mounting. Many nationalist countries which are economically and militarily dependent on the imperialist countries have also become political appendages to the imperialist countries. Although certain contradictions exist between the ruling reactionary bourgeoisie of these nationalist countries and this or that imperialist country, which we should tactically make use of in the struggle against bellicose imperialism and for safeguarding world peace, what is important is that we must see clearly that the basic trend of this reactionary section of the national bourgeoisie is one of coming increasingly into collusion with imperialism and openly opposing the worker and peasant masses. We must never allow ourselves to be deceived. Since the balance of class forces changes, since the contradictions between imperialism and feudalism on the one hand, and the masses of the people on the other, and between imperialism and feudalism on the one hand, and the national bourgeoisie on the other grow steadily more acute, different conditions and different degrees of division within the national bourgeoisie appear in different countries. But what is obvious is that in some countries, a greater part of the bourgeoisie has already abandoned the national-democratic banner and instituted fascist dictatorship, openly opposing communism and helping imperialism to strengthen its colonial rule. Under such circumstances, to follow the road of developing capitalism is actually to turn to the road of neocolonialism dependent on imperialism. This is why many of the Asian, African and Latin American countries are characterized not only by intense national contradictions, but also by class contradictions which have already developed and are growing more and more acute. In the national-liberation movement of the present era, the
national struggle against imperialism is, therefore, inseparable from the internal class struggle of a nation, that is to say, the struggle for complete national independence is organically connected with the struggle for democracy and against the feudal forces, comprador bourgeoisie and reactionary forces which are lackeys of imperialism, and the struggle in the choice between the two roads of capitalist and non-capitalist development.

It is obvious that the task of completing self-emancipation confronting the people of Asia, Africa and Latin America is not one that can be accomplished simply by economic construction, even by building the section of state-owned economy with the aid of the socialist camp. It is more important for them to concentrate their strength to smash neo-colonialism and thoroughly complete the national-democratic revolution, and at the same time strive to lead their motherlands on to the road of non-capitalist development. When fulfilling these tasks, the peasant problem must be treated as a strategic one in the national revolution, and special importance must be attached to the agrarian revolution, because a national revolution that cannot solve the problems of the peasants who make up the majority of a nation amounts to a deception. Only through a long period of bitter revolutionary struggles can the people of the colonies, dependent countries and nationalist countries win complete victory.

Another important characteristic of Asia, Africa and Latin America is that these are not only areas where the contradictions between imperialism and the oppressed nations are sharpening and where the imperialist countries are hotly scrambling for domination, but are also areas of sharpening contradictions between the imperialist and the socialist camps. Imperialism is keeping a
desperate hold upon the Asian, African and Latin American areas, anxious not only to maintain their colonial interests and fight for markets, raw material and political and military spheres of influence; but also to try to prevent the growth of socialism in these areas and turn them into bases for launching wars against the socialist camp. Imperialism headed by the United States is still continuing its frantic preparations for a new world war. But at present it dares not venture it, for it realizes that to launch a new world war against the socialist camp is to take the road of suicide. At the same time, the colonies and dependent countries which were once its secure rear have become or are becoming a constant and powerful anti-imperialist front. Colonialism—the principal foundation of the imperialist rule—is facing a crisis of total collapse. Consequently, imperialism is doing everything to quench the revolutionary flames of the colonies and dependent countries in an attempt to continue to enslave these countries and turn them into reserve forces against the socialist camp, and at the same time to exclude the influence of the socialist camp from these areas. As a matter of fact, imperialism regards Asia, Africa and Latin America not only as areas of contention between imperialism and the oppressed nations, but also as extremely important areas of contention between the imperialist and the socialist camps. The wild anti-Communist clamour of the bellicose imperialism and the more than a dozen local wars and "special warfare" it has launched in these areas in the past twenty years have laid bare its odious motives.

On the other hand, the national-liberation movements of the Asian, African and Latin American countries are continually pounding away at the colonial system. They
have become, or are becoming, the most powerful ally of the socialist camp and the working class of the imperialist countries in their revolutionary struggles. The victories of the national-democratic revolutions in China, Korea, Viet Nam and Cuba have blazed a trail to socialism for these four countries and enabled them to become members of the socialist camp. The national-liberation movements of Asia, Africa and Latin America, which are now dealing decisive and destructive blows at old and new colonialism, will not only hasten the downfall of imperialism, but will make it possible for many more revolutionary movements for national liberation to develop into socialist revolutions. This possibility arises from the tremendous influence of the socialist camp in these areas.

The realization of these possibilities will be the greatest and most effective contribution to preventing world war and safeguarding peace. It will also most speedily enhance the strength of the socialist camp. The above analyses clearly show that the revolutionary movements of Asia, Africa and Latin America have contributed directly to the rapid changes in the balance of forces in favour of peace, national independence, democracy and socialism. Such analyses, however, do not imply that we have underrated the contradiction between the socialist and imperialist camps, which is the most fundamental contradiction in the contemporary world. Not at all. The contradiction between the two camps is extremely acute. It is shown in the irreconcilable class struggle between the two antagonistic social systems and over the question of war and peace. It further sharpens the innate contradictions of the countries of the capitalist system and at the same time manifests itself in the fierce contention
between socialism and capitalism in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

On the whole, we can see that Asia, Africa and Latin America are areas where many contradictions of the world are concentrated — contradictions between the oppressed nations on the one hand and imperialism and old and new colonialism on the other, between peasants and feudal landlords, between workers and capitalists, between imperialist countries, and between the socialist and imperialist camps. There imperialism has received and is receiving the fiercest blows. There exist overwhelmingly strong revolutionary forces. There the ruling machinery is relatively weaker. There the ruling bourgeoisie is unlike its counterpart in western Europe and northern America which has under its control a well-developed economy, a strong political force, a well-developed culture and a powerful organization. Evidently Asia, Africa and Latin America form the weakest link in the imperialist-capitalist chain, where the imperialist-capitalist front can most easily be breached. Apart from the socialist camp, Asia, Africa and Latin America are areas where the most profound revolutionary changes are taking place every minute today. The national-democratic movement there is bringing about, as it did in the past and will continue to do so in the future, the most momentous, earth-shaking changes in the world.

The foregoing appraisal of the revolutionary movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America conforms to Marx’s and Lenin’s ideas of the proletarian revolution and the thesis set forth in the 1960 Moscow Statement. The Statement declares: “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." It is a question of utmost importance to understand the role of the revolutionary movement of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples and to lay down the strategic and tactical lines for the world communist movement to adopt towards this revolutionary movement. It has a direct bearing on the world-wide struggle against imperialism and for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism. Some among us underestimate or doubt about the revolutionary movements of the Asian, African and Latin American countries because they fail to see the various acute world contradictions that exist or are arising in these areas, because they fail to see the immediate revolutionary situations gaining momentum here, there and everywhere in these areas, and because they fail to detect the direction towards which the roaring revolutionary tide of these areas is flowing. No reactionary force whatsoever can check the gigantic revolutionary torrent of Asia, Africa and Latin America with millions upon millions of people. From an analysis of the conditions in each of the countries where an immediate revolutionary situation obtains, we can see a considerable disparity at the beginning in the balance between the revolutionary forces on the one hand and imperialism and all kinds of reactionary forces on the other. However, the stronger side is not imperialism and its lackeys, but the forces of the people who are rising in great vigour and waging a life-and-death struggle against their enemies. Given the guidance of a correct political line and full support and correct assistance from the socialist camp, the people of Asia, Africa and Latin America will find suitable forms of révolu-
tionary struggle and it is certain they will eventually defeat imperialism and all kinds of reactionary forces and make ever greater contributions towards the world-wide struggle against imperialism and for peace, national liberation, democracy and socialism.

In short, in appraising the national-liberation movements, we must proceed from the viewpoints of class struggle and proletarian revolution, from the viewpoint concerning our time embodied in the Moscow Statement and from the viewpoint of historical materialism which regards the people as the motive forces of social development, and we must have a whole-hearted revolutionary ardour, rich revolutionary knowledge and a strategic point of view. Only then can we make a correct appraisal.

The imperialist camp headed by the United States is in the process of acute weakening and collapsing. Since the end of World War II its sphere of control has been continuously narrowed. The basic contradiction of capitalism—the contradiction between the social character of production and capitalist private ownership—has been aggravated to the extreme. A rapid trend has been under way in all imperialist countries towards state monopoly capital, and an international alliance of this capital has been set up. Consequently imperialism has used all its available strength under the capitalist system to prop up this system. It has taken all measures possible under this system in a vain attempt to prevent the outmoded capitalist relations of production from being broken through by the highly developed productive forces. The problem of markets has become unprecedent-
edly sharp in the economy of the imperialist countries, which has become a long ailing economy. Its decadence is shown in that the possibility of increasing consumption is being restricted and is lagging behind the possibility of expanding production. The period between economic crises in the United States—the richest of the imperialist countries—steadily shortens. In many countries partial crises in certain economic departments recur ceaselessly, a big army of regular unemployed exists, social parasites multiply daily, non-productive expenditures and those which do not serve life’s needs increase day by day, there is a constant deficit in the national finances, inflation gets more and more serious, the value of more stable currencies depreciates steadily, and so on and so forth. The most marked of all these features is the highly militarized economy. In short, economically imperialism is rich but not powerful. On account of the shrinking markets and uneven economic development, the balance of forces between the imperialist countries changes constantly while the contradictions between them as well as between the imperialist blocs become increasingly acute. The imperialists now find themselves in such a situation that in order to maintain capitalism and cope with the socialist camp, the national-liberation movements and the working-class movements in their own countries they realize that they can no longer go it alone but must unite together and organize economic, military and political blocs. However, contradictions, internal conflicts and clashes arise from such alliances, and they are reduced to coping passively with one another.

The aggressive and warlike nature of imperialism has not changed. As Lenin has taught us, violence is the basic trend of imperialism, and it is through violence
that it grows. Imperialism uses violence as the chief means of oppressing and exploiting the people of its own country and other countries. At present this trend of violence has not lessened with the weakening of imperialism; on the contrary it has intensified. It is this trend that decides the basic policy of imperialism as one of war and not of peace.

Clearly, today imperialism headed by the United States still takes the policy of war as the basic policy in a vain attempt to maintain its rule. The greater the danger of extinction it confronts, the more it clings to this policy. A war policy is the inevitable outcome of an imperialist economy. It is, therefore, the policy of the entire monopoly capitalist class which represents this economy and not the policy of certain individuals. From the end of World War I and the defeat of the armed intervention against the Soviet Union by fourteen countries down to the 1930s, imperialist wars of aggression occurred on different scales, such as the war of Japanese aggression in 1931 when Japan occupied China's three northeastern provinces and the war of aggression against Ethiopia in 1935 provoked by the Italian fascists, and other wars. Soon after the conclusion of World War II the gunshots of imperialist aggression were again heard and have not stopped up to date. The more than ten local wars and "special warfare" of aggression provoked by imperialism in the last eighteen years speak volumes for the warlike nature of present-day imperialism.

The Soviet Union's possession of nuclear weapons and its nuclear superiority over imperialism have upset the military strategy of the imperialist camp and the war preparation plans of imperialism but have not made it give up its war policy. The strategy of "massive re-
taliation” and “massive suppression” based on nuclear monopoly and nuclear superiority has led it into a blind alley and a passive position. It has come to realize that with nuclear weapons it cannot destroy the socialist system, nor the national-liberation movements, nor the working-class movements at home. It has to give up the strategy of “massive retaliation” and “massive suppression” and substitute for it a “flexible response” strategy, which includes three kinds of war based on nuclear and conventional weapons: global war, local war and “special warfare”. This “flexible response” strategy further reveals the warlike nature of imperialism headed by the United States because it tries every possible means to start a war and when it runs into difficulties in its preparation for launching a world war it resorts to the long-term employment of local wars and “special warfare” to oppose the socialist camp, the national-liberation movements and the revolutionary movements in the imperialist countries.

Another basic policy of present-day imperialism is neo-colonialism. Colonialism has been one of the bases for the existence and development of imperialism. Today, in the face of the growth of the national-liberation movements the imperialists realize the difficulty of maintaining their colonial system in the old form and therefore they are trying to maintain it by a more cunning method and in a new form.

With imperialism settling upon the policy of neo-colonialism, although only fifty million people now remain under the direct rule of old colonialism, about a thousand million are suffering from the oppression and exploitation of neo-colonialism which is ever more deceitful and cunning. The crisis of neo-colonialism is
aggravating. U.S. imperialism has become the main bulwark of colonialism of modern times.

Imperialism has no way of stemming the high tide of revolution after World War II. In discussing the historical position of imperialism Lenin called it moribund capitalism, a stage of transition from capitalism to a higher order and the eve of socialist revolution. This is because the contradictions of capitalism sharpen to the extreme under imperialism; and there is a call for the solution by uprooting this system in a revolution; because the development of these contradictions weakens capitalism and creates conditions for the outbreak and success of revolution; and because imperialism has produced its own grave-digger; that is, the mighty revolutionary forces of the proletariat within the imperialist countries and the mighty forces of the national-liberation movements in the colonies, semi-colonies and dependent countries. However, imperialism will not collapse altogether in a single moment but bit by bit. This process, starting from the great October Revolution in Russia, will occupy a whole historical period — the period of transition from capitalism to socialism on a world scale. Following the October Revolution a revolutionary situation appeared in a number of capitalist countries of Europe. In some countries this situation was favourable to immediate revolutionary action. However, the revolutions were not successful for lack of subjective conditions. The October Revolution not only aroused the revolutionary spirit of the working class in the imperialist countries but also awakened the oppressed people of colonies and dependent countries. Many of these colonies and dependent countries became new storm-centres of revolution, in close co-ordination with the revolutionary movements of the
working class in the "metropolitan countries". After a period of upheaval, however, imperialism secured a temporary stability while the Soviet Union and the world revolutionary movement for the time being were on the defensive.

The signal victory in the anti-fascist war won by the democratic forces headed by the Soviet Union greatly weakened imperialism and ushered in a new period of revolutionary upsurge for the people of the world. This upsurge is characterized by its continuous vigorous development from its first appearance to the present, by its many-sided attacks against imperialism and by its repeated successes. The main trend of the revolutionary upsurge is directed to Asia, Africa and Latin America. Its greatest fruits are the birth of four socialist countries, of which China is the largest and has, together with the Soviet Union, become the mainstay of the socialist camp. This revolutionary upsurge has led to the establishment of more than fifty nationalist states, enjoying sovereignty in varying degrees. Imperialism has tried every means to prevent this upsurge. As it has failed in all its schemes, it has had to withdraw from one region after another. Now that the socialist camp has gained strength and become the decisive factor in the development of human society and that imperialism is daily weakening and decaying, it is more possible than ever for the people of the world to repulse imperialism step by step and rout it bit by bit.

Failing to stop the national-liberation movements and seeing that the socialist camp has grown strong and the Soviet Union has gained nuclear superiority, the imperialists have substituted the strategy of "flexible response" for that of "massive retaliation" and tried to
change their passive position into one of initiative. But
the people of the world will smash their new strategy. The imperialists possess a powerful machinery of violence, but they have to cope with the socialist camp, with the people in their own countries, with each other in their own groups and with the oppressed nations. In short, they have to deal with so many adversaries that they are compelled to divide their strength and thus left with limited strength to deal with any particular area. As a result, the balance of forces between them and the people in all areas is in many cases advantageous to the people and not to them so that the people in these areas are in a favourable position to defeat them.

To sum up, in analysing and criticizing imperialism we must apply the viewpoint of class struggle and proletarian revolution and the viewpoint concerning our time as defined in the 1960 Moscow Statement. We must lay main emphasis in these viewpoints, and not on the viewpoint of war and peace. We must apply the viewpoint of historical materialism to assess our strength, our power, and must regard the masses of people as the motive force of historical development. Only in this way can we make a correct assessment of our own strength and that of imperialism. We must lay main emphasis on the viewpoint of strategy and that of long-range, basic development, and not on that of the tactics of expediency. Certain comrades have committed errors in analysing the world situation precisely because they have wrongly analysed and assessed our own strength and wrongly assessed that of imperialism, treated tactics as strategy, and taken expediency instead of a long-range, basic revolutionary line as the main thing.
From an analysis of the general world situation and the characteristics and law of development of these three areas, we can see that the forces of revolution, socialism and peace have greatly surpassed the forces of reaction and war of imperialism. We are stronger than the enemy. Revolution is, therefore, not on the defensive and the strategy of revolution should not be a defensive one. As it now stands, revolution is in an offensive position. The strategy of revolution should be an offensive strategy to smash one by one the war policies of imperialism headed by the United States until its war plans are completely smashed. By so doing imperialism will be repulsed step by step and overthrown bit by bit until it is completely destroyed. This situation is entirely different from that of decades ago when the Soviet Union existed alone, encircled by capitalism. It would be a serious error if one should today copy the strategy and tactics which Communists applied decades ago. When we say that this offensive strategy is a political strategy, a strategy of revolutionary struggle, this does not mean that we advocate the launching of a world war. Absolutely not; and none of the socialist countries ever advocates it. An offensive strategy means that while safeguarding world peace we promote revolutionary struggles in order to repulse imperialism step by step and overthrow it bit by bit. However, in safeguarding peace, it is also necessary to take an offensive against imperialism, and only in this way can peace be secured. Formerly when the Soviet Union was still weak, it was necessary at certain times to make concessions to the enemy in order to gain temporary relaxation and temporary peace, to gain time to consolidate and increase its strength, so as to cope with new clashes with imperialism. Today
our line of safeguarding peace is formulated in the light of the new balance of forces—we are strong while the enemy is weak. Our offensive forces imperialism into a position where it cannot launch war, and thus peace is secured. At present our line of safeguarding peace is still built upon such basis, i.e., the nature of imperialism definitely will not change; the weaker it becomes, the more it inclines to the use of violence; and its basic policy is the policy of war. Since imperialism is warlike and does not want peace, the method of making concessions to imperialism cannot be used to attain peace, and consultations cannot be taken as the basic method of safeguarding peace. In the process of striving for peace, consultations are necessary of course, but to win peace we must take the offensive against imperialist war policy and defeat it, which is the inevitable outcome of an imperialist economy. Peace can be achieved only by applying a sufficiently strong force to smash this war policy. This must be the forces of the masses which are mainly those of the socialist camp, the working class and other labouring people in the imperialist countries, and the oppressed nations. These are the three principal forces which make up the core. Only on the basis of close unity between them can the other peace forces be won over and a broad peace front formed. To be able to apply the strength of our socialist camp, we must increase this strength to protect our camp so that warlike imperialism will not dare to risk an attack on it. At the same time, we must have a correct political line for our camp to inspire, support and help the people of various countries in their struggles against imperialism.

The working class and other labouring people in the imperialist countries and the oppressed nations in the
old and new colonial countries are the mass forces in the imperialist economic structure. They are the direct participants in smashing the war policy that stems from an imperialist economy. Today there is already a possibility that they can create countless difficulties and obstacles for this war policy, and even abolish the economic system which produces it, and in this way they will be able to uproot this policy. Imperialism will be prevented from launching war only when the people of the world launch continuous offensives to tie its hands. Only by steadily weakening it will the possibility of its launching war be reduced and the possibility of safeguarding peace steadily increased. If we remain on the defensive instead of taking the offensive against imperialism, the result will only be to encourage and abet it to unscrupulously push forward its war policy, thus aggravating the war crisis.

Where should the step-by-step repulse and bit-by-bit overthrow of imperialism begin? Of course, it should begin in the areas where the best conditions now prevail, that is, Asia, Africa and Latin America. For the socialist system to pursue a policy of peaceful co-existence with the imperialist system can only lead to a stalemate with neither side capable of overthrowing the other. It is only by relying on the direct role played by the revolutionary struggles of the working class and other labouring people in the capitalist countries and the struggles of the oppressed peoples in the colonies, semi-colonies and dependent countries that imperialism can be completely overthrown. In the present time imperialism is being overthrown bit by bit in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, and no doubt it will continue to be overthrown first in the same areas.
We place great hopes in the revolutionary movements of the working class and other labouring people in the imperialist countries and developed capitalist countries. A successful revolution in these countries will uproot imperialism in its own den. This success in the industrially highly developed countries will create even more favourable conditions for the world-wide transition to communism. We firmly believe that due to the development of the inherent contradictions of imperialism, the far-reaching influences of the revolutionary movements of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, and the stepping up of the pursuance of the imperialist war policy, the working class and other labouring people in many imperialist countries will fully realize that unless they are fearless of making any sacrifice in carrying out the revolution to overthrow the rule of monopoly capital, it is possible that imperialism may lead mankind into a world war in which millions of people will be slaughtered. The working class and other labouring people will, therefore, rise more resolutely than ever before. Under such conditions, many imperialist countries can possibly become the centres of revolutionary storms, provided the Communist and Workers' Parties of these countries raise high the banner of revolution and isolate and defeat reformist ideology.

To serve the policy of war the monopoly capitalist groups in the imperialist countries have carried out a series of reactionary internal policies to the detriment of the life and political rights of the working class and other labouring people of various strata, and even the interests of certain section of the middle bourgeoisie — such as: increase of taxation, lowering of real wages of the workers, extension of working hours, restriction of
rights of democratic freedom, open introduction of fascism or encouragement to set up a fascist dictatorship, causing medium-sized and small enterprises to go bankrupt, etc. It is therefore possible to establish, in many countries, a broad united front embracing workers, peasants, urban petty-bourgeoisie, and even some members of the middle bourgeoisie to wage struggles for democracy and against the monopoly capitalist groups, for the defence of world peace and against the war policy of state monopoly capital. At present the struggle for democracy occupies a very important position. It is part of the struggle for socialism and must be waged in the spirit of revolution and not in the spirit of reformism. The policy of war is most dangerous to the working class and other labouring people. Every day it is attacking their living standards or even threatening their lives. Therefore, their struggle against the oppression and exploitation by state monopoly capital and in particular against its war policy may, under certain conditions, very possibly change into a revolutionary struggle of the masses who urgently demand the overthrow of the rule of such monopoly capital, so that they may prevent a new world war before it breaks out.

As monopoly capital is steadily inclining towards the use of violence and as almost all the imperialist and capitalist bureaucrat-military machines have been strengthened on an unprecedentedly large scale, while it is necessary for Communists to strive all they can for the possibility of peaceful development in the process of revolutionary progress, it is even more necessary for them to fully prepare for the possibility of the non-peaceful development of the revolution in order not to forgo their opportunities. Revolutionary violence is not a synonym
of armed struggle. Revolutionary violence may be political struggle or armed struggle, or a combination of the two. But it would not be correct to say that armed struggle absolutely cannot and should not be carried out in the industrially highly developed countries. Formerly the revolutionary war in Spain continued for a few years. The current international situation is much more favourable to revolution than the time of the Spanish revolutionary war and the situation in many countries is even more favourable. If the Communists of a certain imperialist country are compelled by the circumstances to take up arms in a revolution and otherwise they would miss the opportunity, how could they refuse to do so and instead wait for the possibility of peaceful development?

Revolution cannot be exported or imported. There are objective and subjective reasons why a revolution breaks out and succeeds in a certain country. It is not a matter of subjective wish, like placing an order, that revolution will break out at any time one requires. This Marxist-Leninist principle is not, as some people have interpreted it, that a revolution is wholly decided by objective causes and the leading party only passively waits for it. On the contrary, this Marxist-Leninist principle teaches us that revolution may come sooner or later, may succeed or fail; apart from the objective causes which are independent of the will of the leading party, there are subjective causes on the part of the leadership of the revolutionary party. If the party which leads the revolution has a correct line, the masses will be aroused and strive more actively to create a revolutionary situation. But even with a revolutionary situation, if the leading party has no correct line, there will not necessarily be a revolutionary movement. With a revolutionary movement
and a revolutionary opportunity, if the leading party has no correct line, revolution will not necessarily succeed. This premise would also be completely correct if reversed. This conforms to historical materialism which teaches us that historical development is determined by objective laws and not by the will of man but that history is the history of mankind and is made by man himself.

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The Vietnamese revolution is an inseparable part of the world revolutionary movement. As I have stated clearly, our Party has all along formulated the line and ideas of the Vietnamese revolution in the light of the concrete conditions in our own country and on the basis of the world situation and the common demands of the world-wide struggle for socialism, national independence and peace. The success of our August Revolution was inseparable from the victory of the Soviet Red Army and Soviet people in their war against the German and Japanese fascists. The victory of our people's long resistance was also closely connected with the victories of the Chinese people's revolution and the Korean people's patriotic war against U.S. aggression. On the other hand, the victories of the August Revolution and the war of resistance won by our people made important contributions to the promotion of the national-liberation movements, the increase of the strength of the socialist camp and the defeat of the plots of U.S. imperialism to extend the wars in Indo-China and Southeast Asia, thus positively contributing to the defence of the socialist camp and world peace.
Since the conclusion of the Geneva Agreements in 1954, our Party has maintained that the general tasks of the Vietnamese revolution are to carry out socialist revolution in the northern part of the country and at the same time continue the national-democratic revolution in the south; to achieve the peaceful unification of the fatherland; and to build a peaceful, united, independent, democratic, prosperous and strong Viet Nam. Revolutionary practice in the last nine years and more has proved that this line of the Vietnamese revolution conforms not only to the most earnest demands of the people of our whole country but also to the demands—the most urgent demands of the people of the world—for peace; national independence and socialism, and at the same time has made positive contributions to the common struggle for the realization of these demands. The revolutionary practice has also proved that if the socialist construction in the north plays the decisive role in the development of the Vietnamese revolution as a whole and in the unification of the fatherland, then it can be said that the revolutionary struggle of the people of the south plays a direct role in overthrowing the rule of U.S. imperialism and its lackeys, and smashing its neocolonialist policy; this struggle is not only liberating the south but also frustrating the plots of U.S. imperialism to turn the southern part of our country into a military base against the socialist camp and to extend the wars in Indo-China and Southeast Asia. This struggle is itself a positive contribution to the cause of safeguarding world peace. In order to defend peace, it is very necessary to vigorously push forward the revolution in the south, and defeat the policy of aggression and war-plots which U.S. imperialism is executing on our territory. Energetic
efforts to safeguard world peace include the consolidation and development of the strength of socialism, vigorous promotion of national-democratic struggles, and step-by-step repulse and bit-by-bit overthrow of imperialism. Because our Party is good at applying Marxism-Leninism and in integrating the demands of the struggle of the people throughout the world with the concrete conditions in our country and the demands of the struggle of our people, the ideas and line of the Vietnamese revolution as put forth by our Party are completely correct and have been leading us from victory to victory.

In order that our Party and people may achieve great victories in our revolutionary cause, our Party in implementing its correct revolutionary line has, since the day of its birth, waged struggles against all kinds of tendencies and deviations, chiefly Right deviations. As many comrades have said, at present under the difficult and complex conditions in our country's new revolutionary stage and under the complex conditions in the international communist movement, some comrades in our Party have come under the influence of modern revisionism. Although their number is small, it is not a good thing and we must pay attention to it. What then shall we do to prevent modern revisionism from corroding our Party?

The basic situation is this: Ours is a revolutionary Party and its line is thoroughly revolutionary. In the socialist revolution in the northern part of our country, we are carrying out three closely inter-related revolutions; revolution in the relations of production, technological revolution, and ideological and cultural revolution. In the south our people are carrying out vigorously the rev-
olution against imperialism and feudalism, for the liberation of the south and for the defence of peace in the whole country and in Southeast Asia. The people of our entire country are now in a fervent and intense revolutionary situation. The vast majority of our cadres and Party members are indeed revolutionary, but in this sharp class struggle some of them have shown Right tendencies on some international and domestic issues. If an opportunity offers itself, such as when the revolution meets with difficulties, these Right tendencies may possibly become a fertile soil in which modern revisionism can take root and grow. Our people’s revolutionary task is still a long, difficult and complex one. Our Party must maintain high vigilance. In order to effectively prevent modern revisionism from corroding our Party, we shall see to it that revisionism be not allowed a soil to grow on no matter how conditions may change. Our Party must, therefore, take the following concrete measures:

1. Enable the cadres and Party members to secure a deep knowledge and understanding of the Party’s line. The Party’s line is a revolutionary line which is incompatible with modern revisionism. If the cadres and Party members understand and have firm faith in this line, modern revisionist views will be unable to gain a foothold among them; and even if revisionist ideas should sneak in they will be immediately driven out.

2. Continue to help the cadres and Party members to maintain a firm proletarian stand, eliminate the survivals of petty-bourgeois ideas and influences of bourgeois ideology, and in particular resolutely oppose individualism, the ideological root of modern revisionism. Some Communists have turned into revisionists because they
are afraid of arduous revolutionary struggles and afraid of making sacrifices. Desiring an easy and comfortable life, they take an interest in bourgeois customs, usages, ways of life and ideas. The lofty and noble communist ideals have gone out of their minds. They look to the way of life of the Western bourgeoisie as an example and their highest aim of struggle. They fear imperialism and reactionaries, make compromises with them and even capitulate to them ideologically. It is, therefore, necessary to continue to help our cadres foster firm revolutionary will and genuine patriotic spirit combined with the spirit of proletarian internationalism, to oppose bourgeois nationalism, big-nation chauvinism and narrow nationalism. We must also continue to help them develop their industrious, thrifty, honest and upright character so that they may have a high sense of responsibility towards the people, and constantly concern themselves with the improvement of the people's material and intellectual life, which they should regard as a lofty task of Communists. But we must struggle to oppose the desire for a life of ease and comfort and pleasure-seeking and must fight decadence and degeneration.

3. Enhance the sense of discipline of the cadres and Party members and to combat liberalism and sectarianism. We must also make the utmost efforts to perfect the organization of the Party branches so that they will grow to be the Party's solid bulwarks where Party members are given regular political education and where the high moral character of Communists is developed.

4. Organize systematic study of Marxism-Leninism, study current events and vigorously criticize modern revisionism.
We must pay great attention to raising our vigilance against modern revisionism which is a grave menace to the revolutionary movement. Once it penetrates our Party it will corrode the revolutionary spirit of our Party and people and will become a useful lackey of the hostile classes and an ally, in an objective sense, of imperialism. We cannot but hate modern revisionism in the same way as we hate imperialism.

The purposes of opposing modern revisionism are: to strengthen the struggle against imperialism, to vigorously promote the revolutionary cause of the people of the world, to safeguard the international communist movement and the socialist camp, and also to defend our Party and the revolutionary cause of our Party and people. But how can we effectively oppose modern revisionism? How can we combat modern revisionism in such a way that our struggle against imperialism will not be weakened? It must be done through an ideological struggle to be waged by the Marxist-Leninists, and the more important thing is to defeat modern revisionism through developing the cause of revolutionary struggle of the people of the socialist countries and the people throughout the world. For the development of this cause will most effectively expose the baseless, anti-scientific and harmful arguments of modern revisionism and bring about their bankruptcy. The unity of the international communist movement, unity of the socialist camp and particularly unity between the Soviet Union and China play an important, and indeed a decisive, role in the revolutionary cause of the people of the world. We believe that the unity of the socialist camp is an objective product of history. No force can destroy it because no force can destroy the immense vitality of the socialist system.
and socialist relations of production. Our Party's attitude is, therefore, as follows: First, to distinguish right from wrong and expose the modern revisionist views, and secondly, to strengthen the unity of the international communist movement and the socialist camp, particularly the unity between the Soviet Union and China.

President Ho Chi Minh frequently teaches us that international unity is an indispensable factor for the victory of the Vietnamese revolution. In the cause of international unity our Party attaches particular importance to our unity with the Soviet Union and the Soviet Communist Party, and with China and the Chinese Communist Party.

Thanks to the Russian October Revolution and especially to the assistance of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, our people were awakened, Marxism-Leninism spread in Viet Nam and our Party was born. In the days of the most arduous struggle under the iron hoofs of imperialism and colonialism, in the darkest hours, in the imperialist prisons, or on the execution grounds, every Vietnamese Communist felt his heart brighten at the glowing image of the great Soviet Union. The Vietnamese Communists were thus inspired to maintain an unyielding spirit and instilled with unwavering confidence in the victory of their cause. The brilliant victory won by the Soviet Army and people in their anti-fascist war created favourable conditions for the Vietnamese people to stage a general uprising to seize state power in the August (1945) Revolution. The support and assistance given to our people by the Soviet Union in our war of resistance and the Soviet Union's role as a chairman in the Geneva Conference of 1954 were important contributions to our victory in the resistance war and to the res-
oration of peace in Viet Nam on the basis of recognition of the sovereignty, independence and unification of our country. Since the restoration of peace, the Soviet Union has given its assistance in many fields to our people in their socialist construction in the northern part of our country and rendered its enthusiastic support to our compatriots in the south in their patriotic struggle.

The relations between China and Viet Nam are as close as lips to teeth. The people of the two countries have stood together through thick and thin. The Chinese revolution gave inestimable help to the Vietnamese revolution from the latter's early period. During World War II the people of our two countries worked closely together in co-ordination with the anti-fascist struggle of the world's democratic camp headed by the Soviet Union and fought shoulder to shoulder in mutual support in the struggle against the Japanese fascists. The great victory of the Chinese revolution in 1949 and the Chinese people's great assistance to our people's war of resistance were tremendous contributions to the success of our resistance. Since the restoration of peace in Indo-China, China has continuously helped our country in its socialist construction in the north and given full support to the revolutionary struggle of our southern compatriots.

The support given to the Vietnamese revolution by the Soviet Union and China has been indeed very great. As President Ho Chi Minh has said: "It shows unbounded love, unfailing friendship and deep affection!"

One of the noblest revolutionary sentiments in which our Party has long taught our people is the sentiment of friendship and appreciation towards the Soviet Union and China. It has become part of our people's flesh and blood. Our Party is proud of it and will cherish it for
ever in our hearts. Storms and stress may come, but we shall do everything we can to keep it ever fresh and flourishing.

By adhering to revolutionary Marxism-Leninism, distinguishing right from wrong, persisting in the struggle against modern revisionism, firmly maintaining international unity, particularly unity with the Soviet Union and China, and exerting efforts to complete our own revolutionary tasks, our Party and people will be able to make worthy contributions to the common struggle of the people of the world against imperialism headed by the United States and to the cause of peace, national liberation, democracy and socialism.
黎 筠
我党国际任务中的若干问题

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PAMPHLETS TO READ

JOINT STATEMENT OF
CHAIRMAN LIU SHAO-CHI AND
PRESIDENT HO CHI MINH

Besides this Joint Statement of May 16, 1963, the pamphlet also gives:

Liu Shao-chi's Speech at the Mass Rally in Ba Dinh Square, Hanoi (May 12, 1963)
Liu Shao-chi's Speech at a Meeting in His Honour at the Nguyen Ai Quoc Party School, Hanoi (May 15, 1963)

HOLD HIGH
THE REVOLUTIONARY BANNER OF
CREATIVE MARXISM,
LEAD OUR REVOLUTIONARY CAUSE
TO COMPLETE VICTORY!

A speech delivered on March 13, 1963 by Le Duan, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Workers' Party in commemoration of the 80th anniversary of the death of Karl Marx.

WHO WILL WIN IN SOUTH VIET NAM?

The English translation of an article by Nguyen Chi Thanh, member of the Central Political Bureau of the Workers' Party of Viet Nam. The article appeared in the July 1963 issue of Hoc Tap (Study), theoretical political journal of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Viet Nam.

PEACE OR VIOLENCE

The English translation of an article published in the September 1963 issue of Hoc Tap (Study).

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