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"WORLD SITUATION AND OUR PARTY'S INTERNATIONAL MISSION"

As seen from Hanoi, 1960-1964

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"WORLD SITUATION AND OUR PARTY'S INTERNATIONAL MISSION"

As seen from Hanoi, 1960-1964

Introduction

Viet-Nam Documents and Research Notes No. 96, "The Viet-Nam Workers' Party's 1963 Decision to Escalate The War in the South" reprinted the full text of a "Top Secret" "Resolution concerning the South" adopted in December 1963 by the Central Committee of the Viet-Nam Workers' Party. As noted in the introduction to that document a resolution on the "World Situation and Our Party's International Mission" was also approved at the 1963 Central Committee meeting. This research note reprints it and examines its setting.

The "Resolution concerning the South" noted that "The Resolution of the 15th Central Conference (Jan. 1959) and the subsequent resolution of the Third Party National Congress [September 1960] have clearly set forth the policy for the revolution in the South and the struggle guideline designed to win victory. The resolutions of the Politburo in 1961 and 1962 have clearly set forth the struggle guideline and practical policies designed to counter effectively the armed aggression of the Americans. The resolutions of COSVN have put into practice and further developed the general resolutions of the Party on the revolution in the South. The successes of our southern compatriots in recent years proved that the Party's resolutions mentioned above were fully correct."

To understand the two December 1963 resolutions it is necessary to examine, so far as documentation permits, the 1960 National Congress decision, (1) and the context within which it was augmented by the 1963 action. There is no documentation at hand for the January 1959 Central Committee decision which foreshadowed the 1960 Congress action. However, Hanoi's Foreign Languages Publishing House published several volumes of the speeches and reports of the September 1960

Third Party Congress, and of a September 2 public meeting honoring the 15th anniversary of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, which immediately preceded it. (2)

The public meeting opened with the reading of a message of President Ho Chi Minh's in which he said that "more than 1,000 million brothers and sisters of the big socialist community headed by the great Soviet Union and millions of friends all over the world are sharing the joy of the Vietnamese people." Then he declared:

"Celebrating the 15th anniversary of our great National Day, we are all the more turning our minds towards our compatriots in the South who are heroically fighting against the cruel U.S.-Diem regime. Let us convey to them the expression of our feelings of brotherhood to our southern compatriots and pledge to them that our whole people will unite closely and fight perseveringly, and as a result, our fatherland will certainly be reunified, the North and the South will certainly be reunited."

Next spoke Chairman of the National Assembly Truong Chinh who welcomed "our close brothers from far away... the comrade members of the Party and Government Delegations of the brotherly socialist countries -- the Soviet Union, China, the People's Democratic Republic of Korea, Mongolia, Albania, Czechoslovakia, German Democratic Republic, Poland, Hungary, Bulgaria and Rumania -- the comrades members of the Delegations of the Communist Parties of India and Indonesia and the comrade representative of the Communist Party of Canada."

The principal speech of occasion was Prime Minister Pham Van Dong's. Most of his text was devoted to a review of the DRV's fifteen years -- the Resistance War against the French and "the last six years" which had "seen great

(2) The source materials for the 1960 portion of this research note are 15th Anniversary of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam Hanoi, Foreign Languages Publishing House, in English, no date, and volumes I and III of Third National Congress of the Viet-Nam Workers Party, Hanoi, Foreign Languages Publishing House, no date.
revolutionary changes in the North. After healing the war wounds and completing the national democratic revolution, the socialist transformation and the building of socialism were speeded up in the economic, cultural, political and ideological fields."

In sharp contrast was the situation in South Viet-Nam, according to Phạm Văn Đồng:

"Since the re-establishment of peace, Northern and Southern societies have taken two different roads and, after six years, the gap separating them has become wider than that separating the sky from the earth. Life in the North is the light of early sunrise, while life in the South is the total darkness of the night. The root of that difference lies in the fact that the political system in the North is that of a people's democracy advancing powerfully to socialism, whereas the system in the South is an utterly reactionary, cruel and dark dictatorship, the instrument of aggression and war preparation of the U.S. imperialists in South Viet-Nam."

Then in a section of his address headed "Holding High The Banner of Peaceful National Reunification" the DRV Prime Minister declared:

"Therefore, it is imperative that the entire Vietnamese nation strengthen their [sic] unity and struggle resolutely for the achievement of national reunification, and at the same time to contribute to the safeguarding of peace in Indochina and the world.... In such condition, the political basis for national reunification must be very broad if it is to win the sympathy of all people both in North and South Viet-Nam. This basis is independence and democracy."

Reunification was to be peaceful, and yet the result of revolutionary struggle, he continued:

"Peaceful reunification is a revolutionary struggle of our entire people, of the whole Vietnamese nation, it is the outcome of the building of socialism in the North and of the national and democratic revolution in the South. Peaceful reunification is the irresistible victory of the unity and struggle of all Vietnamese patriots."
"Therefore, in order to achieve peaceful reunification, our people must further strengthen their unity and intensify their struggle, they must further develop the strength of the North in all respects, further promote the patriotic movement and the movement for national democratic revolution in the South, and win greater sympathy and support from the people the world over."

After twenty pamphlet-sized pages devoted to "Advancing on the Path of Building Socialism in North Viet-Nam", Dong turned to "Our Country And The World," and asserted:

"The victory of the Chinese revolution and the founding of the Chinese People's Republic, which tipped the scales in favor of the socialist camp, constituted extremely important international events. The world socialist system, headed by the Soviet Union, has endeavored to develop its forces rapidly in every respect and has gradually promoted its role, which now has a decisive character in the whole world situation. Thanks to the existence and the resolute support of the socialist camp, the national liberation movement has developed with a strength, scope and tempo unprecedented in history."

He cited "the Declaration of the Meeting of Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties of the socialist countries, held in Moscow in 1957," which said that the present era is witnessing "the transition from capitalism to socialism, which began with the Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia". He concluded with a tribute to "our Party, the organizer of the struggles and great victories of our nation over the past thirty years." It is, he said "the leader of the revolution of our people, the Party's lines and policies are of great importance for the whole country. Therefore, our people are very glad to welcome the forthcoming Party Congress. This Congress will mark a new step in the development of our people's revolutionary struggle, of the building of socialism in the North and of the peaceful reunification of the fatherland."

The Prime Minister, speaking three days before the Party Congress convened, had indicated many of the policies which it was to adopt.
Appended to the texts of the speeches at the September 2 meeting in the Foreign Languages Publishing House booklet were the greetings of the foreign fraternal delegates. The Soviet delegate voiced his confidence in the North Vietnamese Party and Government "with President Hồ Chí Minh at their head" and said that "the Soviet people are very happy to note that the relations of cooperation and fraternal mutual assistance between the Soviet Union and the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam are developing fruitfully day by day". He was confident that "the principle of proletarian internationalism will continue to expand and develop this cooperation." He said that "the successful building of socialism in the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam is a firm guarantee for the success of the Vietnamese people's struggle for the peaceful reunification of their country."

The Russian spokesman noted that "the imperialists are deliberately maintaining Viet-Nam's partition", and that their "schemes" had "aroused the indignation of peace-loving mankind." He commended his hosts on their "policy of peaceful coexistence" and "resolute struggle to ensure correct implementation of the Geneva Agreements, and safeguard peace in Indochina and throughout the world... The Soviet Union undertakes to create conditions for eliminating the possibilities of provoking war", he declared, adding that "under the pressure of the growing national liberation movement, the colonial system of imperialism is collapsing and nothing can save it from the path of destruction."

Much of his message was devoted to the Soviet Union's own achievements and its contribution to "building and strengthening the world socialist system", which will ensure "the possibility of preventing a new world war." But, he continued, the "Soviet people as well as the working people of Viet-Nam... have clearly seen the aggressive nature of imperialism and the design of the imperialists to render the world situation more strained, to suppress the freedom and independence of nations. That is why we must constantly strive to expand the struggle to preserve and strengthen peace."

The chief of the Chinese delegation endorsed the DRV's policies in somewhat less arcane terms. After citing some of its economic advances he declared:
"At the same time the Viet-Nam Workers' Party and the Vietnamese Government have accomplished much on the political and ideological fronts. The debate on the two roads -- the socialist and the capitalist roads conducted in the countryside in 1959 and 1960 and the rectification campaign among the cadres and their training, have further strengthened the determination and confidence of the people and cadres in North Viet-Nam in building socialism and unifying their country, while at the same time speeding up socialist transformation."

After roundly condemning the Diệm Government of South Viet-Nam, and the United States' assistance to it, he said:

"The days of the U.S.-Ngô Đình Diệm clique are numbered. Its adherents will eventually be drowned in the surging tide of the Vietnamese people's struggle. There is no force capable of thwarting the firm will of the entire Vietnamese people for the peaceful reunification of their country. Under the leadership of the Viet-Nam Workers' Party, the Vietnamese people have constantly abided by the principle of proletarian internationalism and indefatigably contributed to strengthening the solidarity of the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union. Situated in the south-eastern part of that camp the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam has been resolutely fighting against the aggressive and warlike policy of the U.S. imperialists and has shared greatly in the defense of peace in Indochina and Asia."

The Chinese delegate was "confident that under the correct leadership of the Viet-Nam Workers' Party, the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and President Ho Chi Minh, the Vietnamese people will certainly triumph in their struggle to defend peace, reunify the country and build socialism."

Hồ Chí Minh opened the Party Congress on September 5, 1960 with a speech claiming that "the South of our country is still going through hell". "That is why", he said, "our people have been struggling constantly to achieve the peaceful reunification of the country, for the freedom of our compatriots in the South who are being dragged through blood and fire."
It seemed to him that: "The Second Party Congress was the Congress of Resistance. This present Party Congress is the Congress of Socialist Construction in the North and of struggle for Peaceful National Reunification."

He spoke of the strength of the "world socialist system" and "the momentous achievements of the Soviet Union in the building of Communism and the big victories of China and other fraternal socialist countries in the building of Socialism." As for the "oppressed peoples", their "resolute struggle... will undoubtedly defeat the imperialists and colonialists. Socialism will ultimately triumph throughout the world."

The one factor qualifying his optimism was: "In this great struggle, solidarity between the forces of the socialist countries and the complete unity of the Communist and Workers' Parties of all countries is of the utmost importance."

After Ho's speech the Congress listened to Lê Duẩn, who was confirmed as First Secretary of the Party, read the "Political Report of the Central Committee." Its text runs for 188 pages in the first volume of the Foreign Languages Publishing House edition of Congress "Documents." In its first section "General Situation and Present Tasks of Our Party" Lê Duẩn explained:

"...Since the North is the common revolutionary base of the whole country, the socialist revolution in the North aims not only at building a new life for the northern people, but also at laying the foundations of a new life, full of freedom and happiness, for our entire nation, and at preparing effectively the future development of the whole country..."

"In short, by actively taking the North towards socialism we create conditions for the revolution in the South to develop vigorously and to win victory, for the revolution throughout the country to advance, for the full deployment of the strength of the Vietnamese revolution itself combined with the strength of the whole socialist camp and that of the movement for peace and national independence, with a view to isolating and finally vanquishing the most cruel and dangerous enemy of our people, the U.S. imperialists, to achieving national reunification and
building a peaceful, unified, independent, democratic, prosperous and strong Viet-Nam." But, he added, "It is clear that the task of the socialist revolution in the North is the most decisive task for the development of the whole revolution in our country, for the people's cause for national reunification."

Therefore, in his next paragraph, Lê Duẩn emphasized to the Party's southern membership, much of which had "regrouped" to North Viet-Nam: "In defining the positions and responsibilities of the revolution in the North, as being those of firmly grasping the duty of maintaining peace, building socialism and promoting the revolution in the South, means at the same time to define clearly the position and responsibilities of the revolution in the South as being those of having the direct duty of overthrowing the rule of the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen and of liberating the South, thus completing the tasks of the national people's democratic revolution throughout the country. That is the only correct line for the achievement of peaceful national reunification..."

He reiterated: "To secure conditions of peace in the North, to help the building of socialism, to safeguard peace in Indochina and the world, the South must struggle resolutely against the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen, defeat their aggressive and warmongering policy and put an end to their cruel domination. There is no other way but this one.

"The South must play a direct role in executing the task of liberating the South from the domination of the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen, and has the capacity to fulfill this splendid task."

The role of the Party, North and South, was clearly stated in the report: "In the execution of the above mentioned revolutionary task our Party bears a very heavy responsibility. Unconditionally loyal to the interests of the class and the nation, our Party will continue its endeavors to unite, organize and lead our people in their self-sacrificing struggle, overcoming all difficulties and fulfilling in a worthy manner this glorious revolutionary task."

Some intimation of why the Party was prepared to
intensify its activity in the South in September 1960, and what it planned to do, were provided in the second section of Lê Duẩn's report -- "Struggle for National Reunification and Completion of the Tasks of the National People's Democratic Revolution Throughout the Country."

It noted that "The U.S. imperialists have not established their administrative machinery and have no army of occupation in South Viet-Nam... The policy of aggression and enslavement of the U.S. and the traitorous activities of the Ngô Đình Diệm clique are coming up against a daily firmer opposition from the masses of our people in the South...

In the cities unemployment grows daily among the workers and the other strata of the toiling people," and in the countryside, the report said, land policy and police measures were "making the life of the peasants extremely miserable." Details of both urban and rural "struggles" were cited, culminating with the "widespread mass struggle" which "broke out everywhere in South Viet-Nam" on the occasion of the July 20, 1960 anniversary of the signing of the Geneva Accords.

"These struggles, said Lê Duẩn, "are clear evidence of the strong revolutionary spirit of our compatriots in the South.

"On behalf of the whole Party our Congress warmly hails the heroic revolutionary spirit of our southern compatriots and wishes them still more and greater successes."

The implication was clear enough: that the July 20, 1960 demonstrations had been initiated by the Party, which (as the 1963 "Resolution concerning the South" was to acknowledge,) had been prescribing "the policy for revolution" since the January 1959 Central Committee meeting. Since demonstrations had been achieved in many provinces and towns in South Viet-Nam, the next step, said Le Duan, was to put the "great revolutionary power of the masses" into an organizational framework.

"To ensure the complete success for the revolutionary struggle in South Viet-Nam our people there under the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist Party of the working class must strive to establish a united bloc of workers, peasants and soldiers, and to bring into being a broad National United Front
directed against the U.S. and Diệm and based upon the worker-peasant alliance. This front must rally all the patriotic parties and religious groups, together with all individuals inclined to oppose the U.S.-Diệm. The aims of the struggle of the National United Front against the U.S. and Diệm in the South are peace, national independence, democratic freedoms, improvement of the living conditions of the people and the peaceful reunification of the fatherland. The Front must carry out its work in a very flexible manner, in order to rally all forces that can be won over, neutralize all forces that should be neutralized, and draw the broad masses into the general struggle against the U.S.-Diem," Le Duan concluded.

The First Secretary's report devoted 19 pages to the reunification struggle. There followed section three, "Line For The Socialist Revolution In North Viet-Nam", section four, "Tasks And Orientation Of The First Five Year Plan (1961-1965)", and section five, "Strengthening of The People's Democratic State, Consolidation Of The Political And Moral Unity Of The People In North Viet-Nam", the three sections occupying 99 pages.

In section six of the Political Report of the Central Committee, Lê Duc Tho spoke about "Strengthening Of International Solidarity, Active Struggle To Preserve And Consolidate World Peace." He elaborated on the themes noted in Ho's opening speech, and welcomed several recent international initiatives of both Soviet Russia and Communist China, which the other power had not endorsed. Then in a long paragraph reflecting Ho's concern, he voiced the VWP's fear that an ideological schism, if not a major policy divergence, might be developing within international communism which would weaken the revolution.

"The existence and the constant development of the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union, exerts a decisive influence on the general trend of world events. The strengthening of solidarity and unity of mind and the tightening of relations of brotherly cooperation and mutual assistance between the countries of the socialist camp, are the main conditions for the safeguarding of the national independence"
and the defense of the achievements in socialist and communist construction in each socialist country, enabling all the countries of the socialist camp to develop rapidly in the economic, political and cultural spheres as well as in the improvement of the living standards of the people," Lê Duẩn declared. "Along side the reinforcement of solidarity and cooperation between the socialist countries there must be a strengthening of solidarity and unity of mind between the Communist and Workers' Parties in the world," he insisted. "The more the solidarity and unity of mind of the socialist camp and the international communist movement grows, the more the revolutionary movement in the world will develop, the higher the unvanquishable banner of Marxism-Leninism will be raised before the eyes of progressive mankind. This is the very reason why the imperialists and their henchmen are seeking by all means to sabotage the solidarity and unity of mind of the socialist camp and the international communist movement. In this respect the Yugoslav revisionists have played an extremely base role. But the Communist and Workers' Parties all over the world have resolutely condemned revisionism, and at the same time unmasked the traitorous nature of the Yugoslav revisionists, inflicting shameful defeat upon their maneuvers of division. In the future as in the past, the great international task of our Party and our people is to strive to contribute to the strengthening of the solidarity and unity of mind of the socialist camp, to strengthen the unity of the international communist movement, and to struggle resolutely against every scheme and action aimed at undermining the international solidarity of the working class."

The final 20-page section of Lê Duẩn's report was a critique of "The Party." It had, the First Secretary stressed, "secured splendid victory in the national people's democratic revolution." The revolution in the South was still in that phase, and Lê Duẩn made no critical comments on its capacity to perform that task. The entire thrust of this section was directed at improving the Party's ability to manage the transition to socialism in the North.

He stated that: "Our Party is the Party of the working class, the proletarian ideology has always been the guiding
ideology of our Party, and as a result, our Party's line and policy are in the main correct. But we must remember that our Party was born and bred in a society in which peasants and urban petty-bourgeois elements form the great majority of the people, and that in our Party itself, most cadres and members come from peasant and urban petty-bourgeois stock. For a long time our Party has led the national people's democratic revolution against imperialism and feudalism; our Party cadres and members have been tempered in the fire of the national people's democratic revolution, but their education and training as regards working class stand (sic) has not been adequate."

But, did this matter so far as the South was concerned? Apparently not, for all of Lê Duẩn's proposals were directed at improving the standards and abilities of Northern members and cadres. The "flexibility" that was required in the South warranted less concern about Party members' origins and capabilities. Said Lê Duẩn, "Revolution is the work of the masses led by the Party. The source of the boundless strength of the Party lies in its close ties with the toiling masses. Our Party has a tradition of keeping close ties with the masses and has much experience in mobilizing the masses to carry out the revolution."

Lê Duẩn called the delegates' attention to:

"The new Draft Constitution of the Party based upon the changes brought about in the social situation of the Northern part of our country and the revolutionary tasks of the new stage", which "includes important amendments to the conditions for the recruitment of new members and to the duties of Party members. Such amendments are most necessary to strengthen the class character and vanguard character of the Party. Comrade Lê Đức Thọ, on behalf of the Central Committee of the Party, will present these problems in his report on the revision of the Constitution of the Party."

Lê Đức Thọ's report is not printed in the Congress "Documents", but on September 15, 1960 the Party's Hanoi daily newspaper NHÂN DÂN published the new Constitution of the Party. Its preamble stated:
The immediate objective of the Vietnamese revolution is to strengthen the people's unity; resolutely maintain peace; step up the socialist revolution in the North, and at the same time step up the national people's democratic revolution in the South; achieve national reunification on the basis of independence and democracy; build a peaceful, prosperous, and strong Viet-Nam and concretely contribute to the reinforcement of the socialist camp and the protection of peace in Southeast Asia and the world.

To fulfill the responsibilities of the national people's democratic revolution in the South the Party advocates a patient struggle against all policies of the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys aimed at partitioning our country forever and enslaving and oppressing our people, and against their aggressive policies in order to liberate the South from imperialist and feudal rule, to achieve national independence, and to carry out the slogan 'Land to the Tillers'. To fulfill these responsibilities, the Southern people must endeavor to build a worker-peasant-soldier bloc and set up a large front on the basis of the worker-peasant alliance. They must also unite all classes, races, religions, patriotic political parties, and all persons who oppose the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys. On this basis they must carry out the appropriate fighting measures to achieve national reunification and advance the revolution.

The Vietnamese Communists' pride of place in the international communist scheme of things was also embodied in the Party Constitution:

The Viet-Nam Workers Party recognizes that the Vietnamese revolution is an active part of the international movement struggling for socialism, national independence, and world peace, and that the DRV is a member of the powerful socialist camp headed by the great USSR. The Party has unceasingly contributed to the consolidation and strengthening of the unity and uniformity among Communist and Workers' Parties the world over, and of the friendly relations and brotherly cooperation among countries of the socialist camp. The Party is responsible for leading the working class and people of Viet-Nam in collaborating with the oppressed to
struggle against imperialism, and with the working class and with the peoples in various countries to struggle for a lasting world peace."

For the most part, the 62 Articles of the Constitution were designed explicitly for the North where the Party had become the ruling state Party. But the final paragraph of Article 24 read:

"The Central Executive Committee may also assign a number of its members to set up a central directorate in charge of leading Party activities in especially important Party Chapters. The central directorate is placed under the leadership of the Central Executive Committee."

This was the authority for the re-establishment, the following year, of COSVN, the Central Office of South Vietnam, to direct both political and military activities there.

Volume I of the "Documents" of the Third National Congress of the Viet-Nam Workers Party concludes with the texts of the Resolution "On the Tasks And Line Of The Party In The New State", the "Appeal" to comrades and compatriots. Both follow the lines of Lê Duẩn's Central Committee Report.

Then there is a brief "Closing Address by President Hồ Chí Minh." Volume II, which is not available, contained a discussion of "the tasks and directions for the First Five-Year Plan" and Volume III "a selection of ten addresses made by delegates." Clearly some of these addresses were made shortly after Le Duan's Political Report, while others were a part of the discussion of the Five-Year Plan. A few of them are relevant to this research note.

Veteran ideologist and former Party secretary Trương Chinh probably spoke immediately after Le Duan. He began:

"I completely agree with the Political Report of the Party's Central Committee made by Comrade Le Duan; I want to add some views on the Party's ideological work."

"In 1956", he said "the imperialists and their henchmen, taking advantage of the criticism of the cult of personality made by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and then
by other Communist and Workers' Parties attempted to split and attack the leading organs of the Communist and Workers' Parties. They stepped up plots of putsch in a number of socialist countries and the Tito clique propagated revisionism in an attempt to poison the international communist and workers' movement."

The virus spread even to North Viet-Nam, Trương Chinh said. "At home, following the example of criticism set by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union at its XXth Congress, we reviewed our work in land reform and readjustment of organization, brought to light the mistakes committed, courageously made criticism and self-criticism and worked out policies and measures to right the wrong. This was just an ideological struggle inside the Party against subjectiveness, 'leftist' tendencies and self-complacency." The speaker did not mention that peasants in at least one province had staged an armed revolt against the rigidities of the land reform policy, over which he himself had presided, nor his having had to resign the Party secretaryship.

He continued: "But the religious reactionaries and other henchmen of Ngô Đình Đệm in our midst, the landlord class and bourgeois elements and reactionary bourgeois intellectuals colluded with one another and took advantage of our correction of mistakes committed in the land reform and readjustment of organization to try and carry out their dark schemes. The political and ideological struggle unrolled fiercely: On the one hand, we smashed to pieces the subversive activities of our class enemies, ensured public order and security, crushed the NHÂN DÂN GIAI PHẠM group and on the other hand, we carried out propaganda and explanatory work fairly, widely and deeply enough among the cadres and Party members and the masses of people aimed at eliminating the influence of enemy ideologies, we criticized rightist opportunism and revisionism with a view to safeguarding the Party, its lines and policies and the fruit of the revolution. Consequently the situation was quickly stabilized and underwent good changes."

It seemed to Trương Chinh that: "Looking back, we can say that through the mobilization for righting the wrong and summing up the land reform, as well as the struggle against the saboteurs at the end of 1956 and early 1957, our Party
has grown up and is more steeled and tempered.

"Since 1958 we have actually entered the period of socialist transformation and construction in the North." One aspect of that was the "discussions held in Autumn 1959 concerning the two paths in the countryside and the mobilization to improve management of enterprises in 1959-1969. We closely combined the work of heightening patriotism, consciousness as masters of the country, national pride and determination to fight the U.S.-Diem clique and to win national unification, with the preliminary building of socialist consciousness in the people's mind."

Like Lê Duẩn, Trương Chinh was uneasy about the fact that "the great majority of our cadres and Party members come from the petty bourgeois (including peasants and urban petty bourgeois) live and work in the midst of the masses whose majority are also petty bourgeois. Ideological education is not deeply, broadly and continuously conducted by the Party." One result of this was that "following the harvest of last May, a number of cadres and Party members concealed paddy in their own houses or in others' so as to avoid selling it to the State. They indulged in hole-and-corner transactions and stockpiling and sold their product on the free market. Up to now a small number of Party members in the countryside still have the tendency to get rich individually. Mention should be made that corruption and waste occur frequently, very seriously in some cases. In cultural, educational, scientific and technical work a number of cadres and employees neglect the Party spirit, belittle the ideological question and separate their professional work from politics, so much so that in their thinking they have not acknowledged the Party's leadership over professional work. There are even literary and political works which uphold and propagate bourgeois idealism. On a number of fundamental political problems, many people still oppose dictatorship to democracy, freedom to discipline, or think that only the bourgeois democratic regime is genuinely democratic and our people's democratic regime has a less democratic character, etc."

Exacerbating the problem was the regime in the South: 
"Every hour they use their broadcasting station and reactionary elements camouflaged under religious cloaks and especially the
spies, to secretly connive with the die-hard exploiters and counter-revolutionaries in order to propagate their reactionary ideas in North Viet-Nam's society by every possible means."

After outlining the North's ideological re-education requirements Trương Chinh asserted that "The experiences summed up from the Chinese revolution, the Korean revolution, and the Vietnamese revolution, together with the new and abundant experiences of the revolution from colonies and semi-colonies since the end of the Second World War, have contributed and are contributing to the development of the revolutionary theory of the working class and oppressed people throughout the world."

These experiences contribute to the development of Marxism-Leninism, Trương Chinh said. While factoring them into the core doctrine, however, care had to be taken not to distort or dilute it. "Otherwise, we will fall into dogmatism or revisionism."

It was in this context that he declared:

"The Declaration of the Conference of Representatives of Twelve Communist and Workers' Parties of socialist countries and the Peace Manifesto of the Conference of 65 Communist and Workers' Parties in Moscow in November 1957 are the common property of the Marxist-Leninist Parties in the present period of history. The Declaration of the Conference of 12 Communist and Workers Parties [those in power—Editor] has summarized the experiences of forty years of revolutionary struggle waged by the working class in the world from the Russian October Revolution onward, and defined the lines and guiding principles for the working class and the toiling people throughout the world in their struggle to liberate themselves from all oppression and exploitation. The decisions of the 20th Congress and 21st Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union have developed the Marxist-Leninist theories on a number of important problems concerning the struggle for world peace and for socialism and communism. We should firmly grasp the spirit of those valuable documents in studying the theoretical problems of the Vietnamese revolution and of current international events,"
and at the same time apply it in a creative manner to the practical situation in our country at the present time."

While at the conclusion of his speech Trương Chinh reiterated his concurrence in Lê Duẩn's report with its formula for aiding the revolution in the South while building socialism in the North, he had expressed sharp interest in the South only in connection with the deleterious effects the Diệm regime and its propaganda were having upon the "ideological task" in the North.

Premier, and Party Politburo member, Phạm Văn Đòng spoke also at the Party Congress. He voiced no concern over the South's possible influence upon the North, but affirmed that: "Our compatriots in the South will never forget the years they lived under the people's democratic regime. Nowadays, the more savage and oppressive the U.S.-Diệm regime, the more profoundly our compatriots think of the fine, admirable system of former times, the more do they look towards the North, towards the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam. Nowadays, in the eyes of the people of the whole country, the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam is raising aloft the banner of struggle for the sacred interests of the nation: Peacefully to reunify the country on the basis of independence and democracy."

Phạm Văn Đòng nicely balanced his tributes to the Soviet Union and to China, and without alluding to any misunderstandings between the two, said that their "warmhearted voices encourage us constantly to strive to contribute our share to this great work, that is further to strengthen the single-minded unity between the Communist Parties and the Workers' Parties...in order to win further great victories for peace, democracy, national independence and socialism all over the world."

Another Politburo member, Lê Thanh Nghị, acknowledged that: "In economic building and development in recent years our country has enjoyed the wholehearted assistance of the Soviet Union, China and other socialist countries. Their assistance is very important. It gives us favorable conditions rapidly to develop our national economy. At present and also in the future, the brother countries are always ready to help us owing to their lofty spirit of proletarian internationalism."
Tôn Đức Thắng, although not a Politburo member, was in 1960 Vice President of the Republic and Chairman of the Central Committee of the Viet-Nam Fatherland Front. He addressed the Party Congress "On the Question of the National United Front." His speech added nothing to what Lê Duẩn had said about the composition of the proposed National United Front for the South, but he did make the relationship between Fronts and the Party quite clear:

"While doing work for the Front, we should keep in mind the following points:

1. To uphold the leadership of the Party. The Party's right to leadership is not to be shared by others and not to be confused, because realities in our country have shown that only the Party of the working class guided by Marxism-Leninism has a correct political line and is determined to lead its allies towards the set aim. Our Party should maintain good relations with the masses, unite all revolutionary classes and social strata around it. At the same time we must make these revolutionary classes and strata realize that only in believing in the Party and uniting around it, can victory be won.

2. We should unceasingly strengthen the worker-peasant alliance and on the basis of the worker and peasant forces rally the other social strata. Otherwise, it would be difficult to win over the upper social strata, and if we can rally them at all, without the worker-peasant alliance the National United Front would not have a solid foundation.

3. The work of the National United Front is a special form of class struggle; therefore, we should at the same time unite with our allies and fight against their erroneous thoughts and deeds; unite to safeguard the revolutionary front, and fight further to strengthen unity. Unity cannot be exempt from criticism and struggle, and struggle cannot be without principle and harmful to unity."

By far the most significant speech following Lê Duẩn's report was that of Defense Minister and Politburo member General Vô Nguyên Giáp. Titled "Strengthening National Defense and Building Up The People's Armed Forces" in
Volume III of the Congress "Documents", it is reprinted in full in this research note.

Giap said that "the Party has laid down the basic principles of building up our army politically", and its "correct leadership has made it possible for our army to score brilliant victories." Then he asserted:

"These successes and experiences teach us that in order to win victory, the armed struggle and the building up of the armed forces should be guided by a correct political line; armed struggle should serve the aims of the political struggle. In effect, throughout the process of leading the armed struggle, our Party stuck to the line of the national and democratic revolution, correctly combined the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal tasks, and, therefore, scored brilliant victories. At the same time, we clearly realize that 'The building and strengthening of the armed forces constitute one of the important conditions for the revolution in our country to defeat all aggressors, to safeguard and develop the fruits of revolution.'"

After commenting upon the international situation and the Diem regime in the South, Giap reminded the delegates that:

"In fact, since the restoration of peace, our Party has paid constant heed to the task of strengthening national defense and building up the army. The 12th Session of the Central Committee [in March, 1957--Editor] pointed out that this was 'one of the essential tasks of the entire Party and of the entire people.' It laid down the tasks of the people's army in the new stage as follows: 'To safeguard the cause of consolidating and building up the North in its progressive advance to socialism, to defend the sovereignty, the territory, and the security of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, to serve as a prop to the struggle for the consolidation of peace, the reunification of the country, and the completion of independence and democracy all over the country, to be prepared to smash the aggressive plots of imperialism, especially the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys.'"

"Thanks to the solicitude of the Party," he continued,
"and the participation and support of the people, the work of strengthening national defense and building up the army scored great achievements over the past few years. We should, however, recognize that these achievements have been limited to some extent, because within the Party and among the people, the importance of the task of strengthening national defense is not adequately understood. That is due to the fact that a number of our comrades do not yet realize the necessity of strengthening the people's democratic dictatorship which is in essence a proletarian dictatorship throughout the period of transition. That is due to the fact that while speaking about our Party's policy of peaceful reunification, a number of our comrades are not fully aware of the plots of the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys; they do not understand that while our policy is to preserve peace and to achieve peaceful reunification, we should always be prepared to cope with any maneuver of the enemy. That is due to the fact that a number of comrades have no all-sided understanding of the present world situation; they see only the possibility of winning a lasting peace and not the danger of war which still exists; they see only the growth of the forces of socialism, national independence, democracy and peace, but they are not fully aware of the plots of imperialism..."

Even so, said Giáp:

"The army has made an important step forward along the path of becoming a modern regular army." But continued progress depended, he thought, upon further development of the national economy as well as improvements in the organization of the "standing army", the "militia and the self-defense corps" and the coordination of "economic construction with the consolidation of national defense."

Meanwhile, Giáp warned, "we should not indulge in self-complacency...At present, with the institution of the regime of military duties, hundreds of thousands of volunteer fighters have been demobilized. Our army is almost entirely made up of new recruits. (3) They are a generation of youth

(3) The institution of conscription in North Viet-Nam and the modernization of the army during this period are discussed in "Civil-Military Relations in North Viet-Nam" by William S. Turley in Asian Survey, December 1969, Vol. IX, Number 12
full of force and with an ardent desire for progress who have grown up in the countryside now being transformed, or in factories and schools. They have good relations with the masses, they love the Fatherland, they love socialism, they are able to learn the new very quickly, but they have not yet been tempered and their political standards are rather low...

"Together with, and on the basis of the maintenance and strengthening of the army's revolutionary nature, we should push ahead its transformation into a modern regular army.

"The modernization of the army is a most necessary work, amounting to a whole technical revolution requiring great efforts. At present, although the level of modernization of our army is still low, rather important progress has been made in comparison with its former backward equipment.... The industrialization of the country will create for our army new favorable conditions...

"Today the economic construction in the North has become the central task of the Party. Therefore it is necessary to cut down the defense budget, adequately reduce our army contingent so as to concentrate manpower and material in economic construction. This is a very correct policy."

The Defense Minister concluded his address with a plea for a carefully balancing of defense and economic priorities, and a tribute from "our People's Army" to "the Party and President Ho."

In short, while Giap may well have agreed entirely with Le Duan's formula of aiding the revolt in the South while "building socialism" in the North, he apparently did not think in 1960 that the DRV was ready to intervene militarily on a large scale. He did not, however, seem to such rule out intervention when the modernization of the army would make it feasible. Indeed he indicated that such a contingency was discussed in the Central Committee of the VWP as early as March 1957.

The first institutional effect of the 1960 Party Congress, and of twenty month Central Committee and Politburo decisions which it formalized, was the organization of the National Front
for the Liberation of South Viet-Nam [NLF] on December 20, 1960. Then in February 1961 the insurgent forces were brought under the central control of the South Viet-Nam People's Liberation Armed Forces. About that time the Central Office of South Viet-Nam, authorized in the 1960 Viet-Nam Workers' Party Constitution, was activated (4) and on January 1, 1962 the People's Revolutionary Party of South Viet-Nam, actually a unification of the Nam Bô (Southern) and Trung Bô (Central) Party organizations of the old Indochinese Communist Party, was announced. Furthermore in 1969 and 1960 the rate of Hanoi sponsored infiltration South of Communist "regroupees" was accelerated (5).

It would, therefore, be a mistake to under-estimate the importance of the 1959 Central Committee and 1960 Congress decisions. Nonetheless, the decision actually to engage North Vietnamese tactical military units in the war in the South does not appear to have been taken until December 1963. In the intervening years the training and equipping of the North Vietnamese army about which Giap spoke at the 1960 Congress proceeded, and Hanoi was experiencing the effects of the widening ideological gap between Soviet Russia and Communist China.

While the Russian and Chinese delegates to the Hanoi Party Congress were not publicly rude to each other there were reports of off-stage tensions between them. Two months later, in November 1960, Hồ Chí Minh and Lê Duẩn headed the VWP's delegation to a Moscow Conference of Communist Parties. It produced a joint statement signed by both the Russian and Chinese parties, as well as the Vietnamese and other lesser Communist parties, but almost immediately thereafter, and in polemics for several years, it was

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(4) For the history and functions of COSVN see Viet-Nam Documents and Research Notes No. 40 "The Central Office of South Viet-Nam."

(5) The "regroupees" and their return to South Viet-Nam are discussed in J. J. Zasloff Political Motivation of the Viet-Cong: The Viet Minh Regroupees The Rand Corporation, Santa Monica, Cal., and Viet-Nam Documents and Research Notes Nos 36-37 'North Viet-Nam's Role in the South.
interpreted differently by the two big Parties. As could have been predicted from the speeches of Hồ Chí Minh, Lê Duẩn and Trương Chinh at the Third Congress, the Vietnamese delegation endeavored to avoid antagonizing either of the major contestants for Communist ideological leadership -- both of whose assistance was considered vital to the DRV -- but, as was also predictable, it was strongly against "revisionism".

Ho refused to join the Russians in their attempt to isolate the Chinese-supported Albanian Party of Labor (APL) in 1961. In November of that year HỌC TẬP, the VWP's theoretical journal, cheered the twentieth anniversary of the APL, noting that "the Party has extolled the study of classics of Marxism-Leninism, the history of the APL, and the Statement of the 1960 Conference of Representatives of Communist and Workers Parties. The Albanian Party of Labor has directed the main strikes of the entire Party and all the people against imperialism, especially United States imperialism, and the revisionist ruling clique in Yugoslavia."

On the other hand the VWP Central Committee meeting from November 30 to December 2, 1961 issued a communique congratulating the Communist Party of the Soviet Union on the new program adopted at its XXIIInd Congress, the meeting at which Krushchev launched his most vigorous attack upon the Albanians, to the dismay of the Chinese delegation present, headed by Premier Chou En-lai (6).

Earlier that year, in March 1961, Lê Duẩn addressed the Third Congress of the Viet-Nam Labor Youth Union. The published version of his speech was titled "The Youth Are The Mainstay of The Revolution." (7) Its principal reference to the South in a section "The Youth is a Prop For Our National Reunification Struggle" was entirely in keeping with the political commitment of the 1960 Congress. But it did not foreclose a deepening of the involvement in the South. He said:


"Production, however, is not everything. As our country still remains divided, the U.S.-Diệm clique are persecuting our people and youth in the South. They are preparing for war and directing their agents secretly to undermine our socialist construction in the North. The whole Party and people assume another important task, which they should never forget, and that is to defend the fatherland, production and peace. While taking part in production, our young people must nurture bitter hatred for the U.S.-Diệm clique, heighten their vigilance and stand ready to fight. In the army they are training day and night to safeguard the security of our country. The Party, the people and youth are proud of the achievements of their heroic People's Army. I welcome the army's youth representatives present at this Congress. Nevertheless, national defense does not rest with the army's youth only, but with the youth as a whole. We must take part in military training to contribute to the consolidation of our national defense, to the safeguarding of peace and security and to the achievement of national reunification.

"You are not taking a direct part in the struggle in the South, but I would like to remind you that at this very moment hundreds of thousands of young South Vietnamese are heroically fighting against the U.S.-Diệm clique. Over the past few months millions of people and young men have attended demonstrations and meetings in protest against the U.S.-Diệm regime. Each time, five to ten young men are arrested, tortured, mutilated or disemboweled, but far from shrinking back they are determined to go ahead, a behavior which does honor to our youth. The duty of the young people in the North is to take an active part in production to make their best contribution to socialism in order to alleviate the pain and shorten the suffering of the South Vietnamese people and youth. Thinking of our Southern compatriots and youth will end our worrying about the choice of a job, about whether one in town is better than another in the countryside or not. A young Communist must ponder over the sacrifices of his comrades down there to put right his erroneous thinking, prejudicial to socialist construction and the national reunification struggle, to his revolutionary mettle and feelings."

A year later, in April 1962, Lê Duẩn, speaking at a
"meeting of propaganda and education cadres", remarked: (8)

"While waging a revolution to transform the relations of production in North Viet-Nam we should take South Viet-Nam into consideration. During the transformation period, we have to bear in mind that our people as a nation are implementing two revolutionary tasks. In the North the socialist revolution aims at eliminating the bourgeoisie as a class and turning capitalist ownership into ownership by the whole people. However, the bourgeoisie here is weak and has fought imperialism on our side. Meanwhile, the Southern bourgeoisie adheres to the National Front for Liberation which is rallying the people in the struggle against imperialism. The bourgeoisie in the North and its counterpart in the South being the same class of one and the same country, they have influence on each other and any measure against the bourgeoisie in the North affects its counterpart in the South. Therefore, in the transformation of the bourgeoisie in the North we must reckon with our Southern compatriots' revolutionary struggle and act in such a way as will best rally the bourgeoisie with the National Front for Liberation against the American imperialists in South Viet-Nam. Hence we have used moderate measures: Repurchasing of the property owned by the bourgeoisie and uniting with it in view of common progress [sic]."

The next thirteen months, however, saw a change in the tone of Lê Duẩn's references to the struggle in the South. For example, on May 18, 1963 he spoke "at the conference for vulgarization [sic] of the resolution of the Eighth Session of the Party Central Committee." (9) The speech was devoted primarily to the problems of the DRV's "First Five Year Plan", but contained this comment about the South:

"Meanwhile, in the South of our fatherland the U.S. imperialists and the Ngô Đình Diệm clique are expanding a special war to repress the South Viet-Nam people's aspirations for peace, national reunification, independence, and democracy. In essence this is a most murderous aggressive war carried

(8) Ibid. pp 7 ff.
(9) Ibid, Vol II pp 171 ff. Underlining is as in the volume.
out on an ever larger scale. Our compatriots in South Viet-Nam must take up arms to defend themselves and wage a do-or-die struggle not minding sacrifices and hardships. Millions of South Viet-Nam people are marching to the front and together with their armed forces they oppose their indomitable spirit and iron will to the modern weapons of the enemy. Throughout these last nine years, the struggle waged by our South Viet-Nam compatriots has been very fierce and arduous... We must make the entire Party and people clearly and correctly realize this situation. All our combativeness and revolutionary feelings must spring from the understanding of the general situation of the whole country and of the most heavy and glorious historical task which the people of both zones must carry out."

In February of that year the Politburo of the VWP had appealed to all "Communist and Workers' Parties...to overcome divergencies of views and to firmly maintain and enhance unity within their ranks." It suggested that all "reciprocal criticisms cease," that another global communist conference be called, and that Moscow and Peking recognize their particular obligations to promote solidarity within the movement. Commenting on the appeal in a broadcast article in Vietnamese on February 21, 1963, General Giáp asserted that the VWP had completed the "Bolshevization" of the Party, eliminating "reformist, Trotskyite and bourgeois tendencies." It was, he said, a "mature Party" prepared to implement the Third Congress Resolution "and make an active contribution to the strengthening of the socialist camp and the defense of peace in Southeast Asia and the world." He noted that "the surely victorious political and military struggle of our compatriots in South Viet-Nam is an excessively hard struggle against the neocolonialism of the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen."

Hanoi's increasingly active participation in the insurrection in the South was welcomed in Peking. It necessitated Hanoi's endorsing many of Communist China's contentions in its continuing debate with Moscow over latter-day Leninist theory. On 10 May, 1963, in response to an invitation from Hồ Chí Minh, Liu Shao-chi, then Chairman of the People's Republic of China and Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the
Communist Party of China, arrived in Hanoi for a week-long visit. (10)

At a mass rally in Ba Đình Square two days later he declared:

"The resolutions of the Third National Congress of the Viet-Nam Workers' Party correctly point out that Viet-Nam's revolution in its present stage has two closely related strategic tasks which reinforce each other. These are: to carry out the socialist revolution in the North and at the same time to hasten the national people's democratic revolution in the South in order to achieve national reunification...

"It is our firm belief that, with the correct leadership of the Viet-Nam Workers' Party and the excellent working style of the broad sections of the Vietnamese cadres -- plain living, hard work and keeping in close touch with the masses -- and with the Vietnamese people's revolutionary spirit of self-reliance and of diligence and thrift in building their country, the socialist construction of northern Viet-Nam will surely go forward to ever greater victory.

"The triumph of socialist construction in northern Viet-Nam is giving powerful inspiration to the people of the southern part in their patriotic, just struggles. While courageously building socialism, the people of the northern part do not for a moment forget that their motherland is still kept divided. President Hồ Chí Minh has well said that as long as the Vietnamese people have not driven U.S. imperialism out of the South and liberated it from the brutal rule of the U.S.- Ngô Đình Diệm regime they cannot sleep or eat at ease...

"We firmly believe that, led by the South Viet-Nam National Liberation Front and supported by their brothers in northern Viet-Nam and the people of the whole world, the South Vietnamese people will, after long and arduous struggles,

finally drive out the U.S. aggressors and complete the
sacred task of reunifying the motherland."

Later in his speech Liu Shao-chi made a point of
complimenting Lê Duẩn on one of his recent pronouncements:

"We are in an era of serious and sharp class struggle
as Comrade Lê Duẩn, First Secretary of the Viet-Nam Workers'
Party, well put it in his speech on the eightieth anniversary
of the death of Marx, a speech of a high Marxist-Leninist
order." Peking's Foreign Language Press the next year published
an April 1963 Lê Duẩn speech "Hold High The Revolutionary
Banner of Creative Marxism, Lead Our Revolution to Complete
Victory." It is probable that this is the speech to which Liu
was referring. (The text is not available.)

Several days later, on May 15, Liu Shao-chi and Hồ
Chi Minh visited the Nguyễn Ái Quốc Party School in Hanoi
with its director, Politburo member Trương Chinh. Liu told
the students:

"The Comrade Director has just referred to China's
assistance to Viet-Nam. It is our international duty to help
you as far as possible. If you think that we have done our
international duty that is an encouragement and comfort to us.
But it should be pointed out that, first of all, it is you who
have helped us. Your socialist revolution and socialist
construction in the North, the consolidation of your state
and the valiant struggle of your compatriots in the South are
all a tremendous help to us and to the entire socialist camp."

The Party-cadre training school was an ideal platform
for a message Liu was most anxious to put across in 1963.
He told the students:

"The international communist movement is now in a
crucially important period. There is an acute world-wide
struggle between Marxist-Leninists and modern revisionists
over a series of important questions of principle. The polemics
are centered on whether or not the people of the world should
carry out revolutions and whether or not the party of the
proletariat should lead them in revolutions. The development
of this struggle has a vital bearing on the success or failure
of the entire cause of the proletariat and the working people throughout the world, and on the destiny of the whole of mankind. We cannot look on with folded arms or follow a middle course with regard to this important question of the struggle between conflicting principles...

"Under such circumstances, the fighting task of all Marxist-Leninists is not to evade the challenge of modern revisionism, but to unite in smashing this attack completely, defending the purity of Marxism-Leninism, and holding aloft the red banner of revolution, and to show the proletariat and the working people the correct direction of struggle and the road to victory."

Most of the issues of international policy as well as of Leninist exegetics involved in "the polemics" to which Liu referred were dealt with in the "Joint Statement of Chairman Liu Shao-chi and President Hồ Chí Minh" released on May 16. The text is reprinted in full. Explicit was China's pledge to Viet-Nam:

"The Chinese and Vietnamese peoples are brothers and comrades-in-arms who go through storm and stress together and share weal and woe. The Chinese people firmly support the heroic South Vietnamese people's just and patriotic struggle against U.S. imperialism and the Ngô Đình Diệm clique, and regard this struggle as a brilliant example for the oppressed nations and peoples in the world in fighting for liberation. The Chinese people resolutely support all the Vietnamese people in their sacred struggle for the peaceful reunification of their fatherland and are firmly convinced that this struggle will surely win final victory."

"Both parties," said the communique, "are deeply concerned over the differences now existing in the international communist movement and the socialist camp" and favored the convening of another world communist conference. Hồ, however, added a word of his own:

"President Hồ Chí Minh stresses that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of China are the two biggest Parties and bear the greatest responsibility in the international communist movement, and that the
unity of the Communist Parties of the Soviet Union and China is the pillar of the unity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement. President Hồ Chí Minh expresses the belief that, through the efforts of the Soviet Communist Party and the Chinese Communist Party and the joint efforts of all the Communist and Workers' Parties, the international communist movement and the socialist camp will strengthen their unity and continue to win still greater victories in the common struggle against imperialism and for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism." He also availed "himself of this opportunity to express his gratitude to the Chinese people for their full sympathy and support for the revolutionary cause of the Vietnamese people."

The VWP's mounting aspiration to revolutionary activism was again signalled to the communist world by an editorial in the September 1963 issue of Học Tập titled "Peace or Violence." To insure its circulation throughout the international movement, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, printed it as a pamphlet in English, and doubtless in other languages, before the end of 1963. It was replete with references to "Tito" which, rather transparently, had come to be read "Khrushchev" in Sino-Soviet polemics. It conceded that Marx had thought that in some countries the working class might be able "to seize power by peaceful means," but insisted that Leninist experience proved this to be most unlikely.

Turning to post-World War II developments within "the colonial system of imperialism" the editorial declared that with "socialism...a strong magnet drawing the people of all nations, the national liberation movement is gathering force like a raging storm...Confronted with this situation, imperialism is forced to make its choice between two alternatives:

"1. To stubbornly resist to the end and eventually be driven out of colonies with the result that the colonial nations which have gained complete independence will embark on the path of socialism;

"2. To hand over political independence to the native bourgeoisie and in this way retain its economic interests in the colonies and keep the former colonial nations within the orbit of capitalism."
The editorial obliquely admitted that nationalist movements themselves had some voice in which of these two alternatives was chosen, but insisted that to choose the second was wrong. It dismissed the contention of "people" -- "that the emergence of nuclear weapons is the characteristic of our time and that this has brought changes in the strategy and tactics of the working class," asserting that "the revolutions of China, Viet-Nam, and Cuba were all revolutions by violence and were all won after the presence of nuclear weapons. It is therefore utterly groundless to assert that the working class should not seize state power by violence following the existence of nuclear weapons."

It then traced the history of "our Party" and its revolutionary tradition. Even after 1954, revolutionary violence continued to be employed in the North which had "gone over to the stage of socialism... The role of revolutionary violence was expressed in the administrative measures promulgated by the people's democratic state led by the working class for the transformation of the bourgeoisie and in the struggle waged by the masses of the workers."

To reconcile the defense of violence as necessary to socialism with the allegedly non-socialist stage of the revolution in South Viet-Nam required some thought. The editorial continued:

"The struggle being waged by our compatriots in the South at present still falls into the category of the national democratic revolution. They are using revolutionary violence against the counter-revolutionary violence of the U.S.-Diệm clique and to smash the semi-feudal and colonialist state machinery so that a new state machinery can be set up which truly serves the people's interests."

A coming policy change was signalled by the statement that:

"Since 1962, the U.S.-Diệm gang has been openly conducting an undeclared war against the people in the South. Our compatriots there have been compelled to take up arms against the U.S.-Diệm clique. They are now fighting that
clique by armed as well as political struggles so as to win independence and peace and proceed to establish a unified country on a democratic basis." What change in "U.S.-Diệm" policy had taken place "since 1962" was not explained.

The Central Committee of the VWP held its "Ninth Conference" (ninth since the September 1960 Party Congress) in December 1963. Viet-Nam Documents and Research Notes No. 96, "The Viet-Nam Workers' Party's 1963 Decision To Escalate The War In The South", reprinted the conference's "Resolution concerning the South," a NHÂN DÂN editorial on the meeting and a speech delivered to the Committee by First Secretary Lê Duẩn. These two commentaries addressed themselves avowedly only to the resolution on the "World Situation and Our Party's International Mission." It is reprinted here. The Lê Duẩn speech in fact contained a "theoretical" justification for the "Resolution concerning the South" as well as for the one on the "World Situation."

The latter's purpose was clear enough: to convince the Soviet Union that the VWP's analysis of the world situation warranted its giving military assistance to the South Vietnamese insurgency which it had been directing politically since 1959-1960, and to persuade the Russians to continue and to augment the assistance they had been providing to North Viet-Nam. To accomplish these results the VWP relied heavily upon the 1960 Moscow Statement which the Soviet leaders had co-authored, insisting upon a rigid interpretation of its often ambiguous verbiage. On virtually all of the questions at issue in the intervening three years of polemics between the Soviet and the Chinese Communist Parties the 1963 VWP statement opted for the Chinese point of view.

The fourth part of the resolution "Our Party's International Duty" was self-critical -- a testimony to the VWP's communist

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(11) The timing of the two December 1963 Central Committee resolutions, and the urgency of obtaining an understanding with the Soviet Union was conditioned by the ouster of the Diệm government in South Viet-Nam. See p. 2 of the text of "Resolution Concerning the South" in Viet-Nam Documents and Research Notes No. 96.
good faith, and to the Party's maturity. It implied that despite the VWP's dismay at the strength of "revisionism" among the Soviet leadership it did not wish to sever its ties with the senior Communist Party. Inside North Viet-Nam it was a directive to Party functionaries to root out such "revisionism" as there was in the Party -- and the paragraphs devoted to this topic, as well as Lê Duẩn's speech, suggested that the "Bolshevization" of the Party which Giáp's February 1963 article had boasted of was less than complete.

A fifth section "The Foreign Policy of Our Party" returned to the themes of the opening sections of the resolution and to the VWP's February 1963 call for another international communist conference. "At present the philosopher's stone of loyalty to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism is the loyalty to the entire socialist camp," it declared. "In the socialist camp, it is absolutely necessary not to confuse ideological struggle between parties with the relations between governments. One must not take advantage of these ideological disagreements to exert political, economic, and other pressures and force other countries to adopt one's own views."

The final subsection of the resolution was titled "To Contribute to Protecting Peace in Southeast Asia and the World." It declared that "we must clearly realize that our people's efforts in building socialism in the North and struggling against the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys in the South are positive and concrete contributions to protecting peace in Southeast Asia and the world." Several paragraphs dealt with the problems that could arise for the VWP in making it appear that its increased military intervention in the South was an "implementation of the general principles of the world peace front."

Precisely when in December 1963 the Ninth Conference of the Central Committee met was not stated. Lê Duẩn's speech asserted that the sessions concluded before the turn of the year. But it was not until 21 January 1964 that NHÃN DÂN published its editorial about the meeting. Within a week of its publication Lê Duẩn, his Politburo colleague Lê Búc Thọ, and Tô Hữu, another member of the Central Committee's Secretariat, were on their way to Moscow "at the invitation
of the CPSU Central Committee," arriving there on January 31 according to a Moscow broadcast, the brief text of which is reprinted. They remained in the Soviet capital for ten days, and returned to Hanoi with a brief stopover in Peking. Lê Đức Thọ, addressing a receptive audience of Moscow factory workers, "expressed the conviction that friendship and unity of the peoples of the DRV and the USSR would continue to develop. 'We shall exert all efforts towards this end, and nothing in the world will be able to destroy our friendship and unity,' he said," according to the Moscow broadcast.

The DRV's Constitution, Article 67, provides that the President of the DRV may "when necessary" convene a Special Political Conference, composed of himself, the Vice President, the Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National Assembly, the Prime Minister and "other persons concerned." It "examines major problems of the country" and submits its views to "the National Assembly, the Standing Committee of the National Assembly, the Council of Ministers or other bodies concerned for their consideration and decision." In March, 1964 Hồ Chí Minh interpreted this as authorization for calling a two-day meeting in Hanoi of the entire leadership -- Party and government -- of the DRV. It was the first such meeting to be held. The Hanoi International Service's broadcast report of the opening of the Conference on March 27 and the full text of Hồ's report to it are reprinted.

The North never ceased "even for a minute," Ho said, "thinking of the valiant South and of the struggle for national reunification." He outlined the DRV's economic and social progress since the war against the French, attributing its accomplishments to "the correct leadership of the Party and government," and "the warm assistance extended by the fraternal countries, especially the Soviet Union and China."

After reviewing the "world situation" briefly he declared:

"In the common interest of the world revolutionary movement and the cause of the anti-imperialist struggle, we always endeavor to contribute to the safeguarding and strengthening of the solidarity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement. On the basis of the resolution of the
Ninth Session of the Central Committee of the Viet-Nam Workers Party, we pledge ourselves to continue to join efforts with the fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties in a persevering struggle to safeguard the purity of Marxism-Leninism and the revolutionary principles of the Moscow declaration and statement.

"We are fully confident that the differences in the international communist movement will be overcome. Marxism-Leninism will achieve victory, the socialist camp and the international communist movement will be still more united and powerful and will enhance their effect (sic) of strongly impelling the revolutionary cause of the working people the world over, thereby securing ever greater victories for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism."

Therefore, said Ho, the DRV could strive "to complete the revolutionary cause of our nation -- to build socialism, to build a new life in North Viet-Nam, to support the patriotic struggle of our countrymen in South Viet-Nam, to bring about a peaceful, unified, independent, prosperous and strong Viet-Nam, and to contribute to the defense of peace in Southeast Asia and the world."

He warned that the "revolutionary cause is a long and arduous one." The North Vietnamese people must be prepared to "develop the traditions of our nation as a heroic people and stand ready to undergo sacrifices and wage struggle in the supreme interests of the Fatherland, of the people, and of the cause of revolution in the whole world. Now great and glorious victories are awaiting us! Let the whole Party and the whole people enthusiastically march forward."

Ho Chi Minh's March 27, 1964 speech was the first intimation given the people of North Viet-Nam that their political chieftains had committed them to full-scale participation in the war in the South. The government of the DRV continued to avoid saying in plain language that it was sending North Vietnamese troops South.
Dear Comrades,

I feel very much honoured to convey to the Third National Congress of the Party the warmest greetings of all the Party members, officers and men in the Viet-Nam People's Army.

This National Congress of delegates of the Party is an extremely important event in our people's political life. It will define the line of the socialist revolution in the North and that of the struggle for national reunification and completion of the national people's democratic revolution all over the country.

During the period of preparations for the Congress, the various Party organizations in the Army took part in the discussions on the draft reports of the Congress in an extremely active, lively and enthusiastic spirit. I would like to report to the Congress that we fully approve the content of the political report of the Central Committee read by comrade Le Duan.

In this speech, I would like to refer to a number of experiences of our Party in leading the armed struggle before dealing with the work of strengthening national defence and building up the armed forces in the present stage.

Comrades,

The Central Committee's report has pointed out in a brief but complete way the process of leading the Revolution.
and the essential experiences of our Party over the last 30 years. We may say that during this historical period, armed struggle played an important part; the leading of the armed struggle and of the building up of armed forces is one of our Party's essential successes.

Our Party led the people in the general uprising which brought about the victory of the August Revolution.

The August general uprising was a victorious uprising of the people of a colonial and semi-feudal country under the leadership of the working class' Party. Through a long process of political struggle, which developed into local armed struggle during the pre-revolutionary period, our people at last seized the favourable opportunity; take advantage of the extreme crisis in which the enemy found itself, and mainly using political forces with the support of the revolutionary armed forces and para-military forces, they valiantly rose up in towns as well as in the countryside, smashed the yoke of the imperialists and the feudalists, set up people's power, and founded the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam.

The August general uprising was typical of a victorious uprising in a colonial and semi-feudal country, and a clever combination of political and armed struggles, of the political forces of the masses and the revolutionary armed forces.

The success of the August general uprising shows that in the present world situation, the liberation struggle of the people of a colonial country, in certain historical conditions can achieve success through the form of uprising. This is an experience of a creative character which the rich development in the national liberation movement over recent years tend more and more to confirm.

Immediately after the foundation of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, with a view to safeguarding and developing the fruits of the August Revolution in the face of foreign invasion, our Party led the people to take up arms and to wage the Resistance War. In extremely difficult and hard conditions,
having to deal with an enemy several times stronger, it was able to unite and mobilize all patriotic classes and strata, in the first place the broad peasant masses, to organize an all-out protracted national resistance war, and to wage a great people's war without precedent in the history of our country.

The victory of our people's sacred Resistance War is the victory of the people of a colonial and semi-feudal country with no large area, no big population, and an extremely backward agricultural economy, which rose to wage a protracted armed struggle against an aggressive imperialist country.

This victory is eloquent evidence of the fact that in the present world situation, the liberation struggle of a weak people can achieve victory through a protracted armed struggle -- a protracted resistance war.

Amidst the flames of a fierce armed struggle, our Party successfully led the building up of the people's revolutionary armed forces.

The Party founded the army and led it to fight and win successive victories. In building it up, it has ceaselessly maintained and strengthened the class character of the army, laid down its revolutionary tasks, given its officers and men a clear understanding of the aim to be achieved: to win independence for the people, to bring land to the tiller, to advance to socialism. It has built up our army into a people's army, an army of the toiling people, and essentially of workers and peasants, under the leadership of the working class Party.

The Party has laid down the basic principles of building up our army politically. Those are principles of consolidating the Party's absolute leadership over the army, of establishing a regime of political work in the army, of educating officers and men in the spirit of proletarian ideology, of achieving unity within the army, unity between the army and the people, and international solidarity, of causing the disintegration of the enemy, of carrying out a regime of inner democracy combined with self-imposed strict discipline.
In the conditions of an economically backward country, our Party has successfully settled the questions of formation, organization, equipment, food supply, training, etc., thereby enabling our army to grow up progressively from weak guerrilla units into a strong regular army.

During the process of leading the building up of the armed forces, our Party has relied on the warm participation of the entire people, carried out the arming of the entire people, and organized the regular army, the local army and the militia and guerrillas. This is the organizational form of the armed forces of a people's war, at the same time, it is a great achievement of the Party in building up the revolutionary armed forces.

The Party's correct leadership has made it possible for our army to score brilliant victories, to grow from a small and weak army into a big and strong one, and finally to defeat the invading troops of French imperialism helped by the U.S. interventionists. President Ho Chi Minh has said: "Our people is a heroic people, our army is a heroic army. If the Viet-Nam People's Army has become a heroic army, this is thanks to the Party's leadership."

Through many years of leading the people's armed struggle, our Party has achieved brilliant successes and gained extremely precious experiences.

These successes and experiences have pointed to a great truth: in the conditions of the present day world, once a people, however weak has risen up in unity to wage a resolute fight for independence and democracy under the correct leadership of the vanguard Party of the working class, it has enough moral and material strength to defeat any aggressor.

These successes and experiences teach us that in order to win victory, the armed struggle and the building up of the armed forces should be guided by a correct political line, armed struggle should serve the aims of political struggle.
In effect, throughout the process of leading the armed struggle, our Party strictly stuck to the line of the national and democratic revolution, correctly combined the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal tasks, and, therefore, scored brilliant victories. At the same time, we clearly realize that "The building and strengthening of the armed forces constitute one of the important conditions for the revolution in our country to defeat all aggressors, to safeguard and develop the fruits of the revolution."

In the lively practice of the national liberation struggle, our Party has come to define its correct line in the revolutionary armed struggle and the building up of the revolutionary armed forces: this is the line of the people's war and the people's army. The great significance of this line lies in the fact that our Party has applied in a wise and creative way the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism to the concrete practice of the revolutionary war in a colonial and semi-feudal country as was ours. This is the source of all the Party's victories.

Comrades,

The historic Dien Bien Phu victory gloriously ended the period of armed struggle of our people, peace was restored, the Northern part of our country was completely liberated. Our people's revolutionary struggle entered a new stage.

The political report of the Central Committee has given a complete analysis of the national and international situation, and laid down the following revolutionary tasks for our people in the present period: "To strengthen national unity, to carry out a resolute fight to preserve peace, to push ahead the socialist revolution in the North, at the same time to push ahead the national people's democratic revolution in the South, to achieve National Unity on the basis of independence and democracy, to build up a peaceful, unified, independent, democratic and prosperous Viet-Nam, to make a practical contribution to the strengthening of the socialist camp and to the safeguarding of peace in Southeast Asia and the world."
We should "carry out a resolute fight to preserve peace" because peace is the aspiration of our people in the whole country, because only the preservation of peace provides our people with favourable conditions to carry out socialist construction in the North, to push ahead the national democratic revolution in the South, and to march forward to the peaceful reunification of the country.

We should "carry out a resolute fight to preserve peace", because the struggle for peace has now become "a requirement of the broadest masses in all countries the world over". The Communist Parties regard the struggle for peace as "their first and foremost task".

While raising aloft the banner of peace, we constantly realize that although in the world the forces of peace are now stronger than those of war, the imperialists headed by the U.S.A. have not yet renounced their plans to prepare for a new war.

Our epoch is an epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism. The socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union has become a force stronger than ever in every field: political, economic, military, scientific and technical. The national liberation movement is rising high throughout Asia, Africa and Latin America. The struggle of workers, peasants and other progressive forces in capitalist countries is gaining momentum. The movement in defence of peace of progressive people the world over is spreading widely and progressively isolating the forces of war. All these factors have brought about radical changes in the balance of forces between the socialist and the imperialist camps, in favour of peace, national independence and socialism. Imperialism is no longer the dominant force in the world. On the other hand, socialism has become an ever more decisive factor in world developments. "Mankind has now a real possibility of preventing war and preserving lasting peace".
The imperialists want to provoke a war, but they are encountering great difficulties and obstacles in the political and military fields. Their rear, constituted by former colonies, is disintegrating piece by piece, they cannot mobilize hundreds of millions of "native" people as cannon-fodder to safeguard their dirty interests as in World War II. They plot to use mass destruction weapon, to launch a blitzkrieg. But even in this field, the U.S. imperialists have also lagged behind the Soviet Union now. Therefore, if they were so mad as to kindle a war, progressive people the world over would oppose them, extremely powerful Soviet rockets would deal them deadly blows, and that day would sound the knell of imperialism.

Does this mean, however, that the danger of war no longer exists now? Not at all. Now in the world, imperialism still remains in existence; and "so long as imperialism exists there are economic bases for wars. It is, therefore, necessary ceaselessly heighten the people's vigilance and to be prepared to smash the dark plots of the imperialist warmongers". In fact, the imperialists headed by the U.S. A. despite their growing weakness and deep inner contradictions, are carrying on the arms race, increasing defence spending, strengthening aggressive military alliances, building military bases everywhere, creating tension and actively preparing for war. When we say that there are increasing possibilities of avoiding war, this is due to the strengthening of the forces of peace, and not to some changes in the bellicose and aggressive nature of imperialism. Not being in a position to start a world war, the imperialists are making every attempt to provoke local wars and to undermine peace. The manoeuvres of S.E.A.T.O. and U.S. intervention in the southern part of our country and in Laos are part of the overall aggressive plans of imperialism.

In our country, the basic feature of the present situation is its temporary partition into two zones with different political and social regimes. The completely liberated North has
entered the stage of socialist revolution. Socialist transformation is winning decisive successes, national economy is developing. The material and cultural living standards of the people are being raised. However, in north Vietnamese society, the class struggle is going on, reactionary elements who oppose socialism and remnants of the feudal landlord class still exist. They are always trying to collude with the spies, bandits and hirelings of the U.S. imperialists and Ngô Đình Diệm, and to take advantage of any lack of vigilance on our part to commit acts of sabotage. To ensure our people's peaceful work in the North, we should pay due heed to the consolidation of the people's democratic power, of which the armed forces are a very important component.

While the people in the North are enthusiastically building up their new life, the U.S. imperialists and their hireling Ngô Đình Diệm are ruling over the South. They have set up a fascist dictatorial political regime, they are ferociously oppressing and exploiting the people, using every barbarous means to suppress the patriotic movement of our compatriots there. They are openly sabotaging the Geneva Agreements, ceaselessly introducing reinforcements in military personnel and war materials into South Viet-Nam, building up strategic roads and military bases, and actively preparing for an aggressive war.

Over recent years, despite all repressive measures, our compatriots in the South have been ceaselessly developing their revolutionary struggle against the U.S. Diem regime, for peace, independence, democracy, and unity. Even in the ranks of the South Viet-Nam army, there are many patriotic soldiers and officers who hate the U.S.-Điệm clique. If some day the U.S. imperialists and their clique dared to launch an aggressive war against the North, all our compatriots in the South would certainly rise up as a single man to stop them, the patriotic soldiers and officers within the South Viet-Nam army would turn their rifles against them. And on that day, the U.S.-Điệm regime would certainly head for their doom. However, this is no reason why we should underestimate the enemy, and disregard their plots.
From the above analysis of the national and international situation, we come to the following conclusion: our people should strengthen their unity and strive to fight for the preservation of peace. At the same time, they should constantly heighten their vigilance, and never lose sight of their task of fighting against the imperialist aggressors and warmongers and their lackeys, namely, the U.S. imperialists and the Ngo Dinh Diem ruling clique, the enemies of our people; they should never lose sight of the task of fighting against the anti-revolutionary elements who are still carrying on their secret activities in north Vietnamese society. Any proneness to pacifism, any lack of vigilance are equally dangerous mistakes.

In such circumstances, the strengthening of national defence and building up of the people's armed forces are obviously an important task. We fully agree with the Central Committee's political report saying: "Our people's democratic power should pay constant heed to the task of strengthening national defence with the people's army as its core."

In fact, since the restoration of peace, our Party has paid constant heed to the task of strengthening national defence and building up the army. The 12th session of the Central Committee pointed out that this was "one of the essential tasks of the entire Party and of the entire people". It laid down the tasks of the people's army in the new stage as follows: "To safeguard the cause of consolidating and building up the North in its progressive advance to socialism, to defend the sovereignty, the territory and the security of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, to serve as a prop to the struggle for the consolidation of peace, the reunification of the country, and the completion of independence and democracy all over the country, to be prepared to smash the aggressive plots of imperialism, especially the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys."

Thanks to the solicitude of the Party, and the participation and support of the people, the work of strengthening national defence and building up the army scored great achievements over the past few years. We should, however, recognize that these achievements have been limited to some extent, because within the Party and among the people, the importance of the task of
strengthening national defence is not adequately understood. That is due to the fact that a number of our comrades do not yet realize the necessity of strengthening the people's democratic dictatorship which is in essence a proletarian dictatorship, throughout the period of transition. That is due to the fact that while speaking about our Party's policy of peaceful reunification, a number of our comrades are not fully aware of the plots of the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys; they do not understand that while our policy is to preserve peace and to achieve peaceful reunification, we should always be prepared to cope with any manoeuvre of the enemy. That is due to the fact that a number of our comrades have no all-sided understanding of the present world situation, they see only the possibility of winning a lasting peace and not the danger of war which still exists, they see only the growth of the forces of socialism, national independence, democracy and peace, but they are not fully aware of the plots of imperialism, therefore, whenever the world situation becomes tense as was the case when the Summit Conference did not take place as a result of the U.S.A. wrecking it, they are a little more vigilant and anxious; on the other hand, whenever the world situation shows some signs of relaxation or our camp wins new victories such as successful shots of Soviet I.C.B.M., they are a little less vigilant, and a little more "pacifist".

We should criticize and eliminate the above incorrect understandings and thoughts, so that our Party and our people clearly realize the task of struggling to preserve peace, at the same time they should be constantly vigilant against all manoeuvres of the enemy, and pay due heed to the task of strengthening national defence and building up the people's armed forces.

Since the restoration of peace, on the basis of the successes scored in building up the North in political, economic and cultural fields, our national defence has been decidedly strengthened.
In implementation of the new revolutionary tasks laid down by the Party, the people's army, together with the other people's armed forces has constantly heightened its vigilance, has made every effort to defend the security of the country, to maintain order and security, and to ensure the peaceful work of our people. It has taken an active part in carrying out propaganda among the people for increased production and made its contribution to the work of socialist transformation and socialist construction, and to the consolidation of the rear. It has fulfilled the tasks of a fighting army which is at the same time an army of workers, in peace as well as formerly, in the Resistance war.

The army has made an important step forward along the path of becoming a modern regular army. The socialist consciousness and the patriotism, as well as the tactical and technical standards of officers and men have been ceaselessly raised through political and military training drives. Our army's fighting power has increased. Meanwhile, the guerrilla forces and the self-defence corps have been developed in a rather extensive way.

In the years to come, the fulfilment of the First Five-Year Plan will bring about new successes for our people in all fields. Socialist transformation will be completed, the industrialization of the country will be carried out at a new tempo. The national economy will be more developed, new economic regions will take shape. Culture, education, science and technique will make new progress. The people's living conditions will be improved, the love of the country and of socialism will certainly be increased. Those are new favourable conditions for the continued strengthening of national defence and building up of the people's armed forces.

We should work out plans to strengthen the people's army, to consolidate and develop the militia and the self-defence corps, actively to coordinate economic construction with national defence, under the unified and centralized leadership of the Party.
1 - To build up a well-trained standing army, our Party has laid down the guiding principle of actively building up a strong people's army which is to become progressively a modern regular army. This is quite correct. In accordance with this guiding principle, we should strive to build up a well-trained standing army, its effectives may be reduced but its qualities should be increased, and it should have a great fighting power.

Our army should first of all be a revolutionary army, faithful to the end to the cause of the socialist revolution in the North and the struggle for national reunification. It has already a good political nature, a tradition of boundless devotion to the Party and the people, is constantly maintaining close ties with the people, and fighting for the noble interests of the class and the people. Over the last few years, the socialist consciousness of its officers and men has been raised in a rather fundamental way, progress has been recorded in the field of class stand and ideology.

We should not indulge in self-complacency over these achievements. We should continue to pay much heed to maintaining and strengthening the revolutionary nature of the army, strengthening the Party's leadership and the regime of political work, regarding this as a task of prime importance. The revolutionary tasks and the political line laid down by the Third Party Congress should be made the basic contents of the political and ideological work in the entire army. At the same time, we should continue to teach the theory of Marxism-Leninism in a more systematic way. Only by doing so can we ensure that our army is really a sharp instrument and the most reliable force of the people's democratic dictatorship which is in essence a proletarian dictatorship.

At present, with the institution of the regime of military duties, hundreds of thousands of volunteer-fighters have been demobilized. Our army is almost entirely made up of new recruits. They are a generation of youth full of force and with an ardent desire for progress who have grown up in the countryside now being transformed, or in factories and schools. They have good relations with the masses, they love the Fatherland, they love
socialism, they are able to learn the new very quickly, but they have not yet been tempered and their political standards are rather low. This makes their political education all the more important. The army will develop its great effectiveness as a political and military school, it will attract the young workers, peasants and students, train them into good soldiers and good workers, then send them home to serve the rear.

Together with, and on the basis of the maintenance and strengthening of the army’s revolutionary nature, we should push ahead its transformation into a modern regular army.

The modernization of the army is a most necessary work, amounting to a whole technical revolution requiring great efforts. At present, although the level of modernization of our army is still low, rather important progress has been made in comparison with its former backward equipment. Every company may already be regarded as a little and rather complex factory. Every infantry division has now a firing power equivalent to that of the entire firing power of our army during the Dien Bien Phu campaign. Thus the question of knowing how to use the equipment and to develop their effectiveness has now become a most urgent one. To consolidate the modernization of the army, we should work out a good solution to the question. At the same time, we should ceaselessly improve the basis of equipment and technique of our army. The industrialization of the country will create for our army new favourable conditions.

The material and technical basis of the army has been strengthened, its organization has become complex with the existence of various arms. Therefore the need for unified and centralized command is becoming urgent. The transformation into a regular army is an imperative condition to develop the fighting power of a modern army.

In recent times we have applied various regular systems and regulations. We must affirm that these systems are correct, these regulations necessary. We must promote their strict implementation, thereby heightening the sense of discipline of
our army. We oppose all manifestations of lack of Party leadership over the implementation of these systems and regulations, thus reducing the political content of the question of transformation into a regular army, at the same time, we resolutely fight manifestations of slighting these systems and regulations, discipline and regular ways of life.

To maintain and strengthen the revolutionary character of the army by regularization and modernization is a unified double aspect of the work of building the Army. The same is true of politics and technique. On the basis of the strengthening of the revolutionary character of the army, we must resolutely carry out the regularization and modernization of our Army step by step. It is necessary to promote the study and the mastering of technique, under the leadership of a correct political line.

The political report has stressed the importance of the training of a contingent of cadres for socialist construction in general. In the building of a regular and modern revolutionary army, the question of fostering and training cadres has also a decisive significance. A modern army unit is made up of many arms with modern equipment and technique, operating in extremely complex circumstances under the conditions of hard fighting between our army and the enemy. The command and leadership of such an army requires a contingent of cadres in sufficient number and of high quality, from the political as well as technical point of views.

That is why, on the basis of the correct implementation of the Party policy concerning the officers, and parallel with the constant raising of their political level the consolidation of their class stand and the promotion of their Marxist-Leninist theoretical knowledge, it is necessary to strive to raise the cultural level and the military technical level of the officers, so that each of them be "politically firm and professionally keen" and really become a good military cadre of the Party.

This is a key problem; we must at all costs solve it in order to promote the building of the army.
To consolidate and develop the militia, to build a powerful reserve.

Parallel with the building of a well-trained standing army, we must consolidate and develop the militia and build a powerful reserve.

The experience of the Resistance shows that to wage a popular war, we must arm the whole people. Beside the regular army, it is necessary to organize local army and militia units. During the Resistance we paid especial attention to the development of militia and guerrilla units, thereby mobilizing the whole people in the struggle against the aggressors. The militia detachments played an important role in the resistance to the enemy and the defence of their localities. Tempered in battle and revolutionary work, the militia has become an inexhaustible source of replenishment for the building and development of the army.

Today, under new circumstances, the consolidation of national defence still remains the task of the whole people; the role of the militia forces, far from diminishing, remains very important. The militia is still a strategic force. On the other hand, now in peace time, given the necessity of concentrating our forces on economic construction, we cannot keep too big a standing army. Therefore, it is all the more necessary to build a powerful regular army reserve ready to be used to expand or replenish the standing army if necessary. The militia is the core of this regular army reserve. So the militia is both a source of replenishment for the standing army and an important fighting force in case of war; it is also an instrument for protecting the people's democratic dictatorship, preserving public order and security in peace time.

At present, the organization of the militia is being promoted; the masses of people, especially the youth, enthusiastically participate in the movement. We must further develop the movement, increase the quality of the militia in town and countryside. From the organizational point of view, it is necessary to grasp the class line of the Party, ensuring the purity of the ranks of the militia made up of elements loyal to the people's power, and
to socialism. As the requirements on the level of the militia are higher than before, we must have a plan to strengthen the political education and military training of the militia, at the same time we must bring into full play the fine traditions and precious experiences of the militia. The Party Committees at all levels must strengthen their leadership over the work of consolidating and developing the militia, building the reserve.

3 - To closely combine economic construction with the consolidation of national defence.

The political report of the Central Committee, while formulating the general line of the socialist revolution in the North and setting forth the tasks and directions of the First Five-Year Plan, has raised the problem of correctly solving the relations between economic construction and the consolidation of national defence.

Today, the economic construction in the North has become the central task of the Party. Therefore it is necessary to cut down defence budget, adequately reduce our army contingent so as to concentrate manpower and material in economic construction. This is a very correct policy. This does not in any way mean that our defence potentialities are to be weakened, because the more our economic forces develop, and the people's livelihood improves, the stronger is the foundation of national defence. In all respects, the consolidation of national defence, and the building of the army must pay due regard to the needs of the economic construction and endeavour to practise economy and avoid waste.

On the other hand, in economic construction we must pay adequate attention to the consolidation of national defence. The state plan for economic construction must meet the material and technical requirements of the army, ensure that the army be ready to fight at any moment. Moreover, in every aspect of our work, in the development of industry, agriculture and communications and transport as well as in the stockpiling of
materials and arrangement of industrial areas, we must foresee the eventuality of war and ensure the rapid transformation of our economy from peace-time production to war-time production.

To concentrate too much manpower and material power on national defence, thus adversely affecting our economic construction is a mistake. On the contrary, to concentrate only on economy and to neglect its combination with national defence, to neglect national defence is also a mistake. To deal correctly with the relations between economy and national defence, not only from the ideological point of view and main directions but also from the organizational point of view and concrete plans is a very important and urgent question. We must actively and earnestly solve it.

The consolidation of national defence and building of armed forces in the new stage is a very heavy task. This is not only a purely military problem but also a political, economic, scientific and technical problem. It demands active common efforts on the part of our whole Party and people, and of all branches of the state power.

That is why to satisfactorily fulfill the above-mentioned task, the main thing is to make our whole Party grasp the importance of national defence, constantly educate and lead the people in taking part in the consolidation of national defence, building of armed forces, to closely combine all branches of work of the state power, above all, to combine the economic work with national defence, under the centralized leadership of the Central Committee and the local Party Committees.

Comrades,

Since the Second National Congress of the Party in the Viet Bac resistance base, our people have won big victories. The protracted War of Resistance has gloriously concluded with the victory of Điện Biên Phủ. The land reform was successfully completed. The socialist revolution in the North has scored big achievements.
This Party Congress held in Hanoi capital is the Congress for the construction of socialism and the struggle for national reunification.

We are confident that the Party's tasks and political line set by the Congress will be a torch lighting the way for our people to advance toward new and bigger successes. These tasks and line will also be a compass for the consolidation of national defence, the building of armed forces in the new stage.

Since its creation, our People's Army has had the honour to fight under the glorious banner of the Party and enjoyed the special care and education of the Party and President Ho. Thanks to this, our army has constantly grown and won glorious victories. All Party members, officers and men in the army are turning towards the Congress; with inspiration and confidence, they promise to constantly unite around the Party, the Central Committee and President Ho, and make all out efforts to actively strive for the strict implementation of the historic resolutions of the Congress, and the fulfilment of all the tasks set them by the Party and people.

We wish the Congress great success.
JOINT STATEMENT OF CHAIRMAN LIU SHAO-CHI
AND PRESIDENT HO CHI MINH

[From a pamphlet text in English printed by
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Liu Shao-Chi, Chairman of the People's Republic of China and Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, paid a friendly visit to the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam from May 10 to May 16, 1963, at the invitation of Ho Chi Minh, President of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and President of the Central Committee of the Viet-Nam Workers' Party.

Chairman Liu Shao-chi was accompanied on the visit by Chen Yi, Vice-Premier of the State Council and Minister of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China and Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China; Fang Yi, Vice-Chairman of the State Planning Commission and Alternate Member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China; Huang Chen, Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs; Chiao Kuan-hua, Assistant Minister of Foreign Affairs; Lo Ching-chang, Deputy Chief of the Secretariat of the Premier of the State Council; Chou Chiu-yeh, Director of the Second Department of Asian Affairs of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; Kung Peng, Director of the Information Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; Yu Pei-wen, Director of the Protocol Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; Yueh Hsin, Departmental Director of the Ministry of Public Security; Huang Shu-tse, Deputy Director of the Department of Health Service of the Ministry of Public Health; Li Shu-huai, Chief Security Aide for the Chairman of the People's Republic of China; and Comrades Chang Chien and Wang Kuang-mei.

During the visit, Chairman Liu Shao-chi and the comrades accompanying him on the visit were accorded a grand and warm welcome and cordial and friendly hospitality by the fraternal Vietnamese people everywhere they went.
During the visit, Chairman Liu Shao-chi and President Ho Chi Minh held talks on the relations of friendship and cooperation between the two countries and on important international problems of common interest to both parties.

Present at the talks on the Chinese side were: Chen Yi, Vice-Premier of the State Council and Minister of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China and Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China; Fang Yi, Vice-Chairman of the State Planning Commission and Alternate Member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China; Huang Chen, Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs; Chiao Kuan-hua, Assistant Minister of Foreign Affairs; Lo Ching-chang, Deputy Chief of the Secretariat of the Premier of the State Council; and Chu Chi-wen, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the People's Republic of China to the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam.

Present at the talks on the Vietnamese side were: Le Duan, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Viet-Nam Workers' Party; Truong Chinh, Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National Assembly of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Viet-Nam Workers' Party; Pham Van Dong, Premier of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Viet-Nam Workers' Party; Pham Hung, Vice-Premier of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Viet-Nam Workers' Party; Vo Nguyen Giap, Vice-Premier of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Viet-Nam Workers' Party; Nguyen Duy Trinh, Vice-Premier of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Viet-Nam Workers' Party; Le Thanh Nghi, Vice-Premier of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Viet-Nam Workers' Party; Le Duc Tho, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central
Committee of the Viet-Nam Workers' Party; Hoang Van Hoan, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Viet-Nam Workers' Party; Nguyen Chi Thanh, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Viet-Nam Workers' Party; Nghiem Xuan Yem, Minister of State Farms and General Secretary of the Viet-Nam Democratic Party; Nguyen Xien, Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National Assembly and General Secretary of the Viet-Nam Socialist Party; Xuan Thuy, Minister of Foreign Affairs and Member of the Central Committee of the Viet-Nam Workers' Party; Hoang Minh Giam, Minister of Culture; Phan Anh, Minister of Foreign Trade; and Tran Tu Binh, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam to the People's Republic of China and Member of the Central Committee of the Viet-Nam Workers' Party.

The talks were held in an extremely sincere, cordial and friendly atmosphere.

Both parties unanimously hold that the present international situation is favourable to the revolutionary struggle of the people of various countries, but unfavourable to imperialism and the reactionaries of various countries. The strength of the socialist camp has become more powerful. The national-democratic revolutionary movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America is one a continual upsurge. The struggles of the working class and the masses of the people in the developed capitalist countries against monopoly capital, for improved living conditions and democratic rights have seen new development. The movement of the people of the world against the imperialist policies of aggression and war and in defence of world peace is growing in breadth and depth. The general crisis of capitalism is daily deepening. The contradictions among the imperialist powers, especially those between U.S. imperialism and other imperialist powers have become more and more acute. The imperialist camp is heading further towards disintegration. The emergence of this situation is the result of the protracted struggle by the socialist camp and the people of the world against imperialism and the reactionaries, and the result of mutual support and joint struggle by the great forces of our time, namely, the forces of the socialist camp, the forces of the national-liberation movement, the forces of the international working-class
movement and the forces of the peace movement, and particularly the forces of the socialist camp and those of the national-liberation movement.

But the aggressive nature of imperialism will never change. The nearer it approaches its doom, the more will it make frenzied and desperate kicks. U.S. imperialism is redoubling its efforts in pushing ahead with its plans of aggression and war, actively fostering the reactionary forces of various countries, and particularly the militarist forces of West Germany and Japan, and is increasing its attacks on the peoples of the world. It is engaged in frenzied arms expansion and war preparations, getting ready to fight both a nuclear war and conventional wars, and is already waging "special warfare." U.S. imperialism is carrying out neocolonialism in Asia, Africa and Latin America by armed suppression, political deception, economic penetration and other means. It is also tightening its grip on its allies and is more fiercely competing with other imperialist powers in grabbing markets, colonies and spheres of influence. In regard to the socialist countries, U.S. imperialism, besides perpetrating military aggression and war threat, is intensifying its subversion and infiltration and is pushing ahead with its policy of "peaceful evolution," vainly attempting to have capitalism restored in these countries. The doings of U.S. imperialism have further confirmed it as the international gendarme suppressing the just struggles of the peoples, the chief bastion of modern colonialism, the main force of aggression and war, the most dangerous enemy of world peace and the common foe of the peoples throughout the world.

The two parties hold that to preserve world peace, to stop imperialism from launching a new world war and to prevent a nuclear war, the peoples of the world must heighten their vigilance and strengthen their solidarity to form the broadest possible united front and wage an indefatigable struggle against imperialism headed by the United States, and its lackeys.

The two parties firmly believe that in the present time when the forces of socialism have surpassed those of imperialism and the forces of peace have surpassed those of war, it is possible to safeguard peace, prevent a new world war, and prevent a nuclear war, by relying on the
unity and struggle of the masses of the people of all countries and relying on the correct policies of the socialist countries and of the proletarian Parties of various countries.

The two parties stand for general disarmament, for the total prohibition of the use, stockpiling, manufacture and testing of nuclear weapons and for the establishment of a zone free of nuclear weapons in the Pacific region including the United States of America. The two parties believe that through persistent struggle by the people of various countries it is possible to force imperialism to accept certain agreements on disarmament and an agreement to ban nuclear weapons. In the circumstances in which imperialism rejects disarmament and continues preparations for a nuclear war, it is highly necessary to strengthen the national defence might of the countries in the socialist camp, including the development of nuclear superiority of the socialist countries.

Both parties fully support the struggle of the working class and labouring people in the capitalist countries for democracy and social progress and against the ruling circles' fascist and militarist policies and their policies of aggression and war. The two parties strongly protest against the suppression and persecution of the Communists and other patriots and progressives in these countries.

Both parties pay warm tribute to and express resolute support for the struggle of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples against imperialism and old and new colonialism and for winning or upholding national independence.

The two parties express immense admiration for the heroic Cuban people, who have won great victories in their struggle against U.S. imperialist aggression and in defence of their state sovereignty, dignity and fruits of revolution. Both parties are unanimous in their support for the five just demands put forward by Fidel Castro, leader of the Cuban people's revolution. The two parties note with satisfaction that the revolutionary ideas of the Havana Declarations are exerting an ever greater influence among the Latin American countries where the national-democratic movement is surging daily.
The two parties are unanimous in their support for the struggle of the heroic Korean people against the continued occupation of south Korea by U.S. troops and for the peaceful reunification of their fatherland. Both parties firmly believe that the Korean people's just struggle will surely win final victory. Both parties express sincere sympathy and support for the struggling Japanese people and believe that they will surely win still greater successes in their struggle against U.S. imperialism and the reactionary forces of Japanese monopoly capital. The two parties warmly congratulate the great Indonesian people who, through protracted struggles, have won important victories in respect of the recovery of West Irian and the realization of the unification of their fatherland. The two parties support the revolutionary struggle of the people of North Kalimantan against colonial rule. The two parties oppose the neo-colonialist scheme of Malaysia.

The two parties extend fraternal greetings to the people of the African countries who are uniting more and more closely in waging resolute struggles. Following the great victory of the Algerian national-liberation war, the just struggles of the people of Cameroon, Angola, Kenya, Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia and the Republic of South Africa for national independence and freedom are developing rapidly. China and Viet-Nam are looking forward to the early victory of the struggles.

Both parties hold that the ceaselessly growing national-democratic revolutionary struggles in the Asian, African and Latin American countries are dealing severe blows to and weakening the foundation of imperialist domination, and that the combined strength of the powerful socialist camp and this tremendous revolutionary force is playing a decisive role in the defence of world peace and the promotion of the cause of human progress. The historic task confronting us is: for the workers and oppressed nations of all countries to unite, oppose the common enemy and strive for common victory.

Both parties firmly support the policy of peace and neutrality pursued by the Kingdom of Cambodia, approve and support the proposal put forward by the Royal Cambodian Government concerning a pledge to respect Cambodia's independence and neutrality, and express the hope that the countries concerned will respond positively to this proposal.
The two parties strongly condemn U.S. imperialism for its recent provocative acts of intensified intervention in Laos. The United States, utilizing the Laotian reactionaries, is redoubling its efforts to sow discord among the Laotian patriotic forces and disrupt their unity in an attempt to subvert the Laotian Government of National Union and rekindle the civil war in Laos so as finally to realize the scheme of placing Laos under its control. This is a flagrant violation of the 1962 Geneva agreements and poses a serious threat to the independence, peace and neutrality of Laos. The People's Republic of China and the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam are neighbours of Laos and signatories to the Geneva agreements; they cannot help feeling intensely concerned over the grave situation in Laos which has been created by U.S. imperialism single-handed. The two parties reaffirm their resolute support for the Laotian policy of independence, peace, and neutrality and for the struggle of all Laotian patriotic forces to strengthen unity, oppose U.S. imperialist intervention and aggression and build up a peaceful, neutral, independent, united and prosperous Laos. The two parties hold that it is the duty of all the participating nations of the Geneva Conference truly to abide by and uphold the Geneva agreements. The two parties reaffirm their request that the co-chairmen of the Geneva Conference take effective emergency measures to check U.S. imperialist aggression and intervention in Laos, remove the threat to the independence and neutrality of Laos and safeguard peace in this region.

Both parties support the proposal of the Government of the U.S.S.R. and the Government of the German Democratic Republic for concluding a German peace treaty and, on this basis, normalizing the situation in West Berlin with a view to removing the hotbed of war in the centre of Europe. At the same time, the two parties support the proposal of the Government of the German Democratic Republic for establishing normal relations between the two German states.

Both parties firmly oppose U.S. imperialist armed aggression in southern Viet-Nam, the barbarous and brutal "special warfare" conducted by U.S. imperialism and the use of poisonous chemicals by U.S. imperialism as a means of war there. U.S. imperialism and its lackey, the Ngo Dinh Diem regime, are intensifying their sabotage of the
Geneva agreements and are feverishly carrying out suppression and enslavement of the south Vietnamese people in an attempt to perpetuate the division of Viet-Nam and to turn southern Viet-Nam into a U.S. military base and new-type colony in Southeast Asia. All this has aroused not only strong resistance from the south Vietnamese people, but also strong opposition from the people in Asia and the rest of the world. The south Vietnamese people, under the leadership of the South Viet-Nam National Liberation Front, are closing their ranks and waging a resolute struggle to overthrow the reactionary rule of U.S. imperialism and its lackey, the Ngo Dinh Diem clique, to achieve independence, democracy, peace and neutrality, and further to bring about the peaceful reunification of their fatherland. In the face of inhuman slaughter by U.S. imperialism and the Ngo Dinh Diem clique, the south Vietnamese people have unfolded a heroic and stubborn armed struggle in self-defence, dealing heavy blows to the U.S. aggressors and their lackeys. The just and patriotic struggle of the south Vietnamese people has won wide sympathy and support from the peoples throughout the world. The Chinese and Vietnamese peoples are brothers and comrades-in-arms who go through storm and stress together and share weal and woe. The Chinese people firmly support the heroic south Vietnamese people's just and patriotic struggle against U.S. imperialism and the Ngo Dinh Diem clique and regard this struggle as a brilliant example for the oppressed nations and peoples in the world in fighting for liberation. The Chinese people resolutely support all the Vietnamese people in their sacred struggle for the peaceful reunification of their fatherland and are firmly convinced that this struggle will surely win final victory.

Both the People's Republic of China and the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam are socialist countries, and both take Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism as guiding principles of their foreign policies. The Chinese and Vietnamese Parties and Governments have repeatedly pointed out that in international affairs and external activities, each socialist country must develop relations of friendship, mutual assistance and cooperation with fraternal socialist countries in accordance with the principle of proletarian internationalism, must oppose the imperialist policies of aggression and war and strive for peaceful coexistence with
countries having different social systems on the basis of the Five Principles, and must support the revolutionary struggles of all oppressed nations and peoples.

Chairman Liu Shao-chi warmly praises the important contributions made by the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam in international affairs. He points out that the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam is a socialist country occupying an important place in Indo-China and Southeast Asia. Standing firmly at the southeastern outpost of the socialist camp, it plays a significant role in safeguarding the security of the socialist camp, opposing the imperialist forces of aggression and war and safeguarding peace in Southeast Asia and the world. The Government of the People's Republic of China firmly supports the stand and policies of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam in upholding and carrying out the 1954 Geneva agreements and striving for the peaceful reunification of the country. It warmly praises the series of correct measures taken by the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam for safeguarding peace in Indo-China. On the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and the Bandung spirit, the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam has established friendly relations with a number of nationalist countries in Asia and Africa. The Chinese people heartily rejoice to see the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam growing steadily in strength and its international prestige increasing day by day.

President Ho Chi Minh warmly praises the People's Republic of China for its important contributions in international affairs. He points out that the People's Republic of China is playing a significant role in the struggle to uphold the unity of the fraternal socialist countries, support the revolutionary struggles of oppressed nations and peoples and defend world peace. President Ho Chi Minh reiterates that in settling major international questions, the participation of the People's Republic of China representing a population of 650 million people is indispensable and that China's rightful position in the United Nations must be restored. China is the initiator of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, it has consistently upheld these principles and the Bandung spirit and pursued a policy of friendship with its neighbours.
The Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam firmly supports the consistent stand of the Government of the People's Republic of China for a peaceful settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question through negotiations. It warmly praises the ceasefire, the withdrawal of the Chinese frontier guards, the release of all captured Indian military personnel and other important measures taken by China on its own initiative, and deems that these measures fully demonstrate China's sincere desire to seek a peaceful settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question. President Ho Chi Minh expresses the hope that China and India may quickly start direct negotiations for a peaceful settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question.

Both parties emphasize that it is of great importance for the victory of the common struggle of all peoples for world peace, national liberation, democracy and socialism, to strengthen the unity of the socialist camp and of the international communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, and of the 1957 Moscow Declaration and the 1960 Moscow Statement. The only correct way to maintain and strengthen this unity is to abide by the principles guiding mutual relations among the fraternal Parties and fraternal countries as clearly stipulated in the Declaration and the Statement, namely, the principle of solidarity, the principle of independence and equality, the principle of attaining unanimity through consultation, and the principle of mutual support and mutual assistance. Both parties reaffirm that they will unswervingly uphold and put into practice the revolutionary principles of the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement and do their utmost to strengthen the unity of the socialist camp and of the international communist movement.

Both parties uphold the correct thesis in the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement that in the present circumstances, revisionism, in other words Right opportunism, is the main danger in the international communist movement. Revisionism, or Right opportunism, is a manifestation of bourgeois ideology. It seeks persistently to kill the revolutionary spirit of Marxism-Leninism, deny the historical need of proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the
proletariat in the period of transition from capitalism to socialism and communism, paralyse the revolutionary will of the working class and labouring people, and undermine their confidence in socialism. Yugoslav revisionism is the concentrated expression of modern revisionist "theories." The Yugoslav revisionist clique has betrayed Marxism-Leninism, has led Yugoslavia out of the socialist camp and is engaged in sabotage against the socialist camp and the world communist movement, and in activities detrimental to the unity of all peace-loving forces and countries. Further exposure of the Yugoslav revisionist clique remains an essential task of the Marxist-Leninist parties of all countries. While combating revisionism, it is also necessary to combat dogmatism. Dogmatism runs counter to the principle of integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the revolution and construction in each country, and alienates a Party from reality and from the masses. Dogmatism prevents a revolutionary Party from developing Marxism-Leninism on the basis of scientific analysis and from creatively applying Marxism-Leninism in the light of specific conditions. Both parties stress that to safeguard the purity of Marxism-Leninism and defend the theoretical position of Marxism-Leninism is a militant task of the Communists of all countries at the present time.

Both parties are deeply concerned over the differences now existing in the international communist movement and the socialist camp. Both parties reaffirm the necessity of calling a meeting of representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties of the whole world in order to eliminate the differences and strengthen unity through inter-Party consultations. Both parties affirm that to enable the international meeting of fraternal Parties to achieve positive results, it is necessary to make adequate preparations, including bilateral or multilateral talks among fraternal Parties and fraternal countries.

The two parties note with satisfaction that the Central Committees of the Communist Parties of China and the Soviet Union, through their recent exchange of letters, have decided to hold bilateral talks. The two parties express their sincere hope that the talks between the Chinese and Soviet Parties
will achieve positive results, strengthen the unity of these two Parties and prepare the conditions necessary for the convocation of an international meeting of fraternal Parties.

President Ho Chi Minh stresses that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of China are the two biggest Parties and bear the greatest responsibility in the international communist movement, and that the unity of the Communist Parties of the Soviet Union and China is the pillar of the unity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement. President Ho Chi Minh expresses the belief that, through the efforts of the Soviet Communist Party and the Chinese Communist Party and the joint efforts of all the Communist and Workers' Parties, the international communist movement and the socialist camp will strengthen their unity and continue to win still greater victories in the common struggle against imperialism and for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

The two parties are deeply satisfied with the close unity of the Chinese Communist Party and the Viet-Nam Workers' Party and with the relations of friendship and cooperation between China and Viet-Nam. In recent years, China and Viet-Nam have in their joint struggle supported and assisted each other and respected each other's independent and equal status, and have carried on comprehensive mutual assistance and cooperation in the political, economic, cultural, scientific and technical fields. These relations of mutual assistance and cooperation have a great significance for the promotion of the common progress of socialist construction in the two countries and for the steady strengthening of the might of the socialist camp. The friendship and unity between the Chinese Communist Party and the Viet-Nam Workers' Party and between China and Viet-Nam are based on Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and are for ever unshakable. The two parties affirm that the Chinese Communist Party and the Viet-Nam Workers' Party and the two countries will exert every effort to strengthen and consolidate still further the friendship and unity of the two Parties and two countries.

Chairman Liu Shao-chi pays warm tribute to the great achievements in socialist transformation and socialist construction attained by the Vietnamese people under the leadership
of the Viet-Nam Workers' Party and President Ho Chi Minh in accordance with their correct line and their policy of rapid, vigorous and steady development; and expresses admiration for the Vietnamese people's revolutionary spirit of building socialism through their own efforts and through diligence and thrift, and for their style of hard working and plain living. He expresses the conviction that the Vietnamese people will make still greater achievements in fulfilling the tasks defined in their First Five-Year Plan and in their struggle for the peaceful reunification of their fatherland.

President Ho Chi Minh pays warm tribute to the great successes achieved by the Chinese people in socialist construction under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman Mao Tse-tung and guided by the three red banners - the general line for socialist construction, the great leap forward and the people's commune. He expresses the conviction that the Chinese people will surely be able to build China into a socialist country with modern agriculture, modern industry, and modern science and culture and to liberate Taiwan and accomplish the unification of their fatherland. President Ho Chi Minh avails himself of this opportunity to express his gratitude to the Chinese people for their full sympathy and support for the revolutionary cause of the Vietnamese people.

The two parties firmly believe that the present visit of Chairman Liu Shao-chi to the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and the cordial talks between the Chairman and the President not only further strengthen and consolidate the militant friendship between the two countries but help enhance the unity of the socialist camp and of the international communist movement and contribute to the cause of defending world peace and promoting the progress of mankind.

Hanoi, May 16, 1963

(signed)
LIU SHAO-CHI
Chairman of the People's Republic of China and Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China

(signed)
HO CHI MINH
President of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and President of the Central Committee of the Viet-Nam Workers' Party
WORLD SITUATION AND OUR PARTY'S INTERNATIONAL MISSION

Resolution of the 9th Conference of the Central Executive Committee of the Lao Dong Party of Viet-Nam
(December 1963)

The 9th Conference of the Viet-Nam Workers' Party Central Committee fully agrees with the political bureau's report on the world situation and our party's international duties.

Basing itself on the resolution of the Third National Congress of the party, faithful to the revolutionary principles of the 1957 and 1960 Moscow statements, spurred by the desire to contribute to strengthening solidarity and unanimity in the socialist camp and the international communist movement in order to defeat imperialism and its lackeys and to achieve great success for the revolutionary work of the Vietnamese and world's peoples, the Central Committee conference unanimously makes the following observations concerning the world situation and the following resolution concerning our party's international duties:

I. ASSESSMENT OF WORLD SITUATION AND COMMON STRATEGIC MISSION

The historic success of the socialist, democratic, and patriotic forces headed by the Soviet Union during World War II has greatly weakened world imperialism and opened the way for a new revolutionary high tide. After the end of the war, a number of socialist countries have come into existence in Europe and Asia. A world socialist system has been set up and has constantly grown. After the success of the Russian October Revolution, the success of the Chinese Revolution has been of very great significance to the world. It has completely tilted the balance of forces in favor of peace, national independence, democracy, and socialism. Along with the success of the Chinese Revolution, the Korean Revolution,
the Cuban Revolution, and the Algerian resistance, the success of the August Revolution and the Vietnamese resistance has pierced the colonial system of the imperialists at its weakest points and strongly stimulated the oppressed people, urging them to rise up and struggle to destroy the fetters of colonialism. The national liberation movement has developed strongly in Asia, Africa, and Latin America and won great victories. The colonial system of the imperialists is disintegrating. Scores of nationalist countries have appeared throughout the world.

In capitalist countries, the struggle movement of the working class and laboring people, against monopolistic capitalism for achieving democracy and socialism, is developing strongly day by day.

Throughout the world, the movement for protecting peace having an unprecedented large mass character is concentrating the spearheads of its attacks on the U.S. imperialists and other aggressive and bellicose cliques.

Two great currents of the present world revolution are the movement to struggle for socialism and the national liberation movement.

It is obvious that since the end of World War II, a new revolutionary high tide has appeared, developing itself continuously, urging hundreds of millions of people the world over, to rise up and struggle, constantly attacking from many directions the bastion of imperialism headed by U.S. imperialism, and successively demolishing this bastion chunk by chunk with a very great power. The balance between the revolutionary and counter-revolutionary forces has differed from area to area, and from moment to moment. The revolutionary movement of the people in different countries has not developed regularly. However, generally speaking, it is obvious that the period following World War II is the period during which the revolutionary forces have continuously attacked imperialism. The new revolutionary high tide has brought about great changes having a historic meaning, modifying completely the world's face.

A. The greatest change in the world after World War II was that the international socialist system had taken
shape, been consolidated, and developed in a new revolutionary high tide.

The success of the socialist revolution in a number of European and Asian countries and in Cuba has been closely connected with the historic victory of the Soviet Union in its great patriotic war against fascism, with the success of the national liberation movement and the development of the struggle of the working class and laboring people in capitalist countries.

Now the socialist camp is composed of 13 countries: Albania, Poland, Bulgaria, Cuba, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary, the Soviet Union, Mongolia, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, the Chinese People's Republic, and the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam; it embraces over one billion people; comprises one fourth of the World's surface; produces over one third of the total industrial production of the world; controls a powerful military force; and is leading the world in a number of the most important scientific and technical branches. This situation has basically changed the balance between the revolutionary and counter-revolutionary forces in the world. The socialist system is the bastion of world revolution and, at the same time, the bastion of world peace.

"The main characteristic of our era is that the international socialist system is becoming the decisive factor of the development of mankind's society." (From the 1960 Moscow statement)

The constant growth and the multi-formed struggle of the socialist camp against the imperialist camp has had the effect of stopping and driving back the imperialists, preventing them from freely carrying out their aggressive war-seeking plans.

Through developing the superiority of the socialist system over the capitalist system and, especially, through supporting actively the national liberation movement and the revolutionary struggle movement in capitalist countries, the socialist camp has achieved the effect of stepping up the development and success of the international revolutionary movement.
It is for this reason that world imperialism, headed by U.S. imperialism has resorted to all means to undermine and destroy the socialist system. The class struggle between the socialist and imperialist camps in the political, economic, and ideological domains not only has not subsided, but has become more fierce.

The survival and development of the socialist camp proves that not only the capitalist countries, which have a developed economy, but also the backward agricultural countries which were colonies, the semi-feudal and semi-colonialist countries such as China, Korea, and Viet-Nam are fully able to advance to socialism and that the path of non-capitalist development is the only one to follow in order to overcome poverty and backwardness and quickly improve the people's living conditions.

Now, the socialist camp has entered a new phase of development. The Soviet Union has completed socialist construction and is building the material and technical bases of communism. The other countries in the socialist camp have achieved great results in socialist construction.

During the last few years, the diversion and sabotage acts of the modern revisionists partially restricted but did not eliminate the objective effects and great influence of the socialist system over the development of mankind's society. Because generally speaking, socialist countries have constantly helped the international revolutionary movement in all fields and the very survival and development of the socialist system has exerted a strong stimulating power on the revolutionary struggle movement of the people in capitalist countries.

B. The second great change in the quick collapse of the colonial system of the imperialists under the vigorous attacks of the national liberation movement.

This is "the second important event, having a historic meaning, after the formation of the international socialist system." (From the 1960 Moscow statement)

The great success of the Soviet Union in its patriotic war against the fascist aggressors, the great success of the
Chinese Revolution, the success of the revolutions in Viet­Nam, Korea, Cuba, and other countries, the formation and growth of the socialist camp, the struggle for democracy and peace of the working class and laboring people in capitalist countries, the serious weakening of imperialism, all these factors have created objective conditions, advantageous to the strong development of the national liberation movement.

However, the internal factors in colonies and dependent countries still are the direct decisive factors. The heavy oppression and exploitation of the imperialists in Asian, African, and Latin American countries, in addition to the oppression and exploitation of the medieval feudal influences and of newly born capitalism in these countries, has caused the majority of people especially workers and peasants to rise up and carry out the revolution for self-liberation. This revolutionary state had developed and is developing in various countries in these areas. The national liberation movement, embracing billions of oppressed people, is rising up, creating a revolutionary storm which is causing the collapse of the colonial system of the imperialists in large chunks. During the past 18 years, over 50 countries in these areas have achieved independence of different degrees.

The continual successes of the national liberation movement have further deepened the internal contradictions of world capitalism, created new favorable conditions for the development of the revolutionary movement in capitalist countries and spurred socialist and communist construction in socialist countries, and, at the same time, made important contributions to the protection of world peace.

Faced with this situation, the imperialists, led by the U.S. imperialists, have resorted to all means to check and undermine the national liberation movement. They have endeavored to maintain the old colonial system. But faced with the revolutionary high tide in colonies and dependent countries, they have been forced to apply a more cunning policy -- recognizing the political independence of a number of their colonies, making some concessions to the bourgeoisie in these countries-- in order to maintain their economic interests and political influences and prevent the national liberation movement from advancing toward socialism. A number of nationalist countries were born, and in some of these
nationalist countries, the bourgeoisie has grown up. The more developed capitalism is in these countries, the more evident their economic and political dependence upon imperialism will be. The U.S. imperialists, taking advantage of the retreat of old colonialism, have developed their neo-colonialism. The old imperialists such as the British and French have also applied neo-colonialism in a number of their former colonies. That is why, the struggle for restoring and consolidating national independence of the people in colonies, dependent countries, and nationalist countries, has not been completed but continued to develop strongly. The spearheads of this struggle are being increasingly concentrated on U.S. imperialism, "the main bastion of present colonialism." (From 1960 Moscow statement)

In the struggle against imperialism and old and new colonialism for restoring and consolidating national independence, the laboring people especially workers and peasants has played a decisive role. They wished not only to destroy the imperialist and feudal fetters, but also to escape from capitalist exploitation. The success of the national democratic revolution in each colony, dependent country, or nationalist country has depended mainly on the revolutionary leadership of its Marxist-Leninist party, and, at the same time, partially on the support and aid of the socialist camp and the international revolutionary movement.

C. The third great change is the fact that the capitalist system--its citadel is the imperialist camp, headed by the U.S. imperialists -- is weakening and facing severe crises.

After World War II, international capitalism weakened and has been unable to overcome the increasingly deep contradictions during its third phase of general crisis. The application of a number of new scientific and technical achievements to production, the quick progress of monopolist capitalism to state-owned monopolist capitalism, the creation of international organizations of monopolist capitalism, the preparations for new world war, the militarization of national economy, the armament race policy along with tax increases, inflation, the attacks by the monopolist capitalists against democratic freedoms in imperialist countries, and so forth,
have deepened the contradictions between the socialist character of production and the capitalist ownership system. In imperialist countries, the cycle of economic crises has become short and irregular.

Under the rule of state-owned monopoly capitalism, the pauperization of the working class and laboring people and the bankruptcy of the intermediary strata have become increasingly grave. The contradictions between the working class and laboring people and the monopolist capitalist minority have become increasingly fierce. The struggle movement against the aggressive and war-seeking policy for ending the armament race, for improving the living conditions, for achieving and enlarging democratic freedoms has developed strongly and continuously, widely and deeply. Here are the characteristics of this movement: the size of strikes has increased daily; the political character of this movement has become increasingly evident; the role and influence of the communist parties in many countries has increased daily. With the slogans of peace and democracy and national independence in U.S. controlled capitalist countries, the working class in a number of countries has been able to unite the majority of laboring people, the intermediary strata, and the democratic, patriotic, and peace-loving forces into a united front and concentrate the spearheads of the attacks on the monopolist capitalists in order to defend world peace, achieve democracy and social progress, and make the necessary preparations for the socialist revolution.

Faced with the struggle movement of workers and laboring people, on the one hand, the monopolist capitalists have tried to repress and terrorize it and intensify the application of fascist measures. On the other hand, they have applied a demagogic policy: satisfying a number of the masses' demands concerning their livelihood, intensifying the bribery of aristocratic workers, using the "people's capitalism" label to lull the laboring masses, encouraging the reformist line of modern revisionists, and using the latter to sow discord inside the communist and workers' movement. This wicked trick of the monopolist capitalists actually has caused a number of workers to fall into trade unionism and legalism and go astray from the goal of struggling for socialism. But day by day, their reactionary and aggressive policy has
caused the majority of workers and laboring people to clearly realize that only through revolutionary struggle, aimed at containing and driving back the monopolist capitalists and advancing toward overthrowing the capitalist rule, can they escape from oppression and exploitation and basically improve their living conditions.

The struggle for peace and democracy of the working class and laboring people in capitalist countries has exerted the effect of checking the imperialists in the fulfillment of their war-seeking and aggressive plans. This struggle has been a great support for the socialist camp and the national liberation movement.

Since the end of World War II, the scope of the imperialist rule has been constantly narrowed. Under the capitalist private ownership system, the law governing the irregular development of capitalism has constantly changed the balance of forces of imperialist countries. Thus, contradictions among the imperialists and among the monopolist capitalist cliques, have become increasingly fierce.

After World War II, the center of world reaction moved from West Europe to the United States. U.S. imperialism has become "the main bastion of the international reactionary force, the international gendarme, the enemy of the world's people." (From the 1960 Moscow statement)

During the post-war years, relying on their large economic and military forces and taking advantage of the weakening of the other imperialist countries, the U.S. imperialists have controlled these countries, with the aim of dominating the capitalist world. But, during the past few years, the economy of West Germany, France, and Japan has developed at a speed higher than that of the United States. Thus, the economic superiority and position of the U.S. imperialists in the capitalist world is being shaken. A fierce struggle for markets is developing among the imperialists and among the old and new colonialists.

The imperialists have entered into political, economic, and military alliances to oppose the socialist camp, the national liberation movement, and the revolutionary movement
in their countries and to prepare for world war. They have
set up NATO, SEATO, CENTO and other military blocs. But
the opposition of interests has created many deep contradic-
tions inside those alliances.

Although having large economic and military forces,
the U.S. imperialists cannot avoid being increasingly weakened.
The development of the U.S. militarized economy has reached
the highest point. But in the United States, it is obvious that
production capacity has not been fully used. Serious unem-
ployment is permanent. The speed of production development
has been slowed down day by day.

The U.S. imperialists have set up thousands of mili-
tary bases and positions throughout the world. However,
since their forces are too widely dispersed they cannot
defend all these bases and positions and thus, the people in
many countries have the possibility of defeating the U.S.
imperialists locally. During the past 18 years, the U.S.
imperialists and their clique have initiated a score of aggres-
sive wars. But as a result, they have been and are being
defeated. The international revolutionary forces have scored
success after success. The U.S. imperialists and their
clique have sustained heavy defeats in China, Korea, Viet-
Nam, Laos and Cuba and are being defeated in South Viet-
Nam and other areas.

In the past, relying on their monopoly and superiority
in nuclear weapons, the U.S. imperialists applied the "war
brinkmanship" policy and set forth the "massive retaliation"
strategy. But because of the quick development of the socialist
camp, the Soviet superiority in nuclear weapons, and the
strong development of the national liberation movement, this
military strategy has gone bankrupt. The U.S. imperialists
have been forced to apply the "flexible response" strategy,
in preparing for a new world war -- including a new world
war to be waged with nuclear weapons -- and the waging of
local war and "special war."

Recently, along with actively preparing for a new
world war and undertaking the "special war," the U.S.
imperialists have resorted to the "peace strategy," with the
aim of deceiving the people in various countries. They have
relied on modern revisionism to achieve "peaceful evolution," hoping to cause a number of socialist countries to degenerate ideologically and politically and gradually restore capitalism.

But all the above-mentioned plots and actions of the imperialists surely cannot save them from disintegration and extermination.

The great changes which have occurred since the end of World War II demonstrate that the international revolutionary force, embracing the socialist camp, the people who are struggling for independence and freedom, the working class and laboring people in the capitalist countries is stronger than that of the imperialists, led by the U.S. imperialists.

The development of the world situation is increasingly favorable to the revolutionary struggle of the world's peoples, but unfavorable to the imperialists. The world's peoples possess more and more favorable conditions for stepping up their anti-imperialist struggle and achieving success for peace, national independence, democracy, and socialism.

The development of the world situation demonstrates the correctness of the following definition of the 1960 Moscow conference of delegates of communist and workers parties concerning the nature of our era:

"Our era--the main content of which is transition from capitalism to socialism and which began with the great socialist October Revolution--is the era of struggle between two opposing social systems, the era of socialist revolution and national liberation revolution, the era during which imperialism collapses and the colonial system is destroyed, the era during which more and more people advance toward socialism, the era of success of socialism and communism on a world scale."

"The striking characteristic of our era is that the international socialist system is becoming the decisive factor in the development of mankind's society."

The conference unanimously remarked: "The international socialist system and the forces struggling against imperialism for socialist transformation of society are deciding the main content, the main trend, and the main
We are living in an era during which there are profound social upheavals and revolutionary changes, an era during which contradictions in mankind's society are becoming increasingly fierce and demand that they be settled along the objective rules of historical development. Under the leadership of Marxist-Leninist parties, the international working class is fulfilling its historic mission of leading the laboring and oppressed people in carrying out the revolution in order to settle these contradictions and help our era attain its final objective of achieving "socialism and communism on a world scale."

In the present human society, there are the following basic contradictions: 1) contradictions between the socialist camp and the imperialist camp; 2) contradictions between the working class and the bourgeoisie in capitalist countries; 3) contradictions between the oppressed people and the imperialists and colonialists; 4) contradictions between imperialists and imperialists, between one monopolistic capitalist clique and another monopolistic capitalist clique in imperialist countries.

The four above contradictions are basic contradictions in human society because they reflect the true nature of the era, they survive and stir up during the entire phase of promoting from capitalism to socialism throughout the world. The first group of basic contradictions belong to the contradictions between two opposing international systems. The other basic contradictions belong to the internal contradictions of the international capitalist system.

These basic contradictions are inter-related and interdependent. They can be settled completely only through class struggle, revolutionary struggle, and not through peaceful means or peaceful negotiations.

Among the above-mentioned basic contradictions, contradictions between the socialist camp and the imperialist camp are the most basic ones. They reflect, in a concentrated manner, the contradictions between the working class and the bourgeoisie the world over. They reflect the basic
content of our era which is the era of transition from capitalism to socialism on a world scale and which began with the socialist October Revolution. They exist throughout the world, but at different degrees in different countries. They influence the development of the other basic contradictions and the way of settling these contradictions.

However, the settlement of the most basic contradictions cannot replace the settlement of other basic contradictions. On the contrary, it depends largely on the settlement of other basic contradictions. Under the condition of peaceful coexistence between countries having different political and social systems, the thorough settlement of the contradictions between the socialist camp and the imperialist camp, in fact, must pass through the revolutions of the working class and laboring people in imperialist countries and the national liberation movement in colonial and semicolonial countries, dependent countries, and nationalist countries. However, it is necessary to clearly realize that the patient class struggle between the two camps in the political, economic, and ideological domains creates favorable conditions for the revolutionary movement in capitalist countries to develop and achieve success.

The complex influences of the above-mentioned basic contradictions prominently highlight the world-wide conflict between two opposing forces: on one side is the socialist camp, the working class, the laboring people, the oppressed people, and the forces of peace and democracy which are fiercely struggling against the other side—which is composed of the aggressive and bellicose imperialists, headed by the U.S. imperialists and their reactionary lackeys—to defend world peace, achieve national independence, democracy, and socialism. The contradictions between these two forces are the main contradictions of the present phase of the development of human society.

The basic contradictions of an era decide the nature of the era during the entire process of its development. Meanwhile, the main contradictions decide the characteristics of each phase of the process. The determination of the basic contradictions of human society helps us clearly realize the strategic tasks of the working class and laboring people the world over during the entire transitional period. The
determination of the main contradictions of human society
during the present development phase helps us correctly set
forth the immediate strategic and tactical tasks of the working
class and laboring people the world over, spot the enemy, and
concentrate all our forces to struggle and overthrow this enemy.

The areas in the world where these contradictions are
being concentrated are Asia, Africa, and Latin America.
People in these countries are struggling fiercely against impe­
risionalism and colonialism to restore and consolidate national
independence. This national struggle is being closely asso­
ciated with the class struggle of the working class against the
bourgeoisie, especially against the bourgeois compradors,
to defend its own daily interests and that of the peasantry
against the feudal landowners in demanding the reduction of
land rent, loan interests, and so forth, or in demanding that
the slogan "land to the tillers" be carried out. In these
areas too, the imperialists and old and new colonialists are
fiercely trying to expel one another and are disputing one
another's interests. As for the socialist countries, they are
supporting and helping the national liberation movement with
the aim of contributing to the destruction of the colonialist
system of the imperialists. The influence of the socialist
camp is driving back that of the imperialist camp.

The weakest links in the entire international imperialist
chain are also located in Asia, Africa, and Latin America.
Because in these areas, the oppressed people refuse to live
under the colonial yoke of the imperialists. They are rising
up and struggling resolutely to smash the enslaving fetters
or the colonialists. As for the imperialists, they can no
longer rule as they did in the past. The national liberation
movement resembles a current attempting to break the dike.
The colonial dike has been broken in many spots by the
revolutionary national liberation wave.

The balance of world forces has changed and is changing
in a way favorable to peace, national independence, democracy,
and socialism. That is why the revolutionary forces of the
working class and the people the world over can apply the
offensive strategy to defeat the plots and tricks of the aggres­sive and bellicose imperialists and advance from over —
throwing imperialism partially to overthrowing it completely.
This is the political offensive strategy common to the world
revolution. As for tactics and concrete struggling methods, we must rely on the situation and conditions of each country and at each moment to choose the suitable ones.

The two greatest offensive fronts of world revolution at present are the struggle for peace and the struggle for national independence. In the struggle for protecting peace, the world revolution has succeeded in mustering the largest force and isolating, to a high degree, the aggressive and warlike imperialists, headed by the U.S. imperialists. In the struggle for national independence, the world revolution is attacking the weakest links of the imperialists and colonialists, causing their rear to disintegrate quickly. Thus, their force will be decimated and dispersed and will collapse. The successful attacks of the revolutionary forces throughout the world against these two fronts will surely create favorable conditions for the building, consolidation, and development of the socialist camp and for the revolution in imperialist countries.

Basing ourselves on the above analysis and on the 1957 and 1960 Moscow statements, we make the following remark concerning the goals, tasks, and strategic line of the international communist movement:

The ultimate goal of the international communist movement is to carry out the revolution to overthrow the entire imperialist system, erase oppression and exploitation from human society, and achieve socialism and communism on a world scale.

To achieve this goal, it is necessary to strengthen solidarity and unanimity in the socialist camp and the international communist movement and solidarity between the working class, laboring people, the oppressed people, and the other forces of peace and democracy throughout the world; to successfully build socialism and communism in the socialist camp, carry out revolution in the capitalist camp, and protect world peace; to closely combine the revolutionary struggle with the struggle for protecting peace and concentrate the spearheads of attacks on the aggressive and warlike imperialists, headed by the U.S. imperialists; to drive back imperialism step by step and overthrow it chunk by chunk; to achieve success for peace, national independence, democracy,
and socialism; and to advance toward completely wiping out imperialism and other reactionary forces and achieving a socialist and communist world.

The 1960 Moscow statement pointed out clearly: "...life requires urgently that socialist countries, the international working class, the nationalist movement for struggling against imperialism, all peace-loving countries, and all combatants for peace unite their efforts increasingly closely and act resolutely in order to prevent war and insure a peaceful life for mankind. Life requires urgently that all revolutionary forces unite more closely to struggle against imperialism, achieve national independence, and achieve socialism."

Especially, at present the international communist movement has the following major tasks:

1. To thoroughly complete the socialist revolution and successfully construct socialism and communism in the socialist system; to consolidate, strengthen, and develop this system.

2. To carry on the national liberation revolution, completely wipe out old and new colonialism, and complete the destruction of the colonialist system of the imperialists.

3. To resolutely struggle against the monopolist capitalists, achieve democracy and peace, and advance toward carrying out the people's democratic revolution and socialist revolution in capitalist countries.

4. To resolutely struggle against the bellicose and aggressive imperialists, headed by the U.S. imperialists; to protect world peace, prevent a new world war, and achieve peaceful coexistence among countries having different political and social systems.

5. To strengthen solidarity and unanimity in the socialist camp and the international communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

The above-mentioned major tasks are closely inter-related and inter-dependent. Only through thoroughly completing
the socialist revolution and successfully constructing socialism and communism is it possible to strengthen and develop the socialist system over the capitalist system, develop the effects of the aid of the socialist camp to the revolutionary movement in various countries, and increase the possibility of preventing war and protecting world peace.

Only through carrying out the national liberation revolution, the people's democratic revolution, and the socialist revolution in the capitalist system is it possible to wipe out imperialism, old colonialism, and neocolonialism; achieve national independence, democracy, and socialism; protect world peace; and create favorable conditions for socialist countries to successfully construct socialism and communism.

Only through mobilizing the masses in various countries to resolutely struggle against the war-seeking policy of the imperialists against the armament race, in demanding that nuclear weapons be completely banned and thoroughly destroyed, in demanding that general military disarmament be achieved gradually, in demanding that aggressive military blocs be disbanded and that military bases of the imperialists on foreign territory be dismantled, and in forcing the imperialists to implement peaceful coexistence policy is it possible to protect world peace, prevent a new world war, and create conditions for the world revolution to develop successfully and for socialist and communist construction in the socialist system to succeed.

To successfully fulfill the construction tasks in the socialist system, carry out the revolution in the capitalist system, and protect world peace it is necessary to strengthen solidarity and unanimity in the socialist camp and in the international communist and workers movement.

II. OUR PARTY'S VIEWPOINT CONCERNING THE MAJOR PROBLEMS OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

At present, the working class and people the world over are struggling against the imperialists, headed by the U.S. imperialists, to achieve peace, national independence, democracy, and socialism. We must base ourselves on the
Marxist-Leninist views to correctly understand and solve the following problems: the problem of war and peace and peaceful coexistence; the problem of stepping up the national liberation task and continuing to erase the colonial system of the imperialists; the problem of transition to socialism and proletarian dictatorship; and the problem of thoroughly completing the socialist revolution and the construction of socialism and communism in the socialist system.

A. Now, everyone is interested in the problem of war and peace, a burning problem which is related to the future of mankind. The warlike imperialists, headed by the U.S. imperialists, are frantically engaging in an armament race; setting up aggressive blocs such as the SEATO, CENTO blocs; building a network of military bases on foreign territories; restoring militarism in West Germany and Japan; and actively preparing for a new world war in order to eliminate the socialist system, strengthen oppression over other people, and redistribute the world market. People in various countries are facing the danger of a new world war. Peace is the earnest aspiration of billions of people. The urgent duty of the communist and workers parties are to struggle to prevent a new world war and resolutely protect world peace.

Now, the great forces of the socialist camp in the political, economic, and military fields --including its superiority in nuclear weapons-- are capable of insuring security for the entire camp and dealing deadly blows at the war-seeking imperialists. If they dare attack the socialist camp, world imperialism will be wiped out. Struggling along with the socialist camp for protecting peace are billions of people in colonies, dependent countries, and nationalist countries in Asia, Africa, and Latin America, the working class and laboring people in capitalist countries, and the other forces of peace and democracy the world over. Now, the forces of peace are stronger than the forces of war. This situation has created the realistic possibility of preventing a new world war.

The 1960 Moscow statement pointed out: "Now the time has come for possibly checking the aggressive imperialists'
plot of waging world war. Through the combined efforts of the international socialist camp, of the international working class, of the national liberation movement of all countries which are struggling against war, and of all peace-loving forces, it is possible to prevent world war."

The problem which is posed is how to apply the policies and line in order to efficiently protect world peace.

The revisionists are of the opinion that because of the appearance of nuclear weapons, because of the socialist camp's superiority in nuclear weapons, the nature of imperialism has or may be changed. Therefore, world peace can be protected only through all-out cooperation, mutual confidence, and economic competition between the socialist countries and capitalist countries, especially between the big powers having the most powerful nuclear weapons. The modern revisionists dare not unmask the true nature of imperialism; but they have praised the so-called "good will for peace" of the leaders of imperialist countries. They dare not mobilize the forces of peace to struggle against the imperialists. On the contrary, they have done their best to collaborate with them. They dare not encourage and support the revolutionary wars aimed at weakening the imperialists. On the contrary, they have tried to hinder the world revolutionary movement.

Naturally, the above-mentioned "peace protection" line of the revisionists has blunted the combativity and vigilance of the people in anti-imperialist countries and has created favorable conditions for the imperialists to intensify their preparations for war, thus increasing the danger of world war.

We are of the opinion that to protect peace, first of all, it is necessary to unmask the aggressive and warlike face of imperialism, headed by U.S. imperialism; strengthen and consolidate the socialist system, the bastion of world peace; organize and mobilize world people's forces of peace in order to resolutely struggle against imperialism, concentrate the spearheads of attacks on U.S. imperialism -- "the main force of aggression and war" -- defeat its war preparation policy, disintegrate its rear, and decimate its forces, thus causing it to become increasingly weak and unable to launch a world war.
Now the struggle for world peace embraces many aspects: to mobilize and muster the forces of the world's peoples for peace, for the struggle against the aggressive and war-seeking policy of the imperialists, against the armament race, for disarmament, for holding peace negotiations to settle international disputes, for achieving peaceful coexistence between countries having different social and political systems, and so forth; to strengthen and consolidate the socialist system, the bastion of world peace; to carry out the revolution to overthrow the imperialists and their lackeys in the countries where the necessary conditions are fulfilled.

The substance of the struggle for world peace is, on the one hand, to make the forces of peace and the anti-imperialist revolutionary forces increasingly more powerful, and, on the other hand, to make the imperialists' forces and the forces of war increasingly weaker. Thus, along with mobilizing and mustering the forces of peace and strengthening the socialist system in the political, economic, and military fields, it is necessary to pay special attention to stepping up the national liberation movement and the revolutionary struggle movement of the working class and laboring people in capitalist countries against the aggressive and warlike imperialists. All anti-imperialist revolutions -- no matter under what forms they are undertaken -- exert great effects upon the protection of world peace. Revolutionary struggle is not contradictory to the struggle for protecting peace. Separating these two struggles, laying emphasis only on the problems of peace race, general disarmament, and so forth, is creating illusions among the people and increasing the danger of war.

In our present era, despite the appearance of nuclear weapons, war is still "the continuation of politics with other means," and the nature of war has remained unchanged. There are still two categories of wars: just and unjust war. While opposing unjust wars, communists have the duty of supporting the just wars. Opposing war in general without distinction between just and unjust war is, in fact, opposing revolutionary wars too.

The present struggle for protecting world peace has the effect of preventing a new world war. But this does not mean that the danger of war has been eliminated. As long as there is imperialism, there is a seed bed for aggressive
To erase aggressive war, it is necessary for the revolution to destroy imperialism. Only when socialism triumphs throughout the world will the social and national causes of all wars be eradicated.

"General disarmament" is a practical slogan aimed at mobilizing the world's peoples to struggle against the armament race policy of the imperialists, preventing aggressive war, and protecting world peace. Under present conditions, socialist forces are stronger than imperialist forces; the forces of peace are stronger than the forces of war. Thus, there is the possibility of forcing the imperialists to achieve disarmament.

The 1960 Moscow statement said clearly: "Thanks to the active and resolute struggle of socialist countries and peace-loving countries, of the international working class and the laboring masses in various countries, it is possible to isolate the aggressive cliques, crush their plans about armament race and war preparations, and force the imperialists to sign a disarmament accord."

However, as long as the imperialists refuse to achieve disarmament, socialist countries should continue to strengthen their defense forces --even their superiority in nuclear weapons-- in order to be fully able to defend themselves and ready to deal decisive blows at the imperialists when the latter dare attack the socialist camp.

The modern revisionists are of the opinion that weapons --including nuclear weapons-- are the origin of war in this present era. That is why they regard the disarmament problem as a most basic problem in the struggle for protecting world peace. This erroneous opinion has prevented the world's peoples from clearly realizing the aggressive and warlike nature of the imperialists, and consequently prevented them from realizing the necessity of carrying out the revolution to overthrow imperialism.

The struggle for disarmament and for the banning of nuclear weapons is necessary to contribute to preventing world war. However, only through carrying out the revolution to overthrow imperialism is it possible to achieve general disarmament, cause socialism to triumph throughout the world, and eradicate all causes of war.
Peaceful coexistence is coexistence between countries having different political and social systems and not coexistence between the oppressed and the imperialist colonialists or between the exploited classes and the exploiting classes. The revisionists regard peaceful coexistence as a general strategic principle of the international communist movement. They want socialist countries, the working class, the laboring people and the oppressed to obey this general principle. Thus, in practice, they have extended peaceful coexistence beyond the limits of the countries having different political and social systems.

Peaceful coexistence between countries having different systems is an objective necessity in the present era. In socialist countries, there are no classes and strata whose interests are closely connected with war, which regard war as a profitable means. That is why socialist countries advocate the necessity of carrying out the five principles of peaceful coexistence.

Peaceful coexistence between countries having different political and social systems is a form of class struggle in all fields --political, economic, and ideological-- in which political struggle plays the main role.

The imperialists never give up their plot of annihilating the socialist countries and are never willing to peacefully coexist with the countries of our camp. To achieve peaceful coexistence, socialist countries must resolutely struggle against the aggressive and war-seeking policy of the imperialists, headed by the U.S. imperialists. The struggle for peaceful coexistence must be carried out, on the one hand, by the socialist camp through the timely unmasking of all the aggressive and war-seeking plots of the imperialists and their lackeys, through demanding that international disputes be settled through negotiations, and through actively helping the national liberation movement and revolutionary movement in capitalist countries; on the other hand, by the people in capitalist countries through stepping up the struggle for peace and the revolutionary struggle aimed at constantly weakening imperialism, causing it to encounter many difficulties and obstacles, and consequently forcing it to peacefully coexist with socialist countries. Thus, peaceful coexistence and revolutionary struggle are not contradictory, but are interdependent.
The 1960 Moscow statement said: "under peaceful coexistence conditions, there is the possibility of widening the class struggle in capitalist countries and the national liberation movement of the people in colonies and dependent countries. Conversely, the victories of the revolutionary class struggle and of the national liberation movement contribute to consolidating peaceful coexistence."

The struggle for peaceful coexistence is an aspect of the struggle for protecting world peace. The communists cannot transform the entire content of the struggle for protecting world peace into peaceful coexistence. Neither can they regard peaceful coexistence as the general line of the entire foreign policy of socialist countries, as the path leading to worldwide socialism, and the key of the strategy of the struggle for world-wide socialism, and so forth.

According to us, the foreign policy of each socialist country must embrace the following three aspects: 1. mutual assistance and all-out cooperation among fraternal socialist countries in accordance with the spirit of comradelyship in order to continuously consolidate, strengthen, and develop the socialist system; 2. the struggle against the aggressive and war-seeking policy of the imperialists and the carrying out of the five principles of peaceful coexistence among countries having different political and social systems; 3. the active support and help for the national liberation movement in Asia, Africa, and Latin America and the revolutionary movement of the working class and laboring people in capitalist countries.

During the process of the struggle for achieving peaceful coexistence, naturally socialist countries can enter into negotiations and arrive at some accord with imperialist countries. But these negotiations and accords must be based on principles -- that is, based on fundamental and long-lasting interests of the revolution and on the power of the people in various countries. Unprincipled accords with the imperialists are only harmful to the world revolution and peace. Because under this condition, the more we manifest our good will, the more exacting the imperialists will be; the more concessions we make, the more insatiable they will be.

B. During the past 18 years, the national liberation movement in Asia, Africa, and Latin America achieved great
victories, thus causing the colonial system of the imperialists to disintegrate continually.

But at present in the world there are hundreds of millions of people who are living directly under the colonial system and hundreds of millions of other people in nationalist countries who, although having not liberated themselves from old colonialism, have already fallen under neo-colonialism. The imperialists are endeavoring to maintain their old colonialist system in their remaining positions and, at the same time, achieve neocolonialism. That is why the problem of restoring and consolidating national independence actually is a life-or-death problem for about a billion people in Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

But the revisionists are of the opinion that at present in the world there are only a few million people still living under colonialism and the process of the destruction of the colonial system has entered the final phase. They slight the danger of neo-colonialism, believe that economic struggle is the main content of the national liberation movement in the present phase, and even underestimate the effects of the revolutionary movement of the people in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. They advise the oppressed against recklessly waging armed struggle against the imperialists because if they do they will suffer great sacrifices. They advise the latter to wait for U.N. intervention, for the imperialists to implement their "non-colonialization" policy.

However, through struggle realities, the oppressed people--who are still living under the old or new colonialist yoke or who have just restored political independence--have clearly realized that they should not be satisfied with the achieved results; that they should strengthen solidarity and pursue the struggle for overthrowing colonialism under all forms; that they should be conscious of the danger of neocolonialism; especially of the U.S. imperialists' neo-colonialism; that to achieve independence, they should rise up and struggle under all forms and not wait for the imperialists to give them independence and freedom; and that only through resolutely struggling against imperialism can nationalist countries complete and consolidate their national independence and maintain their policy of peace and neutrality.
In the present era, facts prove that the national liberation movement alone -- the content of which is the people's national democratic revolution -- can help the nations achieve complete independence. Historic experiences prove that the imperialists usually collaborate with the feudal landlords and the bourgeois compradors in colonies, and dependent countries to oppose the people in these countries. Now they also use these classes to achieve neocolonialism. In colonial, dependent, and nationalist countries, peasants form the largest force in their population. Their earnest aspirations are achieving national independence and enforcing the slogan "land to the tillers." The national problem in fact is the peasant problem. That is why, the national liberation movement aims not only at overthrowing the imperialist colonialist yoke, "destroying the economic roots of the imperialist rule, restricting and eliminating the foreign monopolistic organizations from the economy," (From the 1960 Moscow statement), but also at overthrowing its lackeys, achieving land reforms thoroughly, eradicating the feudal agricultural system and other feudal vestiges in general. In the present era, the national struggle against imperialism is not separated from the class struggle inside the nation; likewise, the national liberation task is not separated from the task of liberating production forces, liberating the laboring people.

The experiences drawn from the national liberation struggle in our country and other countries show that to achieve victory, the national democratic revolution must have the following factors: the revolution must be led by the working class and the Marxist-Leninist party; this party must set up a firm worker-peasant alliance; it must set up a large united national front, embracing the patriotic and democratic classes and being based on the worker-peasant alliance; it must build the armed forces to undertake the armed struggle and armed uprisings in order to seize power; and it must win over the strong sympathy and support of the socialist camp, of the national liberation movement and the workers movement in capitalist countries.

The August Revolution, the protracted resistance of the Vietnamese people in the past, and the present patriotic struggle of southern compatriots prove that the above-mentioned experiences are correct.
An important problem which has been raised for the people in Asian, African, and Latin American countries is: After achieving national independence, what path should they follow? At present, people in the nationalist countries have two paths before them: the path of capitalist development and the path of non-capitalist development.

The ruling capitalist class in nationalist countries is directing the development of these countries along the capitalist path. In fact, this path is the path leading to dependence upon the imperialists, leading these countries to gradually becoming new-style colonies of the imperialists and colonialists. As for the working class and laboring people in these countries, the imperialists wish that their countries follow the capitalist path—the path of sufferings, stained with blood and tears. Encouraged and supported by the socialist camp, guided by the experiences of the socialist countries, which were colonial or semicolonial countries, the working class and laboring people in these countries are struggling to make their countries follow the non-capitalist path—the socialist path.

To thoroughly fulfill the tasks of the national democratic revolution and make these countries develop along the non-capitalist path and advance toward socialism, the prerequisite condition is that the vanguard element of the working class must exert leadership over the revolution. (Now in the countries where the working class is being formed, the Marxist-Leninists have the possibility, with the help of the international communist movement, of setting up the Marxist-Leninist party to lead the revolution.)

The main content of the problem of leadership over the revolution is the problem of winning over the workers and peasants and setting up the worker-peasant alliance. Failure to win over the peasants in fact is a failure to lead the masses in carrying out the revolution. To win over the peasants, the political party of the working class must have a correct land policy, educate the peasants and organize them for the struggle for this policy, and criticize the fake of middle-of-the-road land policy of the bourgeoisie. While allying itself with the bourgeoisie, the political party
of the working class supports the latter's progressive domestic and foreign policies, but, at the same time, opposes its reactionary policies—especially opposes the policy of alliance between the rightist bourgeoisie and the imperialist and feudal forces—continually preserves its own independence in the organizational as well as political and ideological fields, thus avoiding being turned into a tail of the ruling bourgeoisie. While holding high the national democratic banner, the political party of the working class should not put down the socialist banner. Instead it should hold it high and oppose it to the fake socialist banner of the bourgeoisie.

The national liberation movement in Asia, Africa, and Latin America is attacking the imperialists' rear in order to destroy old and new colonialism, weaken further imperialism, thus actively contributing to protecting world peace, protecting the socialist camp, and creating more conditions for the revolutionary struggle movement of the working class and laboring people in capitalist countries to achieve victory quickly. Socialist countries and the international workers movement have the duty of supporting actively and helping in all fields the struggle by the people in colonies, dependent countries, and nationalist countries to restore and consolidate national independence.

Socialist countries must do their best to help the people who are struggling against the colonialists—especially the people who are bravely holding weapons to destroy the slaves' fetters, using the fiercest form of struggle to overthrow the old and new colonialism. As for nationalist countries, socialist countries must help them in all fields—especially in the political field—because these countries are having to pursue their anti-imperialist struggle and complete their national liberation task. Economic aid to nationalist countries, which are ruled by the bourgeoisie, is necessary. But this aid is aimed at creating conditions for nationalist countries to build and develop a self-sufficient economy and gradually liberate themselves from dependency upon imperialism, and not at helping the reactionary ruling bourgeoisie which has an expansionist policy or which is a lackey of the imperialists in their opposition to the socialist countries. One must not cultivate the illusion that this aid is the best measure for helping nationalist countries to advance toward socialism. That is why along with economic aid in the state-owned field, it is necessary to pay special attention to helping the communist
movement and the worker-peasant movement in nationalist countries.

C. The problems of transition to socialism and of proletarian dictatorship, first of all, are related to the revolution in capitalist countries. In these countries, the struggle against state monopolistic capitalism and for achieving peace and democracy now has an important meaning. It is part of the struggle for socialism. This struggle has mustered all the people's strata around a wide united front to oppose the monopolist capitalists, and to advance toward overthrowing their rule. However, one must not maintain that to struggle for peace and democracy is to struggle for socialism, that it is possible to achieve socialism without carrying out the proletarian revolution and achieving proletarian dictatorship. It is possible that a revolution in a number of capitalist countries is carried out along certain democratic slogans; but during the process of the revolutionary development, it is necessary to advance from these democratic slogans to higher slogans. Therefore, in capitalist countries, the people's revolutionary movement should not be confined within the limits of the struggle for peace and democracy. All the same one must not confuse bourgeois democracy with proletarian democracy; one must not regard the successes achieved by democracy under the capitalist system as socialist factors. In these countries, the struggle against the state monopolist capitalists is a transitory step toward socialist revolution, creates favorable conditions for advancing toward carrying out the socialist revolution and achieving proletarian dictatorship.

The 1960 Moscow statement said: "Communists regard the struggle for democracy as an integral part of the struggle for socialism. During the process of this struggle, communists continually consolidate the relations between themselves and the masses, heighten the political enlightenment level of the masses, and help the masses clearly realize the tasks of the socialist revolution and the necessity of carrying out this revolution. This is the basic difference between the Marxist-Leninist parties and the reformists who regard reforms under the capitalist system as the ultimate goal and refuse to admit the necessary character of the socialist revolution."
The international communist movement is being faced with this major problem: under present conditions, what form should the proletariat in capitalist countries take to advance toward socialism?

The Marxist-Leninist theory teaches us that the basic problem for all revolutions is the problem of power. To advance from capitalism to socialism, the most decisive factor is that the proletariat should smash the state machinery of the bourgeoisie and achieve proletarian dictatorship.

The great October Socialist Revolution and the revolutions in China, Viet-Nam, Cuba, and many other countries prove that seizing power through violent means is correct and necessary.

Naturally, we wish to advance to socialism in a peaceful way, but historic experiences show that exploiting classes are never willing to relinquish power and leave the political stage. Now, although the socialist camp is stronger than the imperialist camp, we must not cultivate the illusion that the bourgeoisie in capitalist countries is so weak that it cannot use violence to oppose the working class. A prominent truth in the political activities in many capitalist countries is that state monopolist capitalists are following the path of militarism and fascism and using violence in the most brazen way to repress the working class and laboring people. Thus, it is necessary to assert that the use of revolutionary violence to smash the bourgeois state machinery and set up a proletarian dictatorial state is a general rule for the revolutionary struggle of the working class in capitalist countries under present conditions.

The organization of revolutionary violence can take the following forms: armed force, political force, or political force associated with armed force. The manifestation of revolutionary violence varies from country to country; it depends upon the characteristics and concrete conditions of each country.

During the process of the revolutionary campaign, the party of the working class must use the various forms of struggle in a flexible way, combining the illegal forms of organizations and struggles with the legal ones. When it is
possible to join the bourgeois parliament, the party must take advantage of this possibility to carry on the struggle, combining struggle inside the parliament with struggle outside the parliament. But, it is necessary to realize that struggle by the masses outside the parliament actually has a decisive character. The majority in the parliament is effectively revolutionary only when it faithfully reflects the will of the masses which are vigorously struggling to support it. Under all circumstances, communists should not cultivate the illusion of seizing power through "parliamentary means." On the contrary, it is necessary to educate the masses so that they can understand the fully correct Marxist - Leninist view asserting that seizing power through violent means is the general rule for all revolutions actually having a people's character, in the present era.

This assertion does not mean that it is absolutely impossible to seize power through peaceful means. When the socialist revolution has triumphed in more countries, when the balance between the socialist and capitalist forces has changed in a way favorable to socialism, in a number of countries there may be the possibility for the working class to seize power through peaceful means. This is a very rare and very precious possibility. That is why we agree with the 1957 and 1960 Moscow statements, saying that there are two possibilities of transition to socialism: peaceful and non-peaceful. In leading the revolutionary struggle, communists must prepare for both possibilities -- especially for the non-peaceful one because in this way, we will keep the initiative under all circumstances. The more we prepare for the non-peaceful possibility, the more easily we will be able to achieve the peaceful possibility when all the conditions are fulfilled; and when the enemy of the class uses armed forces to repress the revolution, we will be ready to use our forces to overthrow him and seize power. Under present conditions, in many capitalist countries where state monopolist capitalists are implementing the militarism and fascism policy, if we emphasize the possibility of seizing power through peaceful means, through the "parliamentary path," through "structure reorganization" within the framework of the bourgeois constitution, we will then fall into evolutionism and follow the reformist path of the social democratic clique.
In colonial and semi-colonial countries, people do not have any democratic freedom; if communists want to lead the people in carrying out the revolution to overthrow the imperialists and their lackeys, liberate themselves, and seize power, they must pay special attention to organizing armed forces and armed struggle. The problem of armed struggle and armed uprisings in these countries is truly a universal law. Experiences drawn from the Vietnamese revolution prove that under the working class' leadership, people must use violence to overthrow the imperialists and feudalists, seize power fulfill the people's national democratic revolutionary task, and advance to socialist revolution and construction in the North. At the same time, continue to use revolutionary violence to oppose the counter-revolutionary violence of the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys in order to complete the people's national democratic revolutionary task in the South. The Vietnamese revolutionary path is the path of combining political struggle with armed struggle, the path of carrying out the revolution through violence.

In a number of nationalist countries, colonialist imperialists withdraw and let the bourgeoisie take over the administrative machinery. Under this condition, the problem of carrying out the revolution to seize power for the people, especially for the workers and peasants, complete the national democratic task, and advance to socialist revolution is an urgent problem. In these countries, transition to socialism can take either the peaceful or non-peaceful form, depending on the resistance of the ruling bourgeoisie.

After seizing power, the proletariat must achieve the proletarian dictatorship in order to fulfill the following tasks: 1. to crush the opposition of the enemy of the class, enemy who has been overthrown, and suppress his plots and actions aimed at restoring the capitalists' power; 2. to muster all the people around the working class in order to undertake socialist transformation and socialist construction and prepare conditions for the complete abolition of all classes; 3. to build, consolidate, and strengthen the defense forces in order to oppose all aggressive and war-seeking plots of the enemy without and struggle against imperialism and old and new colonialism; 4. to support and help in all fields the revolutionary struggle of the working class and laboring people and the oppressed people in capitalist countries; consolidate and