second and Third Party National Congresses in the following terms:

"At present the Vietnamese state is in its form a democratic republic and in its content a dictatorship of people's democracy, i.e., democracy toward the people and dictatorship against the enemy and their puppets.

"Our people's democratic dictatorship is carrying out the historical task of worker-peasant dictatorship. It smashes the rule of the imperialist aggressors and the traitors, the puppets; it establishes and consolidates the people's democratic regime; it puts into effect land reform, abolishes feudal land ownership, while still leaving intact the foundations of capitalism; it develops the national economy; it consolidates the leadership of the working class and the worker-peasant alliance; it strengthens solidarity between our people and the forces of peace, democracy, national liberation and socialism throughout the world.

"When the people's national democratic revolution develops into a socialist revolution, the dictatorship of people's democracy will become a dictatorship of the proletariat. The basic task of dictatorship having then changed, its essence also changes."


While achieving the national democratic revolution the people's democratic state carries out the historical task of the worker-peasant dictatorship. Since the restoration of peace, the North enters the transition period toward socialism, and the people's democratic state carries out the historical task of proletarian dictatorship.”

(Some Problems on the People's Democratic State, speech by Comrade Pham Van Dong at the Third Party National Congress, September 1960).
"To rally the various strata of the people around the working class in order to carry out socialist transformation and socialist construction and pave the way for the complete abolition of all classes."

"To build, consolidate and strengthen the defence forces with a view to shattering every external enemy's attempt to unleash war and aggression, and struggling against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism.

"To support and help in every respect the revolutionary struggle of the working class, the labourers and the oppressed peoples in the capitalist countries; to consolidate and develop co-operation with the fraternal socialist countries."

The present content of the dictatorship of people's democracy in the North of our country is democracy toward the people and dictatorship against the enemy of the people and of socialism.

As regards democracy, we must see to it that the labouring masses actually wield power and participate in state management. Socialist democracy is a most perfect democratic system, a truly democratic one, a million times more democratic than the bourgeois democratic regime. In a socialist democratic regime manual and brain workers are really emancipated from all forms of oppression and exploitation; they become the real masters of their destinies, and actually take part in state management. Socialist democracy is both political and economic. In a socialist democratic regime not only are democratic rights guaranteed to every citizen in the political field, but on the basis of socialist ownership, in the two

1. Resolution of the Ninth Plenum of the Viet Nam Workers' Party Central Committee (1963)
forms of ownership of the entire people and collective ownership, the people's material and cultural living standards rise unceasingly, and every citizen will enjoy more and more material and moral conditions to best exercise his democratic rights. Democracy in economic matters is actually realized right in the process of production and distribution. Democracy in economic management forms an important aspect of socialist democracy.

As far as dictatorship is concerned, we must enforce the dictatorship of the majority — the labouring people — against the minority — the counter-revolutionaries and the exploiters, who resist transformation. Ours is a declared dictatorship, one that aims at gradually abolishing classes to advance toward a classless society, a communist society, in which the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat will wither away.

In a socialist democratic regime, the enemies of the people and of socialism are denied democratic freedoms. The state forbids them to misuse the slogan of “democratization of the regime” to weaken or liquidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, belittle or negate the leadership of the working class and the Communist Party over the revolution, put into effect the “peaceful evolution” strategy step by step, drive the country into the path of bourgeois liberalism and back to the capitalist path. At the same time, we must oppose every manifestation of bourgeois nationalism, the enemy of proletarian internationalism, which isolates our country and pushes it into the arms of world imperialism.

On the other hand, one must fight bureaucracy, commandism, paternalism and the cult of personality for they run
counter to the spirit of socialist democracy, most adversely affect the people and the state, and are often used by the reactionaries to oppose the revolution.

Our Party holds that our dictatorship of people's democracy does not mean an end to, but the continuation of class struggle in new forms, by new means, after the seizure of power by the working class. To this effect, the working class must ceaselessly strengthen its leadership on the basis of the worker-peasant alliance, "the highest principle of the dictatorship of the proletariat." Concurrently, it must unite with the other strata of the people. Our people's democratic dictatorship must therefore rely mainly on the worker-peasant alliance and also on the National United Front.

The people's democratic dictatorship must unquestionably use violence against the counter-revolutionaries and exploiters. From this arises the necessity constantly to consolidate the machinery of repression of the people's democratic state: the People's Army, People's Security Forces, People's Procuratorate, People's Tribunals, etc. At the same time, the Party must always pay attention to broadening democracy toward the people. It must guarantee their right as collective masters, establish, strengthen and perfect socialist legality, and ensure that the people's elected bodies fulfil their functions as the highest state organs at all levels. Among Party and State cadres, a struggle must be waged against bureaucracy and commandism toward the people, and within the Party, against encroaching upon the functions of the state organs.

Lenin said: "The dictatorship of the proletariat... is not only the use of force against the exploiters and not even
mainly the use of force. The economic foundation of this use of revolutionary force, the guarantee of its effectiveness and success is the fact that the proletariat represents and creates a higher type of social organization of labour compared with capitalism. This is the essence. This is the source of the strength and the guarantee of the inevitable and complete triumph of communism.\(^1\)

"Its quintessence (that of the dictatorship of the proletariat — T.C.) is the organization and discipline of the advanced detachment of the working people, of their vanguard, their sole leader, the proletariat, whose object is to build socialism, to abolish the division of society into classes, to make all members of society working people, to remove the basis for any kind of exploitation of man by man. This object cannot be achieved at one stroke. It requires a fairly long period of transition from capitalism to socialism, because the re-organization of production is a difficult matter, because radical changes in all spheres of life need time, and because the enormous force of habit of petty-bourgeois and bourgeois dealings can be overcome only by a long and stubborn struggle."\(^2\)

To build a new society and advance toward socialism and communism, the working class must strive to promote its spirit of organization and discipline. It must set a brilliant example of courageous and creative activity in production, of socialist attitude toward labour and social property, and remould and steel itself in this process. At the same time it must patiently educate and persuade millions and millions

\(^1\) V.I. Lenin, *A Great Beginning*.
\(^2\) V.I. Lenin, *Greetings to the Hungarian Workers*. 
of small producers (peasants, handicraftsmen, small traders and small owners) in order to involve them in this great task.

Lenin said: "The dictatorship of the proletariat is a persistent struggle — bloody and bloodless, violent and peaceful, military and economic, educational and administrative — against the forces and traditions of the old society." ¹

Therefore, after seizing power for the people, the Communists must firmly grasp not only the machinery of repression, but also the organs in charge of ideological work, information, propaganda and training, and never let bourgeois and opportunist elements hold sway to mislead public opinion and propagate anti-Party and anti-revolutionary ideas. The Communist and workers’ parties in power must constantly strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat. We hold that in the socialist camp, whenever and wherever there exists a vague understanding of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, a loose grasp of it, or a weakening of it in one way or another, a belittling or renunciation of the leadership of the party of the proletariat, the counter-revolutionaries will not fail to raise their heads and socialism will degenerate.

Concerning the forms of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, there have been thus far the following three: the Paris Commune, the Russian Soviet and the People’s Democracy in a number of Asian and East European countries. The dictatorship of the proletariat in our country takes the form of people’s democracy. Lenin said: "The transition from capitalism to communism certainly cannot

¹ V.I. Lenin, *Left-Wing Communism: an Infantile Disorder*. 
but yield a tremendous abundance and variety of political forms, *but the essence will inevitably be the same: the dictatorship of the proletariat.*"^1

The dictatorship of the proletariat comes into being and evolves in a variety of forms, depending on the concrete historical conditions of each country, on the level of its economic development, on the relation of forces between the classes, on its national characteristics, on its traditional development of state power. It also depends, to a certain extent, on the political situation and the distribution of forces in the world.

**THE PARTY'S STRATEGY AND TACTICS**

From the examination of the foregoing problems we can see to some extent how our Party has applied the strategy and tactics of Marxism-Leninism to lead the Vietnamese revolution to victory. It is necessary, however, to make a fairly systematic exposé of this question which constitutes an important one relating to the science of leadership in the revolutionary struggle of the working class.

Revolutionary strategy consists in determining the principal enemy on whom to concentrate forces in order to overthrow him at a given stage of the revolution (which boils down to determining the direction of the main blow of the revolutionary forces). It discerns the allies of the working class at each stage, and elaborates a plan to align the revolutionary forces.

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1. V.I. Lenin, *The State and Revolution.*
forces, win over allies, correctly use direct and indirect reserve forces and utterly isolate the enemy. It consists in delivering the main blow at the main immediate enemy, and struggling for the implementation of this plan throughout the particular stage of the revolution.

Revolutionary tactics consists in defining the guiding principle to be followed by the working class at each period of the ebb and flow of the revolution. It chooses forms of struggle and organization, and propaganda and agitation slogans, suitable for each period, each situation. It replaces old forms and slogans by new ones, or combines these forms of struggle and organization to secure success for each drive or struggle.

Concerning revolutionary strategy, our Party has concretely analysed the specific situation in our country at each stage of the revolution so as to establish who is the enemy we must defeat, which is the leading force and which is the motive force of the revolution, who are the allies of the working class — close, remote, trustworthy, temporary, wavering, conditional and other allies. Only with such a clear realization of the situation, can it be possible to rally the broadest forces under the leadership of the working class, storm the enemy's strongholds, smash him and win success for the revolution.

Revolutionary strategy is the science of discerning the enemy, the motive force of the revolution and the allies of the working class at each strategic stage or in each period of strategic significance, in order to muster all the revolutionary forces, win over allies and isolate the enemy to overcome him.
Regarding the question of discerning the enemy, the experience supplied by the Vietnamese revolution has shown that to lead it to victory, our Party must first of all make out the enemy to overthrow at each strategic stage, (or, as it occurs, in each period of a given stage) constantly have in view the concrete, present enemy rather than the enemy in general, and distinguish the principal from the secondary enemies. It must isolate the principal enemy so as to knock him down, take advantage of the contradictions plaguing the hostile ranks to divide them to the highest possible degree, and focus the fire of revolutionary struggle on the principal and immediate enemy.

In the people's national democratic revolution, the strategic enemy to overthrow is aggressor imperialism and its agent and support, the feudal landlord class. But all through this revolutionary stage or in each of its periods, which imperialism and which category of landlords must be overthrown?

In our country, in the period from the birth of the Party to the year 1940, the imperialist enemy was French colonialism. At the time of the Democratic Front (1936-1939), the Party pointed out that it was the French fascists and the French colonial reactionaries in Indochina. From August 1940 to March 1945, after the Japanese fascist militarists had brought their troops to Indochina and the French had shared power with them, the immediate enemy of our people was the Japanese and French fascists. From March 1945, it was the Japanese fascists, who had then toppled the French and were singly occupying Indochina. In our protracted resistance war (1945-1954) the imperialist enemy was again French colonialism, and at the same time United States
imperialism, for the latter lent assistance to the former and urged it to reconquer our country. Since our great victory at Dien Bien Phu, the imperialist enemy to overcome is American imperialism, which, having ousted the French, has committed aggression on the South and unleashed a war of destruction against the North.

As for the Vietnamese feudal landlord class, we should, first and foremost, understand that it is also among the enemies of the people's national democratic revolution in our country. Nevertheless, in each period, we should clearly realize which section of it must be eliminated first. For instance, from the founding of the Party to the Sixth Plenum of the Central Committee (December 1939), it was the king, the mandarins and village tyrants, i.e., the feudal faction in power, agent of French colonialism. And following the Sixth Plenum, it was the traitorous feudalists and puppets at the service of the Japanese and French fascists. Thus, we did not at that point suppress the feudal landlords as a class, but divided them and isolated their most reactionary section in order to fight it along with its Japanese and French masters. Later, as the people's national democratic revolution forged ahead, and the resistance to French colonialism required the implementation of land reform, the consolidation of the worker-peasant alliance and the fostering of the people's capabilities to push our struggle ahead, we put forward the task of suppressing the feudal landlord class and of abolishing the right of the feudalists to land ownership.

As far as the division of the enemy's ranks is concerned, at the period of the Democratic Front (1936-1939), our
Party did not set forth the task of overthrowing French imperialism or French colonialism as a whole, but only the French fascists and colonial reactionaries, i.e., the most dangerous concrete enemy of the Vietnamese people at that time.

With regard to the feudal landlord class, after the August Revolution we planned to carry out the land policy in the three stages detailed above, and in implementing the land reform we applied different measures — confiscation, requisition, or forcible purchase of landlords' land, and offer of land by the landlords — depending on the political attitude of individual landlords. This was to divide the landlord class to the highest possible degree, to paralyse its resistance to a certain extent, and to win over landlords who were taking part in the resistance and their families.

At present, in South Viet Nam where the task of the people's national democratic revolution is being accomplished, the policy of the National Front for Liberation is to spearhead its struggle against the U.S. aggressors and their agent, the puppet administration (now the Thieu-Ky administration). This administration represents the most reactionary pro-American section of the landlord class and the comprador bourgeoisie in the South.

In the socialist revolution in the North, the enemy to overthrow is, aside from the American imperialist aggressors and their lackeys in the South, all the forces in the North which oppose socialist transformation and socialist construction. These are exploiting elements resisting transformation, spies, commandos, bandits, reactionaries disguised as religious people, reactionary parties and factions, and so on. The national bourgeoisie is the object of transformation.
However, as during the stage of the people's national democratic revolution it had stood in the National United Front to fight imperialism, and as it continued to acknowledge the leadership of the Party and implemented the policy of socialist transformation when we shifted to the socialist revolution, our Party and Government still regard it as a member of the Viet Nam Fatherland Front and have adopted the policy of peaceful transformation towards it.

An important problem tackled by our Party has been to avail itself of the contradictions in the ranks of the enemy of the revolution: contradictions between different imperialist powers, between imperialism and the feudal landlord class, among the landlords themselves, etc. To turn these contradictions to account, to aggravate them while at the same time closing the ranks of the revolutionary forces, constitutes a major question of strategic direction.

How has our Party utilized the contradictions in the enemy's ranks? Some striking examples: In the Second World War we made use of the differences between the French and Japanese fascists, between the Pétain faction and the French capitalist and colonialist factions opposing Pétain and the Japanese, between the landlord class and the French and Japanese fascists (on jute growing and forced purchase of paddy), between the bullied small landlords and the ruling landlords. Now we are taking advantage of the contradictions in the enemy's ranks in the same way.

1. Between 1940 and 1945 the Japanese fascists and the French colonialists plundered our people's rice through forced purchase and compelled them to destroy their food-crops in many areas and plant jute instead in order to meet Japan's war needs. (Pub.)
Another problem of no less importance concerning strategic direction is how to concentrate the revolutionary forces on the enemy’s weakest points at the moment he is the most exposed so as to secure success. Attack must be launched with the determination to fight and win. Nevertheless, under certain circumstances, we may shift to the defensive to gain time, discourage the enemy, muster fresh forces and prepare for new attacks.

As regards the motive forces and the allies of the revolution, in the people’s national democratic revolution, the working class, the peasantry, and the petty bourgeoisie formed the motive forces, the working class being the leading force. Together with the peasantry, the petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie, the working class constituted the revolutionary forces. And with the peasantry, it made up the fundamental forces of the revolution, the peasantry being the “natural”, the most faithful and closest ally of the working class. Though wavering by nature, the petty-bourgeoisie, which suffered from ruthless oppression and exploitation by the imperialists and the feudalists, was the trustworthy ally of the working class. The Vietnamese national bourgeoisie was economically bullied and politically oppressed by imperialism and feudalism but had economic ties with the latter and, to a certain extent, with the former. Moreover, it exploited the working class and feared its development. This was why it showed a two-faced, wavering attitude. Notwithstanding this, it was an ally of the people’s national democratic revolution. Unlike the comprador bourgeoisie which had always been an opponent of the revolution in our country.
Those are the allies of the Vietnamese revolution at home. Who are its allies abroad? The working class and the people of the socialist countries, the working class, the labouring people and the oppressed nations the world over. An important experience drawn from our revolution is that our people must enter into close alliance with the working class and the labouring people of the imperialist powers which have invaded our country (France, Japan, the United States) to counter the common enemy — imperialism. The successful implementation of this alliance policy engenders more forces to oust the imperialist oppressors and aggressors and achieve national independence. The Vietnamese people, therefore, must always distinguish the imperialists who oppress and invade their fatherland from the people of their countries; they must guard against blind nationalism, i.e., regarding both as birds of a feather.

Concerning the motive forces and the allies of the revolution, the problem facing the working class and the Party is as follows: revolution is carried out by the masses; acting single-handed, neither the vanguard detachment of the working class (the Party), nor the working class itself can bring revolution to victory. This requires the participation of the broad masses of the people. Thus, the working class must discern not only the enemy but also the revolutionary forces, the motive forces of the revolution at each stage, and the allies in a given revolution with a view to rallying broad revolutionary forces, securing allies, uniting all those who can be united, winning over all those who can be won over, and neutralizing all those who can be neutralized if winning
them over proves impossible. All this aims at utterly isolating the immediate concrete enemy and mustering all revolutionary forces to smash him.

With regard to the alliance policy, we should bear in mind that there are long-term alliances for a whole strategic stage, temporary alliances for a definite period in a given stage, alliances for common action, and alliance aimed at neutralization.

The National United Front against imperialism in our country is a form of organization to unite revolutionary forces, and at the same time a form of long-term alliance between the various popular strata, political parties, mass organizations and democratic personalities, intended to achieve united action on the basis of the Political Programme of the Front.

The experience supplied by the revolution in our country has shown that the broader the National United Front, the better; it is essential, however, that the Front should possess a clear-cut political programme and that united action should be achieved by the members of the Front so as to put this programme into effect. The Front must rest on the basis of a strong worker-peasant alliance and be placed under the close leadership of a Marxist-Leninist party. Only in this way can the triumph of the revolution be ensured.

By taking part in the Front, the Marxist-Leninist party aims at uniting all forces among the people to realize the Front's programme (minimum programme) at each stage of the revolution. However, the Party must always preserve its independence and possess a programme of its own (maximum programme) so as to ensure its leadership over the revolution.
on the basis of the worker-peasant alliance. It cannot share this leadership with any party and must absolutely guard against letting the direction of the National United Front fall into the hands of the national bourgeoisie, otherwise the Party would inevitably become an appendage of the latter and the national democratic revolution would be doomed to failure.

At present, the most dangerous enemy of the Vietnamese people is United States aggressor imperialism and its lackeys. To defeat this enemy, defend the North and achieve socialist construction here, to liberate the South and realize the reunification of their country, the Vietnamese people must implement a policy of broad union against American aggression. The people in the North must unite within the Viet Nam Fatherland Front, those in the South within the Viet Nam National Front for Liberation and the Viet Nam Alliance of National, Democratic and Peace Forces. The people across the country must unite and fight shoulder to shoulder for national salvation.

U.S. aggressor imperialism is also the common enemy of the peoples of Indochina and the world. Therefore, the Vietnamese, Lao and Khmer peoples should unite to resist U.S. aggression, recover and safeguard their independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity. The Indochinese Peoples' Conference held in Phnom Penh a few years ago may be regarded as the embryo of the future Indochinese peoples' united front against U.S. imperialism.

The world's peoples should also unite to oppose U.S. aggressor imperialism and defend their national independence and peace. It is very gratifying to see that their
widespread movement for supporting the Vietnamese people against U.S. aggressor imperialism has generated favourable conditions for the formation of the world people’s united front against U.S. imperialism.

Now, let us touch on the Party’s tactics.

While the purpose of revolutionary strategy is to overthrow the enemy at a given stage of the revolution, revolutionary tactics only aims at winning success in a given struggle or movement. Tactics is an integral part of strategy and contributes to ensuring its success.

Tactics change with the ups and downs of the revolution, with its offensive and defensive moves.

The purpose of tactics is to choose forms of struggle and organization, and propaganda and agitation slogans, suitable for the ebb and flow of the revolution so as to assemble the broad masses of the people, to educate and lead them to revolutionary struggle in the most effective manner. Usually, whenever the situation changes, we must adopt new forms of struggle and organization, new propaganda and agitation slogans, in order to push ahead the mass movement, in time, rally fresh forces or preserve existing revolutionary forces, in preparation for new fights. When the revolutionary tide surges up, we must use transitional forms of struggle and organization to make it advance “in a day as in twenty years”. In periods of recession, the forms of struggle and organization, mobilization slogans and working methods must be altered with a view to preserving our forces and maintaining our contact with the masses. So long as we have not yet seized power, we must cleverly combine illegal activities
with legal — or semi-legal — ones, the former being always
given the main place. In favourable circumstances, we must
take advantage of the existence of legal organizations to
rally the masses and lead them to struggle for their daily
interests. Even then, we must develop the illegal organiza­
tions of the Party and the masses. In the most difficult
conditions, we must strive to take advantage of legal and
semi-legal possibilities to carry on our activities. We must
simultaneously undertake underground work right in the
enemy's mass organizations, for, as Lenin said, the Com­
munists must be present wherever the masses are, and work
for the revolutionary cause. And in whatever difficult
circumstances we should know how to guide the masses to
wage economic and political struggle, and whenever con­
ditions permit, start armed struggle. We should set forth
judicious slogans in good time to fan the struggle of the
masses. In the whole chain of our work we should discern
the main link and use it as a lever to impel all our other
activities. Tactical direction should avoid rightist and "leftist"
deviations, maintain close contact with the masses, prove
capable of rallying them, and raise their political conscious­
ness. It should defy and overcome all difficulties and obstacles,
and discover the proper way to push ahead the mass
movement.

Those are some of our Party's experiences in the application
of revolutionary tactics.

At the time of the Party's founding and of the revolutio­
ary high tide in 1930-1931, the main problem facing the
Vietnamese revolution lay in the unification of the communist
forces in the country, the building of a new-type party of the working class and the realization of the worker-peasant alliance. Therefore, after the Unification Conference (February 3, 1930) the Party went on with its policy of sending cadres to the masses, the factories and the countryside where they worked to build Party branches and mass organizations. The paper Tien len was published to unify the Party ideologically and organizationally, to mobilize the worker and peasant masses for the struggle, achieve united mass action and, in the Nghe-Tinh Soviet movement, to combine political and armed struggles for the seizure of power in a number of localities.

In the period of the Democratic Front (1936-1939) the Party exerted the utmost efforts to take full advantage of every legal and semi-legal opportunity for carrying on propaganda, organizing the masses and leading them in the fight for democratic freedoms and better living conditions. Concurrently it developed the bases of its illegal organizations and prepared to cope with every eventuality. With the outbreak of the Second World War and the resulting step-up of terroristic repression by the French colonial reactionaries, the Party immediately switched over to illegal activities.

During the Second World War our people underwent a triple, most ruthless oppression and exploitation by the Japanese and French fascists and the native feudalists. Our Party led them to combine economic and political struggle with armed struggle, and at the same time changed its

1. Forward (Tr.)
slogans. For instance, it laid emphasis on the “national liberation” slogan, withdrew the “confiscate landlords’ lands for distribution to poor peasants” slogan and set forth this one: “Confiscate the imperialists’ and Vietnamese traitors’ lands, reduce land rent and interest rates, proceed towards the realization of the motto: Land to the Tillers.” Organizationally, the Party set up associations for national salvation among the masses, built up self-defence combat units and guerilla units, started armed struggle and made effective preparations for an armed insurrection to seize power.

After the March 9, 1945 coup staged by the Japanese fascists, the Party proceeded to an analysis of the developments occurring in the ranks of the enemy and of its own allies. It very rapidly defined the immediate tasks and the new strategic and tactical orientations. With regard to tactical direction in particular, the Party put forward this urgent task and slogan of paramount importance: “Storm the grain stores, check famine.” This fanned up the flames of revolutionary struggle by the masses, and mobilized them to stage demonstrations and seize the fascist-held grain stores, thus meeting this earnest demand of millions of people: the distribution of paddy and the elimination of famine. Thanks to this, the movement against the Japanese fascists and their puppet agents, and the preparation for insurrection advanced by leaps and bounds, while national salvation organizations and armed and para-military units also grew up rapidly.

From April 1945 many provinces succeeded in setting up Liberation Committees, a form of ante-power that appeared when our entire people were making strenuous exertions in preparation for the general insurrection.

The August 1945 Revolution marked the success of the Party and the Viet Minh Front in combining political and armed struggles to wrest power. An extremely favourable situation prevailed at that time: the Soviet Army had knocked down the most seasoned main forces of fascist Japan — the Kwantung Army, — which compelled that country to surrender unconditionally and placed her occupation troops in Indochina in the position of a beheaded snake. Consequently, our task of waging armed struggle had been considerably eased and was crowned with success. The skill of our Party with President Ho Chi Minh at the helm, lay in that it managed to avail itself of this golden opportunity which “occurred only once in a thousand years” to mobilize the masses for general insurrection and seizure of power, and to proclaim the founding of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam before the arrival of Allied forces in Indochina to disarm the Japanese troops.

In the resistance war against the French colonialists, our people continued to combine armed struggle with political struggle, the former being given priority. Political struggle assumed multifarious forms, such as workers' strikes, school strikes, market strikes, meetings and demonstrations in the zones temporarily occupied by the enemy. In the liberated zones it unfolded in different forms against the French aggressors, and for the implementation by the landlords of the
land policy of the Party and Government. From 1953 the bitter armed struggle at the front was closely combined with the mobilization of the peasant masses in the rear areas against the landlords for a radical reduction of land rent, advancing towards the realization of the slogan: Land to the Tillers.

Above are some aspects of our Party’s tactics from its founding to our victory at Dien Bien Phu. Since then the application of revolutionary tactics in both parts of our country has become very diversified: in the North they serve the strategy of socialist revolution and in the South that of people’s national democratic revolution. But together they serve our resistance to American aggression, for national salvation. The North has been completely liberated while the South comprises liberated and temporarily-occupied zones. The North is a people’s power led by the working class, but in the South there are two sharply conflicting powers — the growing people’s power in the liberated zones and the shaky, declining U.S. puppet power. These different conditions determine not only the tactics but, more importantly, the strategy of the revolution in each part of the country as well. One must realize this, in order to grasp the substance of the Political Programme of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation, as well as the basic reason why the N.F.L. has set forth the slogan “All for the front, all for victory” while in the North ours is “All for victory over the U.S. aggressors.”

The foregoing is an outline of our Party’s art of leading the revolutionary struggle waged by the working class and people in our country.
Reviewing the revolutionary history of our country over nearly forty years, we feel most gratified by, and proud of, the fact that our Party has valiantly, cleverly and clear-sightedly weathered all storms and brought the Vietnamese revolution to the present brilliant successes.

This has many reasons, a basic one being our correct application of Marxism-Leninism in the building of our Party, in making it a new-type party of the working class, possessed of high combativeness, a vanguard theory which guides its path, a close-knit organization and strict discipline, and the closest ties with the masses.

President Ho Chi Minh has said, “The penetration of Marxism-Leninism into the working-class movement and the patriotic movement led to the founding of the Indochinese Communist Party in early 1930. ’The founding of the Party was a turning-point of paramount importance in the history of the Vietnamese revolution.”

“The founding of the Party was a turning-point of paramount importance in the history of the Vietnamese revolution.”

Though coming into existence in a colonial and semi-feudal country with a small and young working class, and a peasantry which accounts for a very large proportion of the population, our Party has been constantly striving to preserve and strengthen its class and vanguard character.

The Vietnamese working class is small in number and subjected to oppression and exploitation on three sides: by imperialism and native feudalism and capitalism. Yet it

1. Ho Chi Minh, Thirty Years of Activity of the Viet Nam Workers’ Party.
represents the advanced productive forces and is therefore
the most revolutionary class since its birth. It is perfectly
able to lead the Vietnamese revolution to victory: to complete
the task of national liberation, achieve people's democracy and
build socialism and communism in Viet Nam. Born and
growing up in a new epoch of man's history — the epoch
of transition from capitalism to socialism on a world-wide
scale — the Vietnamese working class, shortly after its devel­
opment into a class, succeeded in organizing a new-type
party of its own and soon grasped the weapon of Marxism­-
Leninism to fight and defeat all enemies of the class and the
people. In these favourable conditions it has engaged in a
relentless fight against colonialism, feudalism and the bour­
geoisie. In the crucible of this revolutionary struggle it has
rapidly matured politically and become worthy of its
leading role.

As a sizable number of Party members are of peasant and
petty-bourgeois stock, and in order to strengthen the class
character of the Party, we have attached importance to
inculcating the doctrine of Marxism-Leninism upon cadres
and Party members, to raising their class consciousness and to
imbuing them with the revolutionary qualities and virtues
of the working class. At the same time we unceasingly com­
bat unproletarian ideologies. During the years 1930 and 1931,
our Party sent a number of cadres and Party members to
factories, mining areas and plantations where they lived
and toiled with the workers in order to carry on propaganda,
lead the struggle there, and foster their own proletarian feel­
ings. On the other hand, it paid attention to admitting
outstanding workers into its ranks and appointing cadres and Party members of worker stock to its leading bodies.

By applying in a creative manner the Marxist-Leninist principles on Party building to the concrete conditions of Viet Nam, we have been concerned to make ours a party worthy of the Vietnamese working class and people, the exponent of the vital and long-range national interests. Our country being formerly a colonial and semi-feudal one, the peasantry and the petty-bourgeoisie suffered from most ruthless oppression and exploitation. For this reason they are ardently patriotic, attached to the cause of national liberation, and their most revolutionary elements always turn to the Party. We, therefore, pay attention to accepting the best elements of the labouring people into the Party. Simultaneously we attach particular importance to the education and remoulding of cadres and Party members in accordance with the stand of the working class. Concurrently we seek the elimination of erroneous, rightist or “leftist” tendencies while enlarging the ranks of the Party and tackling the work of cadre administration.

In Party building we stress both the ideological and organizational aspects. The class and vanguard aspects of the Party find their expression primarily in the fact that it takes Marxism-Leninism as the ideological basis and the guide to all its actions. The Party must achieve unity in its ranks ideologically and in action, on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and of its line and policies.

On the internal plane we give the first place to the political and ideological education of cadres and Party members, to the fostering of their revolutionary qualities and virtues.
We use criticism and self-criticism as a weapon to counter all influence of unproletarian ideologies. We criticize pettybourgeois ideology, fight the influence of bourgeois and other erroneous ideologies, and strengthen solidarity and unity within the Party.

At the same time we attach great importance to party building from the organizational point of view, because the Party's political and ideological unity must be guaranteed by its organizational unity. The work of developing the Party must abide by the guiding principle according to which quality takes precedence over number, thereby guaranteeing soundness and solidity to its organizational structure. We put into practice the principle of democratic centralism, so that the Party becomes a monolithic bloc in both will and action and possesses a close-knit organizational structure and tight discipline. We properly handle the relationship between the individual and the collective, between the part and the whole, and between the upper and lower levels. We oppose sectarianism and factionalism, parochialism, paternalism, arbitrariness, waywardness, anarchism, indiscipline and so on. We build and consolidate the Party also through mass movements for the fulfilment of political tasks in each period, and by stimulating the masses to take part in Party building. This enhances the sense of responsibility of Party members towards the masses and binds the masses to the Party.

An important question relating to the strengthening of the class and vanguard aspects of the Party is the consolidation of basic Party organizations and the raising of their standard. The basic organizations form the foundation of the Party, where Party members participate in the Party's life and
struggle. Consequently, whether its fighting capacity and leading role are great or not, whether it maintains good contact or not with the masses, depends to a large extent on its cells and basic organizations. Our Party's present drive for building “four-good” cells and basic organizations aims precisely at strengthening its class and vanguard character and at promoting the vanguard and exemplary role of cadres and Party members at the grassroots so that the Party's basic organizations continue to deserve being the nuclei exercising leadership over the masses.

It is necessary to reinforce the over-all and exclusive leading role of the Party in every field of social activity and to fight resolutely against any effort to weaken its leadership in any field. In the North where our people have taken over power, we must handle correctly the relationship between the Party on the one hand, and the people’s democratic power and the organizations of the National United Front on the other. This ensures the leadership of the former while avoiding that it acts in the latter’s stead. On the contrary, we shall in this way bring into play the functions of the organs of power and of the mass organizations and, through their agency, further tighten the link between the Party and the broad masses and put in full operation the latter's considerable strength and initiative, thus pushing ahead the revolutionary cause of the masses.

* The “four goodesses” are:
1. Good at guiding the people in production work, in standing ready to fight, and in fighting.
2. Good at helping the people in obeying the law and in the implementation of Party and State policies.
3. Good at caring for the masses’ livelihood and doing mass work.
4. Good at consolidating the Party and strengthening its ranks. (Pub.).
In short, our Party constantly strengthens its fighting capacity and leading role in order to guarantee complete success to our people's revolutionary cause.

In Party building we have acquired the following valuable experiences:

1. Party building must be conditioned by political tasks and tightly linked to them: we must grasp the Party's line and policies to apply them in an active and creative manner. We must incessantly confront both line and policies with the real situation, with the requirements of the masses and the revolution so as to complete them and make them adequate. Ideological and other work concerning Party building, including the selection of cadres, must be carried out on the basis of a thorough understanding of the Party's line and policies.

2. Party building must be closely linked to the revolutionary movement of the masses and it is through the practice of revolutionary struggle that new Party members must be recruited. In order to improve the Party membership continuously, we must, on the one hand, recruit the most active and conscious elements from among the working class. On the other hand we must attract outstanding elements from among the labouring people who have distinguished themselves in the protracted and arduous struggle against aggressor imperialism and in the patriotic emulation movement for socialist construction. Simultaneously with the recruitment of new members, we must in good time expel from the Party provocateurs and anti-Party, factious and politically and morally degenerate elements.

3. It is necessary to combine the mobilization of the masses with Party building and to stimulate the masses to take part
in Party building. For instance we should provide them with the opportunity to criticize cadres and Party members and introduce meritorious people whom we shall educate and admit into the Party, etc. In this way we make the masses love and safeguard the Party.

4. It is necessary to combine closely the ideological and organizational aspects in Party building. Both of these aspects must be heeded. However, as our Party has now developed into a large and strong mass party, we should pay special attention to the ideological aspect. Only in this way can the Party possess a great fighting capacity and always preserve its vanguard role.

From the examination of the above major problems of the Vietnamese revolution we have seen that our Party with respected and beloved President Ho Chi Minh at its head, has creatively applied Marxism-Leninism to the concrete conditions of our country in order to elaborate correct lines and policies and take our working class and people from one victory to another. This is the greatest and surest guarantee for our people’s complete success in defending and building socialism in the North, liberating the South, achieving peaceful reunification of the fatherland, and in building a peaceful, reunified, independent, democratic and prosperous Viet Nam, while making an active contribution to the struggle of the world’s people for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.
LET US MARCH FORWARD UNDER THE BANNER OF MARXISM-LENINISM AND ACCOMPLISH OUR IMMEDIATE TASKS WITH GLORY

Dear comrades,

We are commemorating the 150th birthday of the great Karl Marx in the midst of a series of resounding victories of our armed forces and people in both North and South in our resistance against U.S. aggression, for national salvation.

1. TO STEP UP VIGOROUSLY OUR RESISTANCE AGAINST U.S. AGGRESSION UNTIL COMPLETE VICTORY

The South Vietnamese armed forces' general offensive and people's uprisings which erupted on the night of January 30, 1968, were crowned with tremendous and all-round success, one of considerable strategic significance. They heralded a new stage in our resistance and have had no parallel in the history of our people's liberation war, in both their scope and intensity.1

1. As announced by the 8th Special Communique of the Command of the South Viet Nam People's Liberation Armed Forces, in six months of offensive and uprising since the beginning of this year the South Viet Nam P.L.A.F. and people killed, wounded or captured 380,000 enemy troops, including 133,000 U.S.
Since the start of the offensive and uprisings early this year, revolutionary war has been brought into the U.S.-puppets' lair, the cities, and has upset and shattered their two-prong strategy, the "search and destroy" and "pacification" programmes. It has driven them deeper into strategic defensive and forced on them the "mobile defensive" strategy with the "clear and hold" programme. The puppet army and administration, tools on which the United States depends in its aggressive war in South Viet Nam, are heading for disintegration and collapse. Contradictions between the American people and the U.S. aggressors, among the U.S. rulers themselves, between the United States and its hirelings, etc. have grown more acute. The U.S. invaders' will to aggression has been shaken.

On the other hand, their considerable successes early this year have paved the way for the South Vietnamese people's military and political forces to make startling progress, in size as well as in quality. The liberation armed forces, the political parties and mass organizations in the National Front for Liberation, have been growing at a rapid rate. The creation of the Viet Nam Alliance of National, Democratic and Peace Forces indicates that the ranks of those who fight
U.S. aggression, for national salvation, have swollen with new adherents from the areas temporarily controlled by the enemy, more particularly from the towns. The anti-US and anti-Thieu-Ky national united front has been expanding. Revolutionary power at provincial level has been established in Thua Thien, Gia Lai, Kontum and in many districts and chiefly in villages in the form of People's Revolutionary Committees. The Front's prestige has reached a record high.

Our Southern fellow-countrymen's waves of offensive and uprising initiated at the beginning of this year have been dealing deadly blows at the corrupt US-puppet regime. They have created the conditions for the increasing success and ultimate total victory of the South Vietnamese armed forces and people.

These offensives and uprisings are skilful and daring strategic strikes of the Vietnamese people in their people's war. They result from the growth of the integrated forces of people's war and demonstrated the great effectiveness of the principle of the combination of political and armed struggles; of military action, political action and agitation among enemy troops; of military offensives and mass uprisings in the towns and the countryside, in the plains and in the mountains; of the wiping out, depletion and disbandment of enemy manpower on the one hand, and the vigorous development of revolutionary forces and extension of the people's power on the other. They show the team work in combat of the three categories of armed forces, of the various services, and the simultaneous use of diverse fighting techniques of a revolutionary war in a backward agricultural country whose people are endowed with a long tradition of
gallant resistance against foreign invasion, a fervid love for the fatherland, a fairly deep political consciousness, and benefit from a closeknit organization and unrelaxing leadership. This success has supplied a splendid substantiation of Engels' prediction that a people who want to gain independence should not be content with ordinary means of warfare. Mass insurrection, revolutionary war and guerrilla units everywhere — these are the sole means by which a small people can get the better of a bigger one, and a small army can resist a stronger and better organized one.

In concert with their Southern countrymen's continued attacks and uprisings, the stepped-up resistance of the armed forces and people in the North against the US imperialists' war of destruction has also achieved remarkable results. So far, they have shot down over 3,000 modern US aircraft, killed or captured over one thousand US air pirates and sent to the bottom or set ablaze nearly 100 enemy warships and commando boats. In the gruelling trial of the war, the socialist system of the North has displayed a vigorous vitality. United as one man, and resolved to preserve the gains of the socialist revolution and to pursue the laying of the material and technical foundations of socialism, its people have been carrying out combat and production abreast, while giving all-out assistance to their Southern kinsmen's liberation war, fulfilling the duty of the great rear area toward the great front. The North's economic and defence potential keeps growing, the militant solidarity of its people and their determination to fight and defeat US aggression have been

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strengthened. Basically US imperialism has been thwarted in its aims in its war of destruction against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam.

Its failure is evident: But bellicose and stubborn by nature, it has not brought itself to renounce its aggressive schemes against our country. It still nurtures the dream of imposing neo-colonialism on South Viet Nam, turning it into a US new-type colony and military base and wrecking socialist construction in North Viet Nam, and preparing for a new world war.

To this end, and as immediate steps, it is making all-out efforts to replenish its troop strength in South Viet Nam with US and satellite manpower, rebuild the puppet administration and army, intensify its war of aggression in order to recover its lost positions. Concurrently, it is striking with redoubled fury at the former Fourth Interzone in the North whilst continuing its "peace" hoax with the aim of fooling public opinion or simultaneously prosecuting the war while seeking an advantageous political settlement.

Though its scheme is cunning and vicious, its capacity is not unlimited, and its position and strength are on the decline. Its announcement of "limited bombing" is in itself a confession of heavy failure in both parts of our country. It is at the same time an indication of its insidious scheme to concentrate attacks by its badly battered air force on an important part of the territory of the D.R.V.N., to smooth away the internal dissensions of US political circles and secure more men and money for the Viet Nam war. It is intended to throw dust into the eyes of world and US public
opinion with false professions of peace, and seeks to put a
furbished face on Johnson and his confederates for the
coming presidential election.

In its April 3, 1968 statement, the Government of the
D.R.V.N. exposed the U.S. move, reaffirmed our people's
principled position and declared its readiness to appoint a
representative who would contact his American counterpart
and ascertain the unconditional cessation of all bombings
and other war acts by the U.S.A. on the whole territory
of the D.R.V.N. This course of action would open the way
to the discussion of other issues of concern to both parties.

At present, official talks between the representatives of
the D.R.V.N. and the U.S.A. have started in Paris. However
their progress has been hampered by the trickiness and
stubbornness of the American side which deliberately denies
the truth and tries to turn white into black. Not only does
it seek to obscure the dividing line between the aggressor
and the victim of aggression, but it also wilfully keeps con-
tending that the U.S. troops are in South Viet Nam to
defend "freedom" against "aggression" from North Viet Nam,
and honour U.S. commitments to the "Government of the
Republic of Viet Nam" (i.e. the puppets, traitors to the
country and hirelings of the U.S.A.). Meanwhile, the
American side dodges the key issue, namely, the ending by
the United States of the bombing and all other war acts
throughout the D.R.V.N. territory. Each time it is driven
into a corner, it unfailingly sets forth its "reciprocity" term,
which makes the talks mark time.

Popular feeling in Viet Nam and in the world is running
very high against the U.S. aggressors' behaviour. Minister
of State Xuan Thuy has exposed U.S. duplicity, and the D.R.V.N. Third National Assembly (4th Session) accordingly disposed of U.S. arguments in these terms:

“As the U.S. imperialists have sent troops from their country to commit aggression against South Viet Nam, have been violating the Geneva Agreements on Viet Nam and daily bombing, strafing and massacring Vietnamese and laying waste Viet Nam, it is up to them to bring their war of aggression to an end, to withdraw all U.S. and satellite troops from South Viet Nam, to dismantle all their military bases there and leave the Vietnamese to settle their own affairs. The U.S. aggressors’ “commitments” to a handful of Vietnamese traitors in their pay have been dismissed by the whole Vietnamese people and entire progressive mankind as unlawful, absurd and invalid.

“The D.R.V.N. is an independent and sovereign country. As the U.S. government has been carrying out aerial and naval bombardments and strafings against it, it is incumbent on the U.S.A. to put an unconditional and permanent end to its bombings and all other acts of war throughout the D.R.V.N. territory. It is not entitled to demand any “reciprocity” whatsoever.

“The Vietnamese people are one nation, Viet Nam is one country. Wherever on the Vietnamese territory there are foreign aggressors, the Vietnamese must fight shoulder to shoulder to drive them out.

“To join forces for the liberation of the South, the defence of the North and the ultimate peaceful reunification of the fatherland is the sacred duty of the thirty-one
million Vietnamese in both parts of this country. No one has the right to prevent the Vietnamese people from fulfilling it, the U.S. imperialists — the aggressors — least of all."

Our entire people's task of prime importance and urgency is to mobilize all our energies to defeat the U.S. aggressors and their agents, liberate the South, defend the North and ultimately reunify the country. It consists of the following concrete great undertakings:

a) *In the South*: To keep up our effort to defeat the U.S. "limited war" and to foil the U.S.-puppet "clear and hold" strategy; to give powerful and steady impetus to our people's offensive and uprising; to see to it that the violence of our blows grows in proportion to the magnitude of our successes, and that as much enemy manpower as possible will be wiped out. We will thus develop vigorously our people's political and military strength, bring about the disintegration of the puppet army, cause the overthrow of puppet rule, and make all-out efforts to establish the revolutionary power of our people in the South. On this basis we will crush the enemy's will of aggression and achieve total victory.

b) *In the North*: To concentrate our powers on the emulation drive in production, on fighting and on the other spheres of activity, to bring the State plan to fruition, to go on increasing the D.R.V.N.'s economic and military potential. To inflict resolutely complete failure on the U.S. war of destruction. To strive to carry out simultaneously the defence and the construction of the North and fulfil its duty as the great rear area toward the great Southern front and to go on with the building of the material and technical
basis of socialism, concurrently with effective preparations for economic rehabilitation and development after the restoration of peace.

For the satisfactory accomplishment of the above tasks, it is imperative to carry out a successful political mobilization of the whole people under the slogan "All for our victory over the U.S. aggressors."

We must generate a dynamic evolution in the thinking and behaviour of all our Party members, armymen and people. We must make abundantly clear to everyone the new situation and our tasks in the resistance against U.S. aggression, for national salvation, the essence of this new stage, the developing process of the South Vietnamese forces' and people's offensive and uprising, and the significance of the great successes they have achieved. We must bring about full realization by all of the enemy's schemes and tricks, and of our people's duties and enormous capacities. We must be constantly on our guard, combat pacifism and never deflect from this guiding principle: "Fight a protracted war and mainly rely on ourselves". Everyone must be made to grasp the scientific character and creativeness of the anti-US line for national salvation of our Party and the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation as well as place unqualified confidence in the Party's and President Ho Chi Minh's leadership. On that basis, let a strong impetus be given to the revolutionary mettle of the masses; let revolutionary heroism be cultivated, and the determination to fight and win of all our Party members, armed forces and people be stiffened.

The key to the success of the political drive lies in its ability to touch off a stirring patriotic emulation movement.
in every branch of activity, every unit and every locality for record-highs in production, in combat and in other work; it also lies in its capability to focus the thought and activities of all on translating into reality the watchword “All for our victory over the U.S. aggressors.”

The road to victory of our people’s resistance against U.S. aggression, for national salvation, is still beset with many difficulties and sacrifices. But we have inflexibly made up our minds to turn into deeds this sacred exhortation of President Ho Chi Minh:

“Nothing is more precious than independence and freedom.

“To safeguard the independence of our fatherland, to fulfil our duties to all peoples struggling against US imperialism, our people and army, united as one man and fearless of sacrifices and hardships, will resolutely fight on until they gain complete victory.”

Our resistance against U.S. aggression, for national salvation, is very hard but very glorious and bound to win complete success, because our people enjoy the leadership of a Marxist-Leninist party with a correct and creative revolutionary line and people’s war line. Our people are by tradition staunch and indomitable fighters. Our entire nation is united and of one mind, and is prepared to “make every sacrifice rather than bow to foreign rule and be enslaved”. Our people’s political and armed forces are tremendous, their ability to wage people’s war is considerable, and their rear area, the socialist North, solid and powerful. Moreover, their cause enjoys the increasing sympathy, support and assistance of the fraternal socialist countries and the world’s people, including progressive American people.
2. TO CONTINUE SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION AND TO COMPLETE
SOCIALIST TRANSFORMATION

Over the past years, in spite of furious American air
strikes, the socialist system in the North has gained in vigour
and continuously increased its vitality in the crucible of
the war.

A rifle in one hand, a hammer or a plough in the other,
our people have been carrying out abreast the intensification
of production and the resistance against the U.S. war of
destruction, the uninterrupted socialist transformation and
socialist construction, and the strengthening of the North into
the solid rear base of the whole country.

In agriculture the salient feature at present is the drive
for “five tons of paddy and two pigs per cultivated hectare
per year and one hectare under crop per farmer”. Meanwhile
industry distinguishes itself with a nascent local industry
which is rapidly expanding. Despite fierce enemy raids, our
communications and transport have constantly been kept
open and have made extraordinary efforts. In war conditions,
circulation and distribution of goods has been satisfactorily
maintained and has contributed to boost production and meet
the main needs of our people and armed forces in production,
in the fighting and in everyday life.

Apart from those economic achievements, our people’s
successes in culture, education, public health, science and
technique have also been outstanding.

These are eloquent illustrations of the superiority of the
socialist system in North Viet Nam.
A new period has opened in our resistance against U.S. aggression, for national salvation. Inspired by the slogan "All for our victory over the U.S. aggressors" the armed forces and people in the North must resolutely march forward and, together with our gallant Southern countrymen and combatants who have been mounting series of attacks and uprisings, deal more telling blows at the aggressors and their hirelings and take our struggle to complete victory.

A strong and solid rear base is one of the permanent factors of victory in a war. The urgent requirements of our present resistance imperatively call for the comprehensive consolidation of the socialist North in order to inflict total defeat on the war of destruction, fulfil our duty toward the great front, and stand ready to deal with an eventual U.S. adventurist escalation of the "limited war" to the North.

Therefore, the immediate task of the people in the North is economic construction combined with resistance against U.S. aggression, for national salvation.

In economic construction, we shall go on laying the material and technical basis of socialism with a view to the strengthening of the new relations of production, the vigorous development of production, the satisfaction of the people's material and cultural needs and the reinforcement of the defence potential. To fit the situation created in both parts of the country by our resistance to U.S. aggression, and in conformity with the long-term orientation of socialist industrialization, we have made a timely shift in economic construction and cultural development. We shall build and develop the economy in each important strategic area accordingly, and eventually enable it to be partly self-sufficient in
food, clothing, housing, education, health preservation, and in serving production, construction and combat.

In agriculture, we shall strive to develop production, boost intensive cultivation to obtain higher yields, reach the short-term objective of five tons of paddy and two pigs per cultivated hectare per year, and one hectare under grain per farmer. We must supply adequate food for our troops and people to fight successfully, and create favourable conditions for the development of industry and handicrafts.

In industry, we shall continue to give good protection to its central branches, restore, maintain, and expand their production, while stimulating the building and development of local industry and handicrafts, in order to serve satisfactorily industrial and agricultural production, communications and transport, the fighting and the people's life.

Special attention must be paid to communications and transport, which have to be kept going in all circumstances to meet the increasing demands of the front and the rear, of production, the fighting and the people's life.

Circulation and distribution of commodities must be improved to help production effectively and serve the living of the people; distribution must be done in strict observance of the principle “to each according to his work,” in a just, rational and democratic way, so as to prevent speculation, embezzlement and abuse, and to contribute to the fostering of the resistance force and socialist construction.

Efforts must be made to develop education and culture, train technicians and skilled workers and push forward scientific and technical research and survey of natural resources, etc.
To accomplish these tasks it is necessary to step up the patriotic emulation drive in each factory, farming co-operative, unit and branch, in co-ordination with the political mobilization of the whole people.

Our present economic construction and cultural development must meet the demands of the war; at the same time we must make effective preparations for the healing of the wounds of war, the rehabilitation and vigorous development of the economy in peace time, thus engaging in short-term construction while preparing for long-term construction to be carried out when circumstances permit. However, the central task at present is to meet the growing needs of the resistance of the whole people in order to secure total victory over the U.S. aggressors.

While exerting ourselves to fulfil yearly state plans, we must speed up the elaboration of a future long-term plan for national economic and cultural development.

Parallel to the laying of the material and technical foundations of socialism, due attention must be paid to the completion of socialist transformation and the pursuit of the struggle between the two paths. Socialist construction and socialist transformation are closely connected: the former strengthens, develops and perfects the new relations of production brought about by the latter which, in return, provides the former with favourable conditions to forge ahead.

The resolution of our Party's Third Congress clearly pointed out:

"In view of the concrete situation in the North, in the first period of socialist revolution, we take socialist transformation as the central task, while taking the first steps in socialist
construction. When socialist transformation has secured a victory of a decisive character, we must switch over to socialist construction as the central task, undertaking socialist industrialization and simultaneously completing socialist transformation.

Marxism-Leninism points out that for a fairly long period of time after their overthrow, the exploiting classes still nurture the intention to stage a comeback, and this design will develop into a scheme to restore the lost "paradise"; the force of habit in millions of small producers is formidable and small production daily and hourly generates capitalism.

As early as 1919, Lenin said:

"It (Soviet power — T.C.) sets itself the task not only of definitively wiping out the landlords and the capitalists — a task that we have nearly accomplished — but also of building a society in which there would be no place for the landlords or the capitalists. It happened more than once in the history of revolutions that these elements were wiped out, but that in a fairly short time from among the kulaks, the wealthy peasants and the speculators emerged new capitalists who oppressed the workers even more than the former landlords and capitalists. Therefore, the problem we must solve is not only to wipe out the former capitalists but also to prevent the emergence of new ones so that the power of the toilers, of those who live on their labour, could be fully, thoroughly and perfectly consolidated." 1

In our country, after completing in the main the socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts and private

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