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UNDER THE GLORIOUS PARTY BANNER FOR INDEPENDENCE, FREEDOM, AND SOCIALISM,  
LET US ADVANCE AND ACHIEVE NEW VICTORIES

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pp 27-111]

Our Vietnamese people are very heroic. During the long struggle to build and preserve our country, our people, who at an early stage were conscious of nationalism, manifested an intense patriotism. Under French colonial rule, which lasted almost a century, our people, who refused to become slaves, continually rose up, resolutely took up weapons, and struggled against the country-grabbers and country-sellers. But all these anti-French and national salvation movements failed.

During the 1920's, after the defeat of the Can Vuong revolt, our people's intense liberation movement faced a deep crisis concerning the movement's direction. To cope with this movement, the French colonialists, on the one hand, ruthlessly repressed and terrorized the patriots and, on the other hand, endeavored to sow a spirit of surrender and to develop reformist and cooperationist tendencies. At that time, the struggle over the direction of the national liberation revolution became fierce among patriotic forces, between the two main tendencies: the young proletariat and the national bourgeoisie. These forces set forth their political programs to win over the masses.

Just at that moment, President Ho with his talents, intelligence, and revolutionary activities satisfied in time the historic requirements. Realizing the narrowness of the patriotism of the contemporary scholars and revolutionaries animated by bourgeois thoughts, President Ho early adopted Marxism-Leninism and followed the proletarian revolutionary path. President Ho said: "To save one's country and liberate one's nation, there is no other path, except the proletarian revolutionary path." (From "Ho Chi Minh's Selected Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1960, p 705)

President Ho's first great service was to associate the Vietnamese revolutionary movement with the international workers' movement and guide

the Vietnamese on the path that he himself had followed -- the path leading from patriotism to Marxism-Leninism. That was the only liberation path which the Russian October Revolution had opened for the workers and the oppressed worldwide.

"Marxism-Leninism came to the Vietnamese in the same way as water comes to a thirsty traveller or rice to a hungry one." (From "Ho Chi Minh's Selected Works," p 162) It urged the Vietnamese patriots to follow the proletarian revolutionary path and provoked a strong nationalist and democratic wave throughout the country in which the working class became an independent political force. The association of Marxism-Leninism -- the most revolutionary ideology of the era -- with the fierce struggle movement of the working class -- the most revolutionary class -- in close alliance with the peasantry and the patriotic movement of a nation seething with revolution led to the founding of our party on 3 February 1930.

This event marked a fundamental turning point in the history of the Vietnamese revolution -- the dissemination of Marxism-Leninism to a colonial and semifeudal country, and the first inevitable preparation for the phase of glorious uprising and the biggest leap forward in the history of the evolution of the Vietnamese nation, inaugurated by the August Revolution and the founding of the DRV.

The 40-year history of our party and people is the history of a very glorious revolutionary struggle. It is the history of many revolutionary high tides and heroic uprisings -- the 1930-1931 revolutionary high tide, the 1936-1939 revolutionary high tide, and the 1940-1945 national salvation high tide -- leading to the success of the August Revolution.

It is the history of two protracted resistances by a heroic nation against the French colonialists and U.S. imperialist aggressors, to complete the national liberation work, defend the fatherland, and contribute to the world people's great struggle for peace, national independence, democracy, and socialism.

It is the history of the carrying out of two major revolutions of this era: the people's national democratic revolution and the socialist revolution. During the past 10 years, under the leadership of our party and the NFLSV, these two revolutionary tasks have been closely associated with the objective of achieving the common goal: liberating the south, defending the north, and peacefully achieving national unification.

Under the leadership of our party headed by our great President Ho, our people countrywide wrote the best pages of our fatherland's history and guided our country into the era of independence and freedom and the era of socialism. During the 40-year leadership over the Vietnamese revolution, our party and President Ho have led our people into the world arena as the first people from the colonial and dependent countries to successfully achieve the national liberation revolution and gain power throughout

the country; as the first victor over the old colonialism, thus inaugurating the process of disintegration of the colonial system of imperialism by large chunks; and as an assault combatant defeating the neocolonialism of the U.S. imperialists -- the archimperialist and the international gendarme.

Through their brilliant victories in their struggle against imperialism and feudalism and through the socialist revolution which is being carried out in North Vietnam, our working class and people, led by the party, are, along with the peoples in the fraternal socialist countries, making the most positive contributions to the process of changing world history in the present era.

The brilliant victories scored by our people in the past 40 years originated from the clear-sighted leadership of our party, a party which is absolutely loyal to the supreme interests of our class and people.

Each step forward by our revolution and people has been a success for Marxism-Leninism -- the invincible revolutionary doctrine and the brilliant truth of the new era.

It has been the great success of the invincible power of the militant solidarity of our working class and people in their struggle for independence, freedom, and socialism.

The successes of the Vietnamese revolution in the past 40 years have been closely connected with the development of the world revolution during the new era, the era of transition from capitalism to socialism on a world scale, which was inaugurated by the Great Russian October Revolution; with the glorious victory by the Soviet Union over the German-Italian-Japanese fascist clique; with the great success of the Chinese Revolution; with the clearly superior power of the socialist camp, a factor deciding the development of the history of human society; with the vigorous national liberation movement and the seething struggle movement of the working class and laboring people in capitalist countries; and with the worldwide democratic and peace movement.

Our party and people have had to overcome untold hardships and trials to achieve these glorious successes. Under the party's banner, numerous cadres, party members, compatriots, and fighters have sacrificed their blood and bones, highly demonstrating the heroic bearing of the vanguard class and of the nation, and their boundless loyalty to the fatherland, the national liberation undertaking, and invincible Marxism-Leninism. Their heroic examples will live forever with our people, our party, our present generation, and our descendants.

On the occasion of this significant anniversary, we boundlessly mourn for respected and beloved President Ho who has passed away.

All our party and people are eternally grateful to great President Ho Chi Minh.

He was the first man to sow the Marxist-Leninist seed on Vietnamese soil and to make the Vietnamese revolution blossom and bear fruit. He tirelessly formed a contingent of elite cadres for our party and built our party into a steadfast and strong solidarity bloc. Thanks to President Ho, the master of the Vietnamese revolution, a great national hero, an eminent international combatant, its founder, leader, and trainer, our party early became a new-type working class party with ample experience and a very glorious history of struggle.

Each step of our people and party over the past 40 years has been closely related to the very seething and beautiful revolutionary life of President Ho. All his activities and the struggle of our people and party have constituted an immortal epic of the Vietnamese revolution.

President Ho was the great leader of the party and the people. He was the symbol of a thorough association of the ideal of independence and freedom with the socialist and communist ideal and of warm patriotism with the genuine international proletarian spirit.

President Ho was the crystallization of the moral values of our people throughout the 4,000 years of history. In him the national quintessence was associated with Marxism-Leninism, the high point in mankind's ideology in the new epoch.

President Ho's life was as pure as light. It was a marvelous example of unyielding revolutionary vigor, independent and autonomous spirit, humanity, profound love for the people, righteousness, impartiality, modesty, and simpleness.

His lofty ideas and ethics will illuminate and uphold our souls forever. His dazzling banner will constantly show the way for us to advance.

## Part I: The People's National Democratic Revolution

### The Strategic Line

No sooner had our party emerged than it could distinctly see, in the light of Marxism-Leninism, the inevitable development of the Vietnamese revolution. In its 1930 political platform, the party pointed out: The Vietnamese revolution must go through two stages -- primarily, the national, democratic revolution and, subsequently, direct transition to the socialist revolution bypassing the capitalist development stage. The party's ultimate goal is to achieve communism. Complying with this political platform, the party set forth specific lines for each period, leading our people through difficult, arduous, complex roads to the present, glorious victories.

The French colonialists invaded and occupied our country. When we lost the country, our people lost their independence, freedom, and right

to live, and their national culture, which had been built through thousands of years of history. To drive out the imperialist aggressors, liberate the people, restore independence and freedom to the fatherland and a plentiful, happy life to the people, and restore to the Vietnamese their cultural and moral values represented the most earnest aspirations of every Vietnamese patriot.

However, opposing our people's aspirations at that time were the imperialist aggressors, who were closely associated with the feudal class. The collusion between imperialism and feudalism represents the characteristics of the colonial system. The contradictions between our people and the imperialist aggressors were closely associated with those between our people and the feudal system, which provided support for imperialism's yoke of domination and exploitation. Therefore, the tasks of opposing imperialism and feudalism were inseparable. The national liberation revolution must necessarily encompass democratic content.

A real national movement always encompasses definite democratic content, because any class which wants to struggle to regain national sovereignty, or to become a nation, must inevitably meet certain democratic requirements with regard to the masses of the people, who represent the force determining the success or failure of the national movement.

Our country is an agricultural country, where the peasants comprise more than 90 percent of the population. Imperialism relied on the feudal regime to exploit our people, primarily our peasants. Therefore, national liberation must be directed primarily and basically toward liberating the peasants. Likewise, speaking of democracy here, we think primarily and basically of democracy for the peasants, whose earnest aspirations are national independence, land to the tillers, and liberation from the yoke of imperialist and feudal oppression. The peasants can only free themselves from the landlords' yoke of oppression if they succeed in toppling imperialism, which maintains and protects the feudal regime and which is the greatest enemy of both the nation and the peasants. Liberating the peasants from the landlord's feudal yoke and restoring land to the peasants represent the basic content of the democratic revolution and, at the same time, originate in the requirements of the national liberation undertaking, because "the problem of colonial peoples is, in essence, the peasant problem."

By firmly holding aloft the national democratic banner and adopting the two slogans, "national independence" and "land to the tillers," our party successfully rallied large numbers of peasants to side with the working class, thus successfully mobilizing other strata of the people to join with the workers and peasants in moving to the forefront of the anti-imperialism and antifeudalism revolution. In the revolutionary process, these strategic tasks were concretized by the objectives which were suitable to each period, which in turn were based on an analysis of the concrete class relations and on our ability to divide the ranks of the

imperialist and feudalist enemies. These objectives were designed to mass the revolutionary fire on the most dangerous enemy in each period. However, in whatever period, these concrete political objectives and tasks set forth by the party basically encompassed both national and democratic contents, in which the tasks of opposing imperialism and feudalism were fundamentally interrelated.

Following the August Revolution, during the anti-French resistance, and while directing the revolutionary spearhead primarily at the imperialist aggressors and their lackeys, the party gradually carried out the agrarian revolution. In 1953, when the resistance entered the most decisive period, the party advocated motivating the masses to drastically reduce land rental rates and to carry out land reform, implementing the slogan "land to the tillers." As a result, the resistance forces of millions of peasants were inspired and vigorously mobilized, the worker-peasant alliance was strengthened, the people's administration and the national united front were consolidated, the strength of the people's army increased to an unprecedented degree, and resistance was stepped up in all fields. This drive made a decisive contribution to the great Dien Bien Phu victory. The land reforms during the resistance represented a very correct, creative policy of our party.

Today, the South Vietnamese revolution has developed an ever-victorious strength, because the South Vietnamese people, among whom peasants represent a large majority of about 10 million, have enjoyed the true national and democratic interests attained by the revolution and because the South Vietnamese revolution has creatively associated two national and democratic tasks in a struggle against the U.S. imperialists' neocolonialism.

The special characteristic of neocolonialism is that it has been achieved not through the direct ruling system of the imperialists, but through a lackey administration which represents the interests of the landlord and feudal class and the comprador bourgeois class donning a false "national and democratic" overcoat. Under these conditions, the revolution could not help but strongly attack and overthrow the puppet administration, to tumble the prop of imperialism in its implementation of neocolonialism. With the overthrow of the Ngo Dinh Diem administration, the South Vietnamese people dealt a deadly blow to the U.S. neocolonialism, initiating a period of permanent crisis for the puppet administration. Extremely stubborn and refusing to resign themselves to defeat, in the middle of 1965 the U.S. imperialists sent a massive number of U.S. troops to South Vietnam in the hope of remedying the situation. However, the South Vietnamese people have continually advanced and never retreated. They have poured the fire of hatred of the people's war on the U.S. aggressors, while, at the same time, strongly attacking the puppet administration and army and both the U.S. and puppet troops, determined to "fight until the Americans leave the country and the puppets topple." The South Vietnamese people are taking advantage of their past victories to advance toward achieving, at all

costs, their immediate basic objective -- building an independent, democratic, peaceful, neutral, and prosperous South Vietnam and advancing toward the peaceful reunification of the country.

While standing shoulder to shoulder with the southern compatriots in pursuing the national democratic revolution, our people in the north, under party leadership, have followed the socialist revolution since 1954 -- when the anti-French resistance war successfully ended. This development was in compliance with the party's first political program and completely consistent with the inevitable trend of the national liberation movement in the present era, the era of national democratic revolution to advance toward socialism, bypassing the capitalist stage. The socialist revolution is the only path which insures thorough victory for the national liberation movement and genuine national independence and incessant progress and prosperity for peoples who have been restrained in backwardness under the ruling yoke of colonialist imperialism. The socialist revolution which has been implemented for over 10 years, has yielded initial but very great achievements. It has basically changed the north's face in the political, economic, social, and cultural fields, transforming the north into an increasingly firm and strong base for achieving the national democratic revolution nationwide. By building socialism, completely defeating the U.S. imperialists' war of destruction, and fulfilling the duties of the great rear to the great anti-U.S. national salvation frontline, our people are actively carrying out the greatest truth of the epoch: that today national independence, democracy, and socialism cannot be separated.

Some 100 years ago, Marxism was born with the resounding slogan: "Proletariat of the world, unite."

Marxism developed in the imperialist era and at a time when capitalism had become not only a heavy yoke for the proletariat and the laboring people in subject countries, but also enslaving shackles and chains of the colonial peoples. Lenin appealed: "Let proletarians in all countries and oppressed peoples unite." The strength of this strategic slogan shows that in the present era the revolutionary struggle to overthrow capitalism and to lead mankind to socialism can be victorious only through a combination of the struggle of proletarians in all countries with the struggle of colonial peoples against imperialism, thus forming a general struggle movement to carry out national liberation and win independence and democracy for colonial and dependent peoples. This movement will achieve thorough victory only when it becomes an integral part of the world proletarian revolution. The correct trend for the necessary development of human society is the advance to socialism. As President Ho asserted, "only socialism and communism can liberate oppressed peoples and the laboring people in the world from enslavement." (Ho Chi Minh, Selected Works, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1960, p 794)

As capitalism enters increasingly deeper into its extremely rotten stage, the problems of national independence and democracy are not only the

problems of colonial and dependent peoples but also the responsibility of communist and workers parties in developed capitalist countries in the struggle for socialism and communism. As a matter of fact, today the ruling monopoly capitalists in these countries have been gradually selling out and are continuing to sell out the national sovereignty cheaply to U.S. imperialism, international capitalist organizations, and military aggressive superpower blocs. This is related to the intensification of the exploitation and oppression of local working classes and laboring people and the limitation of and, even in many cases, trampling upon all democratic freedoms, even though they are bourgeois democratic freedoms. In view of this, today, as Stalin pointed out, communists must hold the national democratic banner to advance.

Holding high the national democratic banner and advancing directly to socialism, bypassing the capitalist stage, is our party's strategic line which has been proven completely correct by the realities of the Vietnamese revolution over the past 40 years and the realities of the world revolution. The success of the Vietnamese revolution is the success of Marxism-Leninism creatively applied to the circumstances of an inherently colonial and semi-feudal country.

Thanks to its correct line, our party has mustered behind it all patriotic classes and walks of life and has succeeded in building up a broad, steady revolutionary body struggling for national liberation.

The prime, basic problem of the revolution is the correct and full affirmation of leading role of the working class. Because of its economic, political, and historical position, the working class has become the representative of the evolution of human society in our era, the only factor capable of making the laboring people masters of their own future. The Vietnamese proletariat, although young and small, is, however, firmly revolutionary. It was born before the Vietnamese bourgeois class. In the first stage of its development, it was promptly illuminated by the revolutionary light of Marxism-Leninism and rapidly became a self-enlightened, unified political force throughout North Vietnam, central Vietnam, and South Vietnam. Because it had emerged from the impoverished peasants and laborers, its close relations with the peasants created favorable conditions for forming a solid worker-peasant alliance. Moreover, the Vietnamese proletariat stepped onto the political stage after the Great October Revolution had scored resounding successes throughout the five continents and at a time when in neighboring China, following the bourgeois betrayal, the Chinese proletariat advanced and grasped the national and democratic flag. This historical background further heightened the Vietnamese proletariat's political prestige. These developments helped the Vietnamese proletariat acquire very great strength and prestige and gain a victorious position and the right to lead the Vietnamese revolution, after the failure of the insurrection in Yen Bay.

President Ho said: "The working class alone is the most brave and revolutionary and is constantly bold in coping with the imperialists and colonialists. Endowed with vanguard revolutionary theories and experiences of the international proletarian movement, our working class has shown that it is the worthiest and most trustworthy leader of the Vietnamese people." (President Ho, Selected Works, p 769) That our party has adopted correct political lines through all periods and led the Vietnamese revolution from one success to another is due to the fact that our party has firmly stood on the working class' position and firmly grasped Marxism-Leninism -- the working class' revolutionary theory.

Apart from the working class, which is the leading class, the peasants are the class which has most positively opposed the imperialists and feudalists. The peasants also represent the majority of our population and constitute the greatest force in the national democratic revolution. Therefore, attracting the peasants to follow the working class, highly developing the peasants' great revolutionary ability, and successfully forming the worker-peasant alliance constitute basic conditions for insuring the success of the revolution.

As a strategic principle of Marxism-Leninism and a universal necessary condition for all proletariat-led revolutions, the question of the worker-peasant alliance is especially important for such a country as ours. Under a colonial and semifeudal regime, although the proletariat in our country was small, its power surpassed its numerical strength, because, apart from adopting correct revolutionary lines, our proletariat succeeded in winning over a naturally trustworthy ally, possessing powerful forces and a richly revolutionary spirit -- the peasants. Right after its emergence, our party immediately seized the leadership of the revolution, because our party soon succeeded in building the worker-peasant alliance. The political prestige of our party and its right to lead the revolution were absolute and indisputable, for our party emerged from the invincible strength of the basic masses, the worker-peasant masses.

In the present era, a social liberation movement or national liberation movement can actually have a revolutionary character only when this movement is primarily based on the strength of the workers and peasants and when this movement develops with the strength of the worker-peasant alliance and under the proletariat's leadership. As the revolution is an enterprise of the masses, in the conditions of our country the revolutionary movement must actually be a movement in which workers and peasants constitute the main force. Only by achieving a worker-peasant alliance and relying on this sound and basic strength will the party of the working class be able to expand the revolutionary ranks up to those other classes and walks of life that have national and democratic tendencies. There can be no united national front without the worker-peasant alliance. Our people's democratic administration was born from the August Revolution, thus reflecting broad national unity. However, it was first of all a worker-peasant administration under the leadership of the working class. This explains

why the people's democratic administration was able to assume the tasks of the proletarian dictatorship immediately after the national democratic revolution was basically achieved in the north, without passing through a political revolution. Without the worker-peasant alliance, we would not have been able to achieve the socialist revolution bypassing the development of capitalism. The revolutionary army, a very important and effective instrument in the national democratic revolution in our country, is but a worker-peasant army, a product of the worker and peasant classes, placed under the direct and absolute leadership of our party, the party of the working class.

Thus once there is the party -- the vanguard of the working class -- and the worker-peasant alliance, there is everything. In a series of factors deciding the success of the Vietnam revolution, it is first of all necessary to uphold the leadership role of the party and working class, and the role of the worker-peasant alliance.

Unlike the peasants in many countries, the Vietnamese peasants have never tailed after the national bourgeoisie, which has usually been small economically and weak politically. This is because the revolutionary spirit of the peasants in our country and their revolutionary demands have exceeded the limits the bourgeoisie could attain. The peasants are a very revolutionary people, but they cannot assume the leadership of the revolution, because the peasants do not represent a specific production formula nor do they have an independent political position nor an independent ideology. In the national democratic revolution in our country, the peasant class can only side with the proletariat and submit to the proletariat's leadership. The peasants cannot undertake land reform by themselves alone. In the old-type bourgeois democratic revolution, land problems were solved in accordance with the lines set forth by and to the advantage of the bourgeoisie. In the new democratic revolution, land reform must be carried out under the proletariat's leadership and in accordance with the proletariat's viewpoints and lines. Only in this condition can the immediate and lasting basic interests of peasants be secured. Only by siding with the working class can the peasants gather into a great force. Some people may say that the strength of the working class can develop consciously because it has at its side its great ally, the peasants; but one must also understand that the peasants' strength can develop only in alliance with workers and under the leadership of the working class.

Our party is the working class party. The party's political line reflects the working class' stand and viewpoints and complies perfectly with the eager aspirations and vital interests of the peasants. Therefore for the past 40 years the peasantry has unanimously and faithfully sided with the working class' party, thus making the worker-peasant alliance ever stronger. The Vietnam revolution clearly proves that a revolutionary movement which develops along with the working class line and the Marxist-Leninist line and which has a powerful main force, the worker-peasant alliance, will certainly be victorious whatever great enemy it may face and however great the difficulties and challenges it may encounter.

Through the various phases of the national democratic revolution, based on the solid worker-peasant alliance bloc, our party succeeded in uniting into the great united national front all progressive and patriotic strata, all nationalities in the country, all religions, and all forces that could be united, including the forces that had contradictions with the common enemy of our people; in neutralizing the forces that could be neutralized; and directing the revolution spearhead toward the imperialist aggressors and their henchmen. The successes of the revolution cannot be separated from our party's correct policy toward the front.

Experiences have shown that in carrying out the policy toward the front it was necessary to constantly be aware of and to fight the two tendencies, rightist and "leftist."

The front was an organization in which contradictions could be reconciled. The front included many different classes that united on the basis of a common and fixed program of action. However one could not say that there was no class in the front. A principle was set: One must rely on the class viewpoint to examine and solve all problems referring to the front's policies. Some classes have basically similar interests and there are classes whose interests are similar to a certain extent only. Because of its private interests or common interests, each class is allied with other classes within the front. Moreover, each class conceives common interests in accordance with its own standpoint. As for the proletarian class, the class interests and national interests are completely the same. Its view is an outcome of its historical position. But, as for the other classes, private interests and common interests are similar in some aspects but dissimilar in others. Therefore, while being united and in order to strengthen unity, we must view the struggle between the stands of the members representing different classes in the front as a necessity. In fact, to unite passively without struggle, would lead to the disintegration of the front's unity and to its liquidation. If we know how to struggle systematically -- that is, to struggle on the basis of a common political program and to achieve the program -- unity will not be disintegrated but, on the contrary, strengthened, and the front will not be weakened but, on the contrary, consolidated.

Being the leader of the revolution and possessing a political line that adequately represents the nation's common interests, our party is always recognized as the leader of the front. Revolutionary and national interests require that we permanently strengthen and consolidate the party's leading role in the front, firmly maintain the party's political line and its independent organs, and oppose every tendency to minimize the party's role or dissolve the party in the front. The essential task in firmly maintaining the party's right to leadership over the front and in strengthening the front is to consolidate the worker-peasant alliance unceasingly. Without a steadfast base, which is the worker-peasant alliance, it is impossible to have a genuine national and democratic front nor can we broaden the front.

In a country which has been a colony like ours, the bourgeois class is very enthusiastic with regard to the revolution, especially, intellectuals and students who are filled with deep patriotism and earnestly want to preserve beautiful national cultural traditions and to restore the Vietnamese people's precious spiritual values that have been trampled upon by feudalists and imperialists. They appear to be abreast of the times and very sensitive to situations. Awakened and encouraged by the intense revolutionary movement of workers and peasants, they have increasingly adhered to the revolutionary ranks and played an important role in the people's struggle, especially in cities.

Oppressed by the imperialists, the national bourgeois class, also, is patriotic in certain aspects and has made certain contributions to the entire people's liberation undertaking. Today, imperialism appears out of date and is exposing all its ugly and reactionary features in our country, either under the form of old or of new colonialism. On the other hand, socialism increasingly appears as the necessary trend for the development of human society. Under these historical circumstances and in view of the strong revolutionary movement of the masses and the great successes of the revolution, some intellectuals in the national bourgeois class and, especially, their children, have understood the situation and changed their stands gradually and basically so that, finally, they have united with the workers and peasants on the path of independence, nationality, and democracy of the new era.

Leaning against the fundamental forces -- the workers and peasants -- and in every phase accurately analyzing the changes in class relations and determining the most dangerous enemy to be annihilated, our party has used strategems very thoroughly and versatily to continually broaden the united national front, absorb more and more new forces into the Front organizations or other organizations having similar functions for the sake of an immediate goal of the revolution.

Along with implementing the front's policies, our party has constantly been able to take advantage of contradictions among enemy ranks, to divide and isolate them seriously and weaken their position and strength while increasing the strength of the revolution to the maximum to create conditions for the advance of the revolution.

To take advantage of the enemy's internal contradictions is one of the strategically significant problems of the proletarian revolution.

Capitalism will surely be destroyed and will give way to socialism because the proletariat has arisen to overthrow it. Moreover, as a result of the internal differences of capitalist production and of the bourgeoisie itself, these contradictions have weakened capitalism.

To determine the strategic line of world revolution during the imperialist period, Lenin's doctrine enunciated three basic contradictions:

Contradictions between the proletariat and capitalism, contradictions between oppressed peoples and imperialism, and internal contradictions within imperialism. After the October Revolution, another type of basic contradiction appeared: Contradictions between socialism and capitalism, two world systems. The development of these contradictions has generally created a balance of forces between the revolutionary and counterrevolutionary camps in the world.

Nurturing no illusions, the communists have never passively awaited the outcome of the enemy's internal contradictions. Moreover, we are aware that, faced with the people's struggle movement, the hostile forces have always tried to settle their internal contradictions in order to "tighten their ranks" and to cope with the revolution. However, another more basic truth is that "the capitalist ownership system has corrupted them and, as a result, they have behaved toward each other not as allies but as wild beasts." (Lenin's Complete Works in Vietnamese, Su That Printing House, 1968, Vol. 30, p 570)

Instead of passively awaiting the enemy's internal contradictions, we must grasp the development of these contradictions and know to what extent we can take advantage of them. In the final analysis, this will be decided by the real power of the revolution. Experiences in every really popular revolution prove that the stronger the revolutionary forces and the higher the revolutionary movement, the further the enemy's internal contradictions will develop, and the more the possibility of dividing the enemy's ranks will increase. Finally, at a certain moment, his irreconcilable, acute contradictions will become one of the special features in a mature revolutionary situation and the revolution will erupt with decisive battles to overthrow his rule.

Our country's revolution is characterized by the struggle against a great, powerful imperialist enemy and coping sometimes with not only one but many enemies. In this situation, our party has creatively applied this clear-sighted teaching of Lenin: "We can triumph over a stronger enemy if we exert a very great effort and if we fulfill this condition -- we must take advantage of the smallest rift between our enemies very meticulously, attentively, carefully, and wisely and make full use of every opportunity, even the smallest one, to grasp an ally who is quantitatively the strongest even though he is a temporary, unstable, conditional, not very trustworthy, and not very reliable ally." (Lenin's Complete Works in Vietnamese, Su That Publishing House, 1969, Vol 31, pp 61, 82)

To take advantage of the enemy's internal contradictions and to divide and isolate him, our party, on the basis of holding fast to principles, has flexibly and wisely employed various strategies. Before the August Revolution, it took advantage of the deadly Japanese-French conflict to accelerate the anti-Japanese national salvation movement. After the Japanese capitulation, it led the people to stage a successful general uprising. After the August Revolution, when the newly built revolutionary

administration was facing an extremely serious danger caused by external and internal enemies and the situation was "like a thousand pounds hanging by a hair," our party, headed by President Ho adopted a very clear-sighted political line which was rigid in principle and flexible in strategy, and led our country to overcome untold difficulties: now reaching a temporary compromise with Chiang Kai-shek to have free hands to cope with French colonialism; now adopting a conciliatory attitude toward the French in order to oust the Chiang Kai-shek troops and sweep away his reactionary henchmen; gaining time to consolidate its forces; and preparing for the nationwide resistance against the aggressive French colonialists -- a resistance which it realized was inevitable. These very clear-sighted measures were recorded in the history of our country's revolutions as wonderful models of Leninist strategy on the exploitation of enemy contradictions and on principled concessions.

Boundless loyalty to the revolution, ironlike determination to liberate the nation and people, and dependence on the strength of the masses, all these virtues, if associated with each other with political clear-sightedness and particular sensitivity, will be necessary for us to creatively and effectively apply the strategic principle of exploiting the enemy's internal contradictions to unceasingly lead the revolution to new positions.

### Revolutionary Methods

To achieve victory, the first and foremost question is to correctly affirm the general direction, strategic objective, and the definite direction and objective of each stage. However, the question of what path and what forms and measures should be adopted to achieve the prescribed direction and objective is no less important than determining the direction and objective themselves. Experience shows that a revolutionary movement sometimes marks time and even falters, not because it lacks a clear-cut direction and objective, but mainly because it lacks an appropriate revolutionary method.

The revolutionary method is designed to defeat the enemy of the revolution, triumph over the enemy in the most advantageous manner, and to lead the revolution to success in the most rapid manner. Here, in addition to bravery, there should be wisdom. This is not merely a science, it is an art.

No field requires the revolutionary to develop his creativity as much as the field of revolutionary method. Revolution means creativity. Without creativity, the revolution cannot succeed. There has never been nor will there ever be a single formula for carrying out the revolution that is appropriate to all circumstances and at all times. A certain formula that is appropriate to one country may not be applicable to another country. It may be right for one stage or one circumstance, but will be wrong if it is mechanically applied to another stage or circumstance. The

whole question depends on concrete conditions of history. Lenin taught that "Marxism absolutely demands that one must have a historic viewpoint in considering the question of the form of struggle. To pose this question without considering the concrete historic circumstances means not understanding the elementary facts of dialectical materialism." "Not meticulously considering the concrete circumstances of any movement in its particular stage of development, yet insisting on recognizing or denying some formula of struggle means totally deviating from the Marxist-Leninist stand." (From Lenin, Marx, and Engels -- Marxism, p 185)

One can consider a certain method or certain form of struggle to be the best and most correct only when they fully respond to the concrete situation and when they are fully compatible with the conditions under which they are applied -- allowing the mobilization to the highest degree of the revolutionary and progressive forces to the struggle front, allowing the utmost exploitation of the enemy's weak points, and which, from all this, are capable of bringing about the greatest victory possible given the balance of forces at a given moment.

Through more than one century of revolutionary struggle, the international proletariat has accumulated innumerable and precious experiences. If one fully grasps the concrete historic viewpoint and proceeds from full consideration of the characteristics of each country, then the greater his understanding of the experiences of the revolutions of different countries is and the more possibilities are opened to the effect of the revolution in his own country. In the course of its struggle our party has learned how to enrich its revolutionary wisdom and to ceaselessly develop its creative talent and political leadership are not only by constantly analyzing, amalgamating, and upholding the experiences of the revolution of our country, but also by attentively, carefully, and selectively learning from the experiences of the revolutions of other countries on the basis of full consideration of the concrete conditions of the Vietnamese revolution.

A basic principle is that in his daily policies and in the practical struggle, in whatever form and under whatever condition, the revolutionary must never lose sight of the final objective. To consider the struggle for small daily gains and for immediate objectives to be "everything" and the "final objective to be nothing" and to "sacrifice the future of the movement for the present" are the manifestations of the most disastrous kind of opportunism which can only result in keeping the masses of people in eternal slavery.

However, it is not enough to firmly grasp the objective either. On the basis of firmly grasping the revolutionary objective, the art of leading the revolution lies in knowing how to win step by step and correctly. The revolution is the work of millions of people who rise up to overthrow the governing classes. The latter always holds a huge, violent machinery together with a multitude of material and spiritual means. Consequently, revolution is always a long process. From its embryonic forms to its final

goal, revolution must go through many difficult, tortuous, and complicated phases of struggle to overcome one obstacle after the other, and to gradually transform the balance of forces between the revolution and the counterrevolution until an advantageous position capable of overwhelming the governing class exists. To drive the enemy back step by step, to score victory step by step for the revolution, and to rush forward to completely defeat the enemy in order to score complete victory -- this is a law of revolutionary struggle.

Thus, on the long path leading to the final goal, we should not ignore the practical conditions of the struggle in each definite period. On the revolutionary side, we should pay attention to when and under what circumstances the masses are carrying out their struggle and how the organization of the social forces has been accomplished. On the enemy's side, we should know their strong and weak points as well as their tricks and schemes. Lenin had asked the communists to permanently pay heed, with an extremely objective spirit, not only to the situation at home but also to all the factors of the international economic and political situation, to all the class forces at home as well as throughout the world, and finally to the balance of these forces. If a revolutionary does not pay heed to these factors of the global situation and to their real and practical movement, at the most, he will only be able to see the final goal of the struggle. He will fail to grasp the means to achieve the goal and will be unable to find the ways, solutions, and concrete means to attain the goal. Thus, he risks making serious mistakes in the conduct of revolutionary tactics and strategy.

To know how to achieve victory step by step means that at each definite period or under each definite circumstance, one knows how to define the most practical and suitable objective, how to rely upon objective law, and how to conduct the struggle in a way that will achieve this objective with the most success, thus allowing the revolution to make newer and greater steps and create the most favorable prospects for final victory.

The history of our revolution shows that we have made such strides. The victory of the August Revolution could not have been achieved had not the 1930-31 movement, the 1936-39 movement, and the 1940-45 national salvation high tide taken place.

The greatest achievement of the 1930-31 movement -- an achievement that the white and savage terrorist campaign of the imperialist and feudal clique later failed to wipe out -- was the effective assertion of the party's leadership and the leadership potential of the proletariat which our party represents; inducing the farmers and peasants to place their absolute confidence in the proletariat; and giving the workers and peasants self-confidence in their own great revolutionary strength. On the other hand, while asserting the correctness of the proletariat's revolutionary lines and the great revolutionary strength of the workers and peasants, the achievement of the 1930-31 movement also showed the adventurous,

reformist, compromising, and fluctuating character of the capitalist and nationalist classes and the petty bourgeoisie. At the same time, it unmasked the extremely reactionary face of the landlord and comprador bourgeois classes before all our people. This was the first victorious step which had a decisive impact on the whole future progress of the revolution. Plainly, had the 1930-31 earthshaking class struggles in which the workers and peasants demonstrated their extraordinary revolutionary strength, not taken place, then the 1936-39 high tides could not have occurred.

A period of legal and semilegal struggle closely linked to the illegal secret activities such as that of 1936-39 is a rare thing in colonial states. When the popular front seized power in France, our party took advantage of this very favorable opportunity to let the revolution take a new step. Our party was able to take advantage of this possibility because the basic revolutionary position of our party had been strengthened since the 1930-31 movement. Following Lenin's teachings that "all concrete political missions must be correctly placed in a concrete situation" (Lenin's Selected Works, Vol. I, part II, p 85), the party set the immediate tasks for the 1936-39 period, that is, struggling against reactionary colonialists -- this does not mean toppling colonialist rule, generally speaking -- against fascism and war, and demanding freedom, democracy, food and clothing, and peace. The party was fully aware that these demands themselves were not the ultimate goals, that it was impossible to basically change the old social order by reforms, and that only by violence could the imperialist-feudalist rule be crushed to wrest back power to the people and achieve the revolution's goals. However, Lenin once said that if there had not been free and democratic rights brought about by the February Revolution, in February 1917, there could hardly have been the people's widespread struggle leading to the success of the October Revolution. In a similar way, we can say that the democratic movement during the 1936-39 period had the same effect on the success of the August Revolution. This was a period of unprecedented mobilization of the masses during French rule. Through various very flexible and diverse organizations and activities, including taking advantage of the "national chambers of people's representatives" and "local councils of representatives" set up by the French colonialists, the party mobilized and gave political education to millions of people, especially the worker-peasant masses, in widespread political struggles from cities to rural areas, from factories, plantations, and mine shafts to villages and hamlets, in order to prepare conditions for leading the masses to new decisive struggles during the 1940-45 period.

When World War II broke out, the French colonialists humbly offered Indochina to the Japanese fascists. Our people were now under two yokes. The party decided that this was actually the time when oppression, exploitation, and war had revolutionized the people and when the revolution would certainly break out. At the initiative of President Ho, the party founded the Viet Minh Front to broadly rally all the national and democratic forces. At the same time, the party began building revolutionary bases and established the first armed forces units. It launched the movement to fight the

French and pursue the Japanese, expanded guerrilla warfare, and carried out partial insurrections. As the party predicted, when the Japanese ousted the French, the party seized the opportunity to effect a prompt reorientation of work, and launched a high tide of resistance against the Japanese, for national salvation. This was the period of actively and fervently mobilizing the masses and developing political forces in rural and urban areas, in the delta and the mountainous regions, in harmony with the development of the armed forces, to prepare all kinds of forces for a general insurrection.

The August Revolution's splendid success was not the result of the national liberation movement during the 1940-45 period alone. It was also the result of a revolutionary process nurtured and prepared by two general insurrections during the 1930-31 and 1936-39 periods.

Revolutionary struggle should be constantly carried out in all aspects of social, political, economic, and cultural life. Therefore, gaining victory step by step also means knowing, on every struggle front, how to organize and mobilize the masses to rise up to foil every enemy policy; how to defeat every enemy scheme and maneuver; how to set forth and achieve attainable goals at each given moment and in each struggle; and how to create conditions to insure the movement's continued progress. Thus, one victory leads to another, and a victory in one field stimulates struggles in other fields. From the nonexistence of the movement to its existence and from the low tide to the high tide of the movement, the enemy should be pushed back step by step from every position, partial victories should be gradually consolidated, and the revolutionary battlefield should be constantly expanded in the direction of attaining total victory. In the Vietnamese revolution, the salient feature of the seizure of power consists of partial insurrections leading to general insurrection. This is also the method of gaining victories step by step, suitable to the concrete conditions of our country's revolution.

In brief, knowing how to win step by step -- a manifestation of a combination of insistence on ultimate goals and clearheadedness in viewing concrete movements -- is an art of dialectic combination of faithfulness to principle with flexibility in policies, or the art of application of the law of development -- from step-by-step to leaps and bounds -- in the process of leading the revolution. It requires boldness and firmness in setting forth new tasks and policies. We must correctly predict -- at least in general -- the outcome of future actions and all possibilities of development in the subjective situation. In practice, things are always exposed to new factors and possibilities. Based on this fact, we must know how to adapt or correct our actions in time, and promptly set forth new policies to insure that guidance in strategy and tactics is suited to the constantly changing situation. Only when these steps are followed can we bring the struggle to achieve solid progress through an orderly and gradual process, interspersed with small and big leaps forward, in the movement and the balance of forces to win victory in attaining the ultimate goal.

Lenin was firmly against subjectivism and volunteerism as well as manifestations of passive thoughts in politics. He wanted communist parties to change their policies and strategy on the basis of combining "clearness in scientifically analyzing the objective situation of things and their development with the most decisive recognition of the significance of revolutionary effort and creativeness and the revolutionary initiative of the masses" (Lenin's Complete Works, in Russian, Fourth Edition, Vol. 8, pp 21-22).

Revolution is not a coup d'etat nor the result of plots. Revolution is a mass undertaking; therefore the mobilization of the masses and the formation and development of the revolutionary political army are basic factors of decisive significance. This task must be carried out constantly throughout all stages, before as well as after the appearance of a revolutionary situation. In so doing, we must mingle with the masses daily and carry out our activities wherever the masses are, even within enemy organizations. We must fully understand the enemy's situation and ours, correctly assess his intentions, operations, and capabilities, accurately appraise developments in his ranks, and at the same time fully understand the state of mind, aspirations, and capabilities of the masses. From this, we can put forth suitable struggle slogans which have the power to strongly mobilize and attract the masses and lead them into combat -- in minor or major aspects. Through this, we constantly make them politically conscious, and unceasingly develop the revolutionary ranks both in breadth and depth.

Prior to the seizure of power, and to seize power, the sole weapon of the revolution and the masses is organization. The salient feature of the revolution, led by the proletarian class, lies in its sophisticated organization. All activities aimed at leading the masses to advance step-by-step toward the uprising and overthrow of the ruling clique can be summed up in organization -- organization and organization. Propaganda and political campaigning are also aimed at organizing the masses. And only by organizing the masses under one or another form can we establish conditions for educating them and creating a powerful revolution, because once the masses are organized their strength can be increased a hundredfold. The masses are organized for the purpose of struggle, but it is also through struggle that we organize and educate the masses, and develop the revolutionary forces. Therefore, propaganda, organization, and struggle must be closely linked, and everything must be aimed at forming and developing the political army of the masses, and making preparations for a decisive leap forward.

Through different stages, our party knew how to seize every opportunity to organize the masses by various suitable measures and in various forms. The party knew how to make the masses conscious of and interested in minor and major daily political events, to lead them in a struggle aimed at pushing the enemy into a confused and passive position, and at the same time to strive to build and develop our forces. Even under conditions of strictest secrecy, the party knew how to create all forms of organization

into a broad, and flexible wall to rally the masses and guide them in carrying out the struggle from its initial to its advanced stage and, thereby, to educate them and develop the revolutionary ranks. Always acting on the basis of illegal activities, the party skillfully coordinated illegal activities with all legal capabilities. At certain points, it took the course of struggling for legal conditions -- not to foster any illusions about the "legal" path toward seizing the administrative power and spreading it among the masses, but to broaden the education of the masses and widely develop the influence of the revolution. At these times, the party had to oppose the tendency toward hesitation and holding back, as well as to guard against and oppose legalism and the violation of the party's principles of secret organization, and slighting the building and development of the party and the main mass organizations. Legalism, if not guarded against and overcome in good time, will lead to extremely dangerous consequences when the situation changes suddenly, when the enemy attacks the revolution, and when the party must rapidly move all its activities into conditions of illegal activities.

Organization and struggle, struggle and organization, and then struggle. One struggle leads to another struggle, and once the masses enter the struggle they are quickly awakened. From their own experiences, they can easily recognize the truth and clearly know the path of action. Here, we see the particular importance of slogans. The art of guiding revolutionary tactics, strategy and struggle is manifested first by putting forward sharp and appropriate slogans compatible with the concrete situation.

One should not simply think that economic slogans are reformist and that only political slogans are revolutionary. There may be political slogans that have a reformist character, while there are economic slogans that have a revolutionary character. The question is, when a certain slogan is brought out, with what is it linked, and what purpose is it aimed at? A political party that is really revolutionary and always faithful to the final objective of the revolution is capable, in one way or another, of putting the seal of revolution on all slogans as well as on all forms of organization and struggle, including those slogans and forms that bear the least political color and which are considered to be necessary means to rally the masses when the situation does not yet allow the change to resolute revolutionary actions.

In all periods, especially in the pre-August Revolution period, the party knew how to skillfully coordinate action slogans with propaganda slogans so as to combine immediate objectives with fundamental objectives. A slogan that is appropriate to the concrete situation has the force of arousing a whole movement. A vivid example of this is our party's putting forward the slogan "Raid the rice depots, solve the famine" during the period of preparation for the August Revolution in 1945. This slogan was brought forward at a time when the horrible famine was taking place in Bac Bo [Tonkin] and northern Trung Bo. It responded to the most urgent

aspirations of the masses and thereby stirred up the fire of hatred among the people and aroused the masses to rise up with a seething revolutionary mettle and to advance to carry out the insurrection for seizing the administrative power.

There should be a distinction between propaganda and action slogans so as to avoid leading the masses into offensives that are too early or too late. Propaganda slogans as well as action slogans must always change in accordance with the developments of the concrete situation of the struggle. Action slogans, particularly, because they are closely connected with daily struggle, must be extremely lively and must at times be changed hourly. One must know how to gradually raise, in accordance with the concrete developments of the situation, the action slogans from elementary to advanced forms, and finally, when the time comes, one must immediately turn slogans that were originally propaganda slogans into the most direct and resolute action slogans. Bringing the masses into offensives that are too late or too early are dangerous for the revolution. Under all circumstances, the most important thing, the most basic assurance against errors, is to firmly grasp the concrete viewpoint in every assessment and decision concerning action.

During revolution, the situation changes very rapidly and in a complex manner. That is why Lenin pointed out that "replacing the concrete with the abstract is one of the biggest and most disastrous errors in the revolutionary period." (Lenin Collected Works, Vol. 2, Part 1, p 87) Lenin sternly criticized those who, confronted with the sudden turning points of history, could not respond to the new situation but still clung to old slogans, slogans that were still correct yesterday but devoid of significance today.

In order for the revolution to break out and become victorious, there must be a revolutionary situation. The revolutionary situation is the result of the combination of a number of essential objective and subjective elements. One must guard against the idea of passively waiting for the revolution as well as the impetuous idea of wanting a "period of conflagration."

Before and after World War I, the revolutionary situation, the outburst of revolution, and the victory of revolution were usually linked one way or another to the world wars caused by imperialism. However, one cannot draw the conclusion from this that war is the natural cause of or necessary condition for the emergence of revolution and then sit back to wait for the war before carrying out revolution. The revolution first of all is the result of class contradictions that have become extremely acute in each country. In the past, when imperialist wars were inevitable, objectively they had the effect of pushing forward revolutionary crises in different countries. Availing themselves of this situation, the communists advocated "turning imperialist wars into revolutionary civil wars."

The current international situation is completely different from that before and after World War I. Now, at a time when the world socialist system -- the forces struggling against imperialism to reform the society according to socialism -- is determining the main content, direction, and characteristics of the development of the history of mankind, the possibility for breaking the weak links of the remaining chain of imperialism has increased more than ever. At the same time, there appears to be a real possibility of preventing world war. The basic interests of the proletariat, the people, and different nations throughout the world are that they can both defend world peace and push powerfully forward the revolutions of all countries. These two objectives have organic relationships with each other, each acting as the other's premise, and can be fully achieved once the communists firmly grasp the offensive tactics of world revolution and succeed in bringing about a unified front of different tides of world revolution, of all the forces struggling for peace, national independence, democracy, and socialism, forces that are determined to defeat any aggressive war provoked by imperialism, smash each of its policies and plots to provoke a war, drive it back step by step, topple it part by part, and advance to topple it altogether.

The revolution of the southern part of our country reflects the correct application of this method of advance. The South Vietnamese revolution proves that lacking a world war, moreover under the necessity of defending world peace, revolution can still break out and succeed. Reality shows that not only does the pushing forward of the revolution against imperialism not conflict with the interests of defending peace, but it is a very fundamental way of attacking imperialism to defend in a realistic manner common peace throughout the world. Conversely, to prevent world war and defend peace is also a very important way of attacking imperialism, creating more favorable and objective conditions for the development of revolutions in all countries.

The South Vietnamese revolution also proves that no dictatorial, fascist regime can prevent the surge of the revolution. In the southern part of our country, the time when the puppet administration, servant of U.S. imperialism, has to resort to the cruelest fascist measures against the people is precisely the time when they have basically failed politically, when the revolutionary situation emerges, and when the revolution can surge ahead, and actually has surged ahead.

Once there is a revolutionary situation the question of seizing the administrative power is directly posed. The implementation of this seizure depends on the concrete conditions of each country. However, under all circumstances, the only way to seize the administrative power must be through revolution rather than reform.

Revolution is the highest development of class struggle, which is always achieved by violence carried out by the ruled classes against the ruling class to settle the question of administrative power. Violence can

be manifested and carried out under many different forms. In general, one may say that revolutionary violence must be based on two kinds of forces -- armed force and political force -- and comprises two forms of struggle -- armed struggle and political struggle -- and the coordination between these two forms. The experience of the Vietnamese revolution proves that, to achieve victory, in addition to political force, one must have armed force and must know how to skillfully adopt armed struggle and political struggle according to the concrete situation of each area and each moment. If one does not ready his forces, including armed force, he cannot counter the enemy's fierce attack.

However, violence does not base itself solely on armed force and does not consist only of a single form, namely armed struggle, but it necessarily needs political force and political struggle. Without political force and political struggle of the masses, armed struggle and armed force cannot achieve victory. Naturally, not every form of political struggle is violent. Only the revolutionary activities of the masses in contravention of the state law of the ruling class which have the immediate goal of overthrowing the rulers' administrative power and returning it to the people when the question of administrative power has been raised, can be considered to be violent.

Revolutionary violence to topple the ruling class must necessarily be the violence of the masses, of the majority of the oppressed and exploited people. The masses, under party leadership, has tens of thousands of different ways to show their strength and determination. Any method that can create and organize the forms of violence that are most appropriate to the concrete circumstance, that allow the mobilization to the highest degree of the strength of the masses in their attack on the ruling class, and that bring victory to the revolution under the most advantageous conditions, is the best and most revolutionary method. Not daring to carry out military struggle when it is needed or, conversely, going ahead with military struggle when conditions are not ripe, are both serious errors.

In the August Revolution in 1945, our party creatively applied the law of violent revolution and insurrection to seize administrative power. The August Revolution reflected the coordination between political struggle and armed struggle, between long preparation of political and military force and the rapid seizure of the opportunity to mobilize the masses to rise up to overthrow imperialist and feudal power. Born, and gradually growing, from the broad revolutionary movement of the masses, the national salvation and liberation forces, whose prestige far exceeded their numerical strength as well as the scope of their battles, contributed a very important part to the creation of the high tide of national salvation of the masses from 1941 to 1945. Confronted with the great victory of the Soviet Union over the Kwantung Army, the Japanese fascists had to surrender unconditionally. The party seized in good time this exceptional opportunity to launch the high tide of general insurrection. Basing itself on the political force of the masses of the people in the cities and rural

areas, in coordination with revolutionary armed force, it smashed the enemy's nerve organs in the capital and other cities, completely destroyed the enemy's ruling system in the rural areas, and seized administrative power on a nationwide scale.

One must firmly understand the viewpoint of revolutionary violence and must create for the revolution a decisive superiority in forces that can attract the masses of the people on the basis of a really stable worker-peasant alliance. At the same time, one must endeavor to utterly divide and isolate the enemy, thus paralyzing his resistance, smashing their ruling state machine, and establishing the people's revolutionary power. Here, as shown by the experience of all revolutions, in addition to the preparation of the forces politically and militarily, seizing the right opportunity is an extremely important matter. The opportunity can be created by the real strength of the revolution in the country and can also be brought about by the situation abroad. If one does not already have adequate revolutionary strength, he cannot create the opportunity, and when opportunity does come he cannot make use of it in good time. That is why, it is necessary to make long-term efforts to change the balance of forces between us and the enemy, thus creating a decisive strength of the revolution both in position and power. When can the revolutionary fire flare up? Which spark will ignite the fuel? When the revolution is stable both in position and power and when the enemy is driven into an extremely difficult predicament, daily political and social life will readily furnish us with all possible opportunities and advantages to turn into high tides. The problem that remains will only be the clear-sightedness and particular sensitivity of the leaders. As Lenin has said, history in general and revolutionary history in particular always take place in a manner that is richer and more varied, comprehensive, lively, and marvelous than the imagination of the best political parties, the most politically conscious vanguard groups, and of the most advanced classes. That is why, in revolution, sometimes what is needed is only for the leader to grasp in advance the fundamental direction of developments, a number of basic elements and conditions, and to dare to act boldly. In actual practice, events will reveal their capabilities and direction of development, while the inexhaustible creativeness of the masses -- the makers of history -- will show us the direction and manner to solve all the concrete problems.

#### The South Vietnamese Revolution and the People's War Against the United States and for National Salvation

As soon as they seized administrative power in the country, our people had to stand up to carry out a resistance against the French colonialists -- backed by U.S. intervention -- who returned to invade our country. This first sacred resistance war was the continuation of the October Revolution. It was a war for national liberation and for the defense of the fatherland carried out under the leadership of the working class represented by our party in accordance with a correct political and military line. It was the line of all-people, all-round, and protracted war, a

line that relied mainly on one's own strength, coordinated powerful political force of the revolutionary masses with armed force, used political force as the basis to create and develop the people's armed forces, and that adopted the building of armed forces comprising three categories of troops as the basis for the resistance against bandits by all the people. This line called for the adoption of armed struggle as the main form of struggle -- a struggle that was coordinated to a certain degree with political struggle in the enemy's rear area -- and at the same time it gave importance to the struggle against the enemy on the economic front. Thanks to this, we were able to develop our people's absolute superiority in political and spiritual aspects while succeeding in gaining the favorable elements of the new era so as to overcome the difficulties and weakness of a small country with a backward economy and agriculture, small armed forces, and initially surrounded by imperialism. Finally, after nine years of extremely heroic struggle, our armed forces and people defeated nearly half a million professional aggressor troops of a powerful imperialist.

This was the epic of a marvelous people's war whose representative feat of arms -- the great Dien Bien Phu battle -- was recorded in the nation's history as a Bach Dang, a Chi Lang, or a Dong Da [names of historic battles] of the 20th century, and registered in the world's history as a brilliant war exploit, against the fortress of the colonial, slave system of imperialism.

The South Vietnamese revolution is the development to a high degree of the experiences of the August Revolution and of our people's anti-French resistance war under new conditions.

Toward the end of 1959 and the beginning of 1960, the dominating system in South Vietnam faced a serious crisis. Although the enemy was still relatively strong in the cities, he could no longer rule the people normally in many vast rural areas. The puppet administration machine at the grassroots level was deteriorating in certain places and became powerless. As for the masses of the people, particularly the majority of the peasants who were seething with revolutionary ardor, they showed their determination and readiness to fight the enemy to the end.

The conditions were ripe for the mobilization of the masses of the rural people to carry out partial insurrections, and the weakest link in the enemy's ruling system were smashed.

The "simultaneous uprisings" that broke out during this period marked an important leap forward. They moved the South Vietnamese revolution to the offensive and the revolutionary high tide developed in all areas with the coordination of both forms of political and armed struggles. In the course of the development of the South Vietnamese revolution into a fierce war, the armed struggle grew with every passing day and played a very important role. The enemy must be militarily defeated before victory can be achieved for the resistance and the revolution. Armed struggle is a basic

form of struggle which has direct and decisive effect in the annihilation of the enemy's military forces, thereby smashing all of his military and political plots. However, armed struggle is always closely coordinated with political struggle so as to help the masses continue to rise up, smash the enemy's grip, seize and hold the people's sovereign right, and push the revolution powerfully forward. Along with armed struggle, the masses' political struggle is also a fundamental form of struggle that has a decisive effect in all periods of development of the South Vietnamese revolution and on the success of this revolution. The political forces are not merely the basis of the armed forces. They are also formed into an organized political army of the masses acting as the core of political struggle to attack the enemy right in the areas under his temporary control, even in areas where he concentrates his armed, political, and economic forces. Armed struggle and political struggle together are the fundamental form of violence of the South Vietnamese revolution, and coordinating armed struggle with political struggle is the fundamental law of the method of the South Vietnamese revolution. They are two extremely redoubtable prongs of attack that create a very huge, overall strength which greatly multiplies the forces of the 14 million South Vietnamese compatriots, making them capable of smashing all the U.S.-puppets' plots and military and political actions, thereby shaking and advancing to crush the U.S. bandits' aggressive will. While carrying out these two fundamental forms of struggle, the South Vietnamese people also stepped up military proselytizing activities aimed at awakening the troops of the U.S. aggressor armed forces and those of the puppet armed forces, particularly the latter, and attracting them to the side of the revolution with a view to smashing the U.S. imperialists' extremely cruel policy of "using Vietnamese to fight Vietnamese." This was also a strategic prong of attack, a fundamental question in the mobilization of the South Vietnamese revolution to materialize the slogan "worker-peasant-soldier alliance," aimed at overthrowing the neocolonialist domination and defeating the U.S. imperialists' aggressive war.

The South Vietnamese revolution developed through coordination of insurrections of the masses with the revolutionary war, in which partial insurrections in rural areas constituted the initial steps. In subsequent stages, the masses' insurrections always took place in an increasingly powerful manner and were closely linked to the revolutionary war. Insurrections broadened the position, multiplied the forces, and pushed the revolutionary war forward with an increasingly mounting power. Conversely, the more the revolutionary war was stepped up, the more it caused the conditions for insurrection to ripen with every passing day and to spread on an ever larger scale. The period of general offensive and simultaneous uprisings which started with the Mau Than Tet -- spring of 1968 -- was a necessary development of the South Vietnamese revolution and an advanced stage of the coordination between armed struggle and political struggle.

A question of strategic significance to the South Vietnamese revolution is the correct determination of the strategic position of the three regions -- mountain, delta, and urban regions. On this basis, there should

be coordination between the parallel forms of armed struggle and political struggle and between combat and mass insurrections on different levels, in a manner suitable to the characteristics of each region and in accordance with each stage of development of the revolution. The motto of attacking the enemy in all three strategic regions is a unique feature of the South Vietnamese revolution. It has emerged from the recapitulation and application of the experiences of the Vietnamese revolution up to the present. From an overall view of the entire process of development, one sees that the Vietnamese revolution has always used the workers and peasants as the main force. It has constantly given importance to the revolutionary movement both in the rural and urban areas. It simultaneously set up solid bases in mountain and delta regions and built small bases in the cities. It brought about insurrections in both the rural and urban areas.

In short, to launch partial insurrections, to carry out armed struggle and political struggle together, to wage a three-pronged attack on the enemy in the military, political, and military proselytizing spheres, to coordinate the mass insurrections with the revolutionary war, and to fight the enemy in all three strategic regions are the most salient features of the South Vietnamese revolution. They are not rigid, isolated formulas, but are extremely lively forms and measures of struggle organically related to one another. It is three revolutionary methods which are developing to a high degree the strength, courage, intelligence, and creativeness of millions of people who always know how to attack the enemy, defend and develop their own forces, and wage a long-term struggle, and who at the same time endeavor to create opportunities for scoring ever greater victories and for advancing to defeat the enemy completely.

As in the case of the former resistance war against the French, the present anti-U.S. and national salvation resistance war of our people is a people's war which has been developed to the highest point.

In the north, we have carried out a self-defense war against an unprecedented large-scale war of destruction by air and naval forces of the U.S. bandits. After an extremely heroic and valiant 4-year struggle, our people and armed forces completely defeated this war of destruction. This is a new and rich development in the people's war of our nation.

This victory has extremely great significance. It has securely safeguarded the socialist north -- the big rear of the national revolution -- smashed to pieces an important element of the U.S. imperialists' cruel aggressive war in Vietnam, and dealt a telling blow to their aggressive schemes.

It affirms the policy of mobilizing all of the Vietnamese people to oppose aggression and to build national defense.

It has shown that the changes in our economy adopted by our party are entirely correct. It has also reflected the vigorous vitality of the

beautiful socialist regime and the unlimited strength of the national democratic government in the north, and also the unshakable determination to oppose U.S. aggression and to save the fatherland, as well as the noble revolutionary heroism of our people and armed forces.

As President Ho pointed out, "it is the victory of the correct revolutionary lines of our party, the victory of ardent patriotism, and of the strength of the solidarity of all of our people, who are determined to fight and to win, and the victory of the beautiful socialist regime. It is the common victory of our people and armed forces in both North and South Vietnam and also the victory of the people in various fraternal and socialist countries on all five continents." (President Ho's appeal on 3 November 1968)

The people's war in South Vietnam is a revolutionary and liberation war against a "special war" having a typical character, and against U.S. imperialism's large and cruel limited war.

The people's war in South Vietnam, under the correct leadership of the National Liberation Front, has proceeded from the just character of the national liberation war and from the profound national character of the South Vietnam revolution. It relies upon the ardent patriotism and wholehearted revolutionary spirit of the South Vietnamese people, who are determined to rise up to safeguard their sacred national rights, which are being trampled upon by the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen. The people's war in South Vietnam has also inherited the military science of Marxism-Leninism and the precious experiences of various fraternal socialist countries. These have been creatively applied to the situation in our country. The people's war in South Vietnam has acquired and developed to a very high degree the extremely fertile experiences of the national uprisings and the people's war of the Vietnamese revolution heretofore and also the extremely glorious traditions of our people in opposing foreign aggression, as well as the old military tactics of our ancestors.

The people's war in South Vietnam is a war for the people and emanates from the people. It is a national and total war, which has developed to a very high degree and relies upon the common laws of the South Vietnamese revolution. It is a war which consists of both military and political struggles developed from the mass uprising movement. Its prevailing theory is a theory of offensive strategy. This has been the strategic theory of the South Vietnamese revolution ever since the latter switched over to the offensive during the high tide of the general and concerted uprising of 1959-1960. The offensive position of the South Vietnam revolutionary struggle during the period of opposition to the special war is an offensive position relying upon our absolute political and spiritual superiority and upon the overwhelming strength of the revolutionary masses, who are determined to rise up to carry out a decisive battle against the country-grabbing aggressors and their country-selling henchmen, in order to safeguard the people's right of existence. This offensive position has been

constantly maintained and developed from the lowest to the highest levels, from limited to all-out offensives, by means of military and political blows which are becoming stronger and stronger. During the period of opposition to the limited war, this offensive position was based upon the growth of the two military and political forces in strategic areas on all battlefields, thus permitting the South Vietnamese people and armed forces to acquire stable battle positions and strong military forces and firmly maintain their offensive initiatives, which they developed after defeating the "special war" strategy of U.S. imperialism. From an overall perspective, the process of developing the revolutionary war is the process of applying the ideology of offensive strategy and the resolute, fierce, and continual attacks from the lowest level to the highest level, in gradual order, and with occasional leaps forward. In this process, we will also sometimes and in some places be on the defensive. However, this is a part of the strategy, and it is only temporary and necessary to create conditions for new offensives. With this offensive strategy, the South Vietnamese people and armed forces have defeated the neocolonialist policy of U.S. imperialism, overthrown the Ngo Dinh Diem dictatorial and fascist regime, defeated the "special war," and are at present defeating the strategy of "limited war" during a period when the aggressors are escalating it to its highest point.

The offensive strategy of the South Vietnam people's war consists of mobilizing all the people against the enemy and of relying upon the combined strength of the two military and political forces and upon the close association of two forms of military and political struggles. It also consists of launching simultaneous offensives against the three strategic zones and uniting the attacks of the three branches of the army with the various uprisings of the revolutionary masses. Finally, it is a strategy which consists of attacking the enemy and at the same time seizing power -- to seize power to annihilate the enemy and to annihilate the enemy to further consolidate power. It is a strategy which constantly maintains an active position and demonstrates initiatives in attacking the enemy on all battlefields, forcing the enemy to react defensively against our unexpected attacks. The enemy is always in a tense situation and is encircled and split up. He is always overpowered.

The offensive possibilities of the South Vietnam people's war are closely linked to the correct appraisal of the characteristics and the development tendency of the balance of forces between the South Vietnam people and armed forces and the U.S.-puppet clique. Although the enemy is numerically and technically stronger, he has many basic weaknesses that cannot be surmounted. On the other hand, the South Vietnam people and armed forces, besides their weak points, possess very basic strong points. Thanks to their ability to develop their strong points, which have always been used against the enemy's weak points, the South Vietnam people and armed forces have gained an active and offensive position and have greatly increased their offensive power.

To apply the offensive strategy, we should first of all solve a series of problems on military art, strategic aspects, and fighting formulas. In this respect, the South Vietnam people and armed forces have created many original, diversified, and vivid offensive tactics. The latter are highly effective and are capable of inflicting very heavy losses upon the enemy while limiting our losses to the minimum.

This strategy consists of uniting the various forms of guerrilla warfare strategy of the local armed forces and the people's self-defense forces with the centralized strategy of the main armed forces. It also consists of combining small, medium, and large-scale attacks, which are aimed simultaneously at annihilating as many enemy troops as possible and at consolidating and continuously developing the people's right of self-determination throughout the three strategic zones. It also consists of using the high quality of the revolutionary armed forces to defeat a numerically superior enemy and of constantly creating a position of strength so as to defeat a numerous enemy with a minimum of armed forces. This strategy is a way to fight bravely, audaciously, cleverly, mysteriously, and unexpectedly. At one time, an independent military branch is engaged in the battle; at another time a combination of various military branches aim their attacks at the enemy's weak and vulnerable points, thus developing the highest fighting potential. It is a way to launch resolute and active offensives entirely on our initiative, which prevent the enemy from using his best weapons and tactics, thus placing him in a passive and embarrassed position and rendering all his reactions and defensive measures ineffective. It is a way to fight by combining various offensive tactics to annihilate the enemy; by making use of various forces, weapons, and war means available; and by taking advantage of all geographical positions and weather conditions to attack the enemy at any moment, in their advance as well as in their retreat. It consists of attacking the enemy any time and anywhere, when he is weak and uncovered and even when he is strong and on guard.

All these points are the strategic forms and fighting methods which rely upon the subjective, creative, and intelligent spirit of the cadres and fighters of the liberation armed forces and also of the heroic South Vietnamese compatriots. The latter are ardent patriots endowed with a profound consciousness of nation and class. Not only are they determined to fight; they know how to fight and how to decisively win.

The strategic formula of the people's war in South Vietnam is to fight protractedly and to become increasingly stronger militarily. This has also been the law governing our people's war for national liberation and for defending the fatherland for the past 25 years. In the current liberation war, the southern troops and people must fight U.S. imperialism -- the aggressive archimperialist which has a large army, modern equipment, and much greater military and economic potential. Thus we need time to gradually weaken and annihilate the enemy's forces, restrict his strong points, and deepen his weaknesses, while at the same time improving and developing our military and political forces. This will create a favorable balance of

power, weaken the enemy, and strengthen our own forces through fighting to win increasingly greater victories. Protracted combat is a process of continually attacking the enemy on a large or small scale, driving him back step by step, defeating his strategic plots one after the other, and advancing toward his complete defeat. During this process, if we know how to develop our own efforts to the highest degree, make use of all advantageous objective conditions, take advantage of the enemy's weaknesses, plan our strategies accurately and closely, keep a firm hold on the trend of our goals and choose the right time to deal heavy and dangerous blows, win great military victories, and cleverly coordinate military struggle with political struggle and attacks with uprisings, we will make important big leaps forward, change the balance of forces, and change the war situation. During the development of the liberation war in South Vietnam, such big leaps forward have been made, for example, in the Binh Gia campaign during the winter-spring of 1964-65, in the opening of the Tri Thien [Quang Tri and Thua Thien provinces] front in 1967, the Mau Than Tet general offensive and simultaneous uprisings, and so forth. These developments proved that the southern troops and people had selected the right direction, cleverly coordinating large, medium and small-scale attacks and long, vigorous attacks with sudden and daring surprise attacks. Fighting perseveringly and protractedly, they exerted great efforts in all fields in order to create opportunities, gain time, and win increasingly great victories.

A fundamental method in the South Vietnamese war-waging formula consists of the coordination of the annihilation of enemy troops with the acquisition and preservation of the people's mastership right, mastership to annihilate the enemy in order to constantly widen and consolidate the mastership right.

In any war, to win it is necessary to annihilate the enemy's military forces. But there are many ways to annihilate the enemy. These different ways vary according to the strategic ideology, the nature of each war, the objective of each battle, the width of each battlefield, and other factors.

The people's war in South Vietnam is a revolutionary war which developed from the uprising movement of the masses, who arose to overthrow the rule of the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys.

In war, there are not only the armed forces, combat activities, but also the masses' political struggle movements in various forms. The masses' uprisings are their climax to gain mastership by various methods which are in accord with concrete circumstances of each locality and the three strategic zones. These uprisings, conducted repeatedly in large areas to gradually topple the puppet basic-level administration and to smash all its bondage forms, are very important offensive spearheads in the coordination of military activities and in the creation of conditions for the armed forces to step up combat to annihilate the enemy. Conversely, the revolutionary armed forces' combat activities, besides annihilating the enemy's

military forces, are also designed to step up the political struggle movement and, especially, to help the masses conduct uprisings, to smash all enemy bondage forms, to gain mastership, and to set up the revolutionary administration in various forms.

Combining the task of annihilating the enemy with that of gaining and maintaining mastership for the people constitutes a success-insuring law governing the armed uprisings and revolutionary war in the south. However, this is not only a problem of combining military requirements with uprisings to gradually seize the administration, but is also one of building the strategic position of the people's war. From the military aspect, the southern battlefield is very narrow, whereas enemy strength is great. The southern army and people are fighting the enemy right in their country, executing a revolutionary war which is based on all the people fighting the enemy, and relying on the armed and political forces to fight the enemy. Therefore, the southern army and people must build an advantageous strategic position and drive the enemy into a disadvantageous strategic position. The best way to build this strategic position is to gain mastership to annihilate the enemy, and conversely, to annihilate him to gain mastership.

For the people and the paramilitary forces of the masses, to gain mastership means fighting resolutely to break the U.S.-puppets' ruling yoke, attacking the enemy in his own ricefields, orchards, villages, hamlets and city wards. Mastership means holding positions, mastering territory and achieving various degrees of administration, and mastering the situation. Each village or hamlet must be a bunker; each citizen a combatant taking the initiative in seeking every means possible to oppose the enemy and to invent appropriate combat methods to attack him through political, military, and troop-proselyting means, using all available weapons.

For the revolutionary armed forces, gaining mastership means to comprehensively and rationally develop the sources of the three troop categories in all important areas, in the three strategic zones, in the liberated areas, and in areas which the enemy has frequently attacked and attempted to pacify, as well as in areas adjacent to his bases. This also means to rely on the people's mastership position and the constant development of the masses' political forces to turn the south into a well-organized battlefield. This will create a favorable military position for us and an unfavorable one for the enemy. With this strategic position the PLAF can actively and resourcefully harass the enemy, driving him into a position in which he is encircled and attacked unceasingly militarily and politically.

This is the position of a people's war, coordinating military and political attacks, military offensives and people's uprisings, guerrilla and conventional wars, and attacking the enemy in three areas -- mountains, lowlands and towns. This is the strategy of a war having no fixed

battlefields -- battles can erupt anywhere -- thus forcing more than one million U.S. puppet troops to disperse, to be encircled and divided, to be attacked from all sides, to constantly disclose their weak points and shortcomings, to be exposed in their defensive position, and to fall into a battle position chosen by the South Vietnam armed forces and people, wherever they try to launch an offensive. Immersed in the sea of people's war, despite their great strength and modern war means, the enemy has become even more divided and weakened, unable to take advantage of his strong points. On the other hand, the South Vietnamese armed forces and people can constantly encircle the enemy, unceasingly attack him -- along with concerted uprisings -- constantly maintain their offensive initiative, harass the enemy in the front and in the rear, and fight him at any time, any place.

The most striking feature of the strategic leadership in South Vietnam is that the enemy has been forced to cope passively with the PLAF's comprehensive offensive strategy and fighting methods; he has been kept constantly in a passive political and desperate strategic position, not knowing whether to concentrate or disperse, whether to "pacify" or "search-and-destroy," and whether to take the defensive or offensive. As a result, the enemy's huge aggressive forces have become small and weak, unable to develop combat efficiency despite large numbers of modern weapons and motorized means; nor can they develop their effectiveness despite their great strength. The South Vietnamese armed forces and people, however, thanks to proper organization, high combat spirit, and appropriate, resourceful and skillful fighting methods based on an advantageous strategic position, have attacked the enemy continuously from a position of strength, and the longer they fight, the stronger they become and the greater their combat and strategic effectiveness.

These are the achievements of the invincible people's war line, application of an offensive strategy, and, at the same time, the military art of using a small force to fight a larger force, using the few to defeat the many, using quality to defeat quantity, restricting the enemy's strong points on the battlefield while developing to the utmost our armed and political forces' strong points, and constantly harassing the enemy from an offensive position. This creates favorable conditions to fight and defeat the enemy in a protracted struggle.

The current people's war in the south is a great and very vivid picture justifying Engels' words: "To regain independence a nation cannot restrict itself to conventional war means. People's uprisings, revolutionary war, and guerrilla activities everywhere is the only formula by which small nations are able to defeat great nations, and small armies to resist stronger ones." (Engels, The Setbacks of the Piedmont People, the newspaper The New Rhine River, 1849)

Our people's anti-U.S. national salvation resistance has entered its 10th year. Since 1968, it has shifted toward a new and very glorious phase and scored very great victories, advancing toward complete victory.

The U.S. imperialists have been losing heavily throughout our country and are facing difficulties at home and abroad. But, stubborn and crafty by nature, they continue to prolong their war of aggression.

President Ho carefully told us: "The anti-U.S. resistance war may drag on. Our compatriots may have to undergo new sacrifices in terms of property and human lives. In any case, we must be determined to fight against the U.S. aggressors until total victory."

Implementing President Ho's testament, we are resolved to fight protractedly until the enemy has to abandon his evil aggressive ambition, brings home all his troops, and respects our people's sovereignty and our country's territorial integrity. Our entire party, armed forces, and people must exert their greatest efforts to heighten their revolutionary heroism, overcome every hardship and sacrifice, and persist in and accelerate the anti-U.S. national salvation resistance toward complete victory, thus liberating the south, defending the north, and proceeding toward the peaceful reunification of our country.

Fighting and defeating the Americans is an urgent demand of the Vietnamese and world revolutions, for our present life, and for the happiness of our future generations. It is the honor, pride, as well as the obligation of our party and people toward our fatherland and the world's revolutionary people. No matter what sacrifices and hardships we may have to undergo, no matter how protracted and fierce our struggle may be, we are determined to accomplish the glorious mission entrusted to us by history.

We firmly believe that under the NFLSV's and RSVN PRG's leadership, with their invincible people's war line, with their bravery, intelligence, and military skill, with the great militant solidarity of the 30 million compatriots nation-wide, our southern compatriots and combatants will certainly win.

Evaluating our people's glorious revolutionary struggle under the party's experienced leadership, President Ho said: "Our people are a heroic people. We have overthrown the Japanese fascists and defeated the French colonialists and are resolutely defeating the U.S. imperialist aggressors." (President Ho's appeal on 20 July 1965) Our present anti-U.S. national salvation struggle is the greatest struggle in our people's extremely glorious anti-aggression history.

Our present anti-U.S. national salvation resistance, the greatest in the history of our nation's very heroic struggle against foreign invasion and one of the most beautiful pages in the history of the world people's revolutionary struggle against imperialism in the present era, has contributed to the development of the theory of revolution by colonial and vassal states struggling against colonialism and neocolonialism.

Grasping the valuable lessons of the Vietnamese revolution, our people have been advancing steadily in the anti-U.S. national salvation undertaking toward complete victory, and have completed the nationwide people's democratic and national revolution, making worthy contributions to the worldwide struggle for peace, national independence, democracy, and socialism.

## Part II: Socialist Revolution in North Vietnam

Over the past 15 years, since the successful anti-French resistance, North Vietnam has been completely liberated and has shifted to the phase of socialist revolution. During this short phase, the northern part of our country has achieved numerous social reforms, eliminating all feudalistic and colonialist vestiges, and becoming socialist North Vietnam and a base area of the nationwide revolution. Although North Vietnam has had to cope with aggressive U.S. imperialism and poor economic conditions, it has manifested vigorous vitality, gloriously fulfilling the great rear area's duties, heroically defeating the U.S. aggressors' war of destruction, and winning one victory after another for the socialist revolutionary undertaking.

However, these past achievements in socialist revolution are only the initial ones. To turn an underdeveloped agricultural country with small production into a socialist state with modern industry and agriculture and advanced culture and science and to insure a prosperous material and cultural life for our people, we must struggle for several more decades.

### Proletarian Dictatorship and the Three Revolutions

The third party congress and then the party Central Committee conferences in the light of Marxism-Leninism accurately analyzed every aspect of the situation in North Vietnam, pointing out that the "greatest trait of our country in the transitional period is its advance from an underdeveloped agricultural state to socialism by bypassing the capitalist development stage." (Ho Chi Minh's Selected Works, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1960, p 772) On that basis, the congress and party Central Committee set forth the general line of the socialist revolution and the trends of development in the sectors of the national economy. The line of the congress and all resolutions of the party Central Committee correctly reflect the rules of the advance toward socialism by an underdeveloped agricultural country like Vietnam, and are consistent with the characteristics and substance of the new era.

In the present era, since capitalism has proven to be increasingly rotten and disintegrated and since socialism has become a real fact and in particular a world system and decisive factor of the development of human society, the problem of advance toward socialism is posed as an historic necessity not only for advanced capitalist states but also for newly-independent countries possessing underdeveloped economies.

Concomitant with the USSR's military defeat of the German, Italian, and Japanese fascists, the weakening of many imperialist countries, and the emergence of numerous socialist states after World War II, a movement for peoples' liberation tempestuously broke out in almost all colonies and semicolonies, directing its fierce offensive spearhead at imperialism. Many countries have set up nationalist, democratic administrations to various degrees according to the degree of maturity of workers and peasants and the situation of the balance of the class forces of each country. In the countries where workers and peasants play a decisive role and the vanguard teams of the working class assume leadership over the revolution, the victory of the national democratic revolution not only is a victory of the people over imperialism and feudalism, but is also a political victory of the proletariat over the local bourgeoisie and a success of a new-style state. For this reason, the successful conclusion of the people's democratic national revolution also meant the beginning of the socialist revolution. The revolutionary administration of workers and peasants led by the working class shifted to carrying out the historic tasks of proletarian dictatorship and socialist revolution and construction. Thus in the present era, the democratic national revolution under the working class leadership is necessarily connected with the socialist revolution.

After its emergence, our party asserted in its initial political program the need for Vietnam to undergo these two phases: the phase of the democratic national revolution and the phase of the socialist revolution. This clear-sighted line of our party is entirely consistent with the great thoughts of Marxism-Leninism, with the developments of the present era, and with our people's desires. The revolutionary realities in the past 40 years have proven the infallible correctness of this line.

Every bourgeois revolution in history has led to replacing the dictatorship of one exploiting class with that of another exploiting class, and has maintained the rule of the minority over the majority. To dominate the majority, the minority has no other way than to resort to violence. For this reason, the substance of bourgeois dictatorship is violence and repression. Freedom, equality, fraternity, human rights, and democracy -- all these beautiful words are substantially aimed at consolidating the bourgeoisie's position and serving its free trade and free exploitation. There can be no genuine democracy for the majority if all basic means of production and the right to decide the fate of the country are in the hands of the minority. Being an historical necessity originating in the trend of the era, the birth of the proletarian dictatorship turned society upside down, brought democracy to the workers who constitute the majority in society, and made them masters of society, economy, culture, and their own lives. Since then, they have become the masters of history. The proletarian dictatorship is the administration of the working majority who oppose the exploiting minority. Its essential nature is not violence or oppression, but construction and organization. Therefore, the proletarian dictatorship is the highest, completely democratic regime, immeasurably more democratic than the bourgeois democracy.

In our country, the proletarian dictatorship was born during a period of very backward production. The material conditions necessary for socialist construction were lacking. Socialist production was at a cross-road: It could either advance toward socialism or capitalism or remain in the small production level for a time. In order to build socialism from the start we must build new production forces, new production relations, new economic bases, and superstructures. In this, the activeness of the proletarian dictatorship, its constructive and organizational role, and the self-awareness of the working people in the creation of a new society are extremely important.

In any country, the proletarian dictatorship has the task of determining whether capitalism or socialism will triumph. In developed capitalist countries, the capitalist class is a great enemy. Capitalism is an entire system of production relations encompassing every realm of the national economy, a huge superstructure serving the oppressive and exploiting regime. Therefore, following its collapse and the founding of the proletarian dictatorship, the class struggle against the bourgeois class and other reactionary forces will fiercely continue in many forms -- "bloody struggles, bloodless struggles, violent or peaceful struggles in the military, economic, educational, and administrative fields" (Lenin's Complete Works in Vietnamese, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1969, Vol. 31, p 66) in order to successfully build socialism. However, as pointed out by Lenin, even under these circumstances, the proletarian dictatorship is "not mere violence against exploiters, nor essentially violence"; rather "the economic foundation of this revolutionary violence -- the guarantee of its vital force and success -- is the very fact that the proletariat can set forth and implement a type of superior socialist labor organization compared to capitalism. The true nature of the problem lies here. This is the source of the strength and the guarantee of the complete and certain success of communism" (Lenin's Complete Works in Vietnamese, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1968, Vol. 29, p 459). In the countries which are advancing toward socialism by bypassing the capitalist development phase, the task of suppressing capitalist economic elements and other exploitive forms, stopping spontaneous capitalist tendencies of small production, smashing every maneuver for revival of enemy elements, insuring order and security, and strengthening the national defense capability against aggression constitutes, of course, a long and complicated struggle and is one of the most important tasks of the proletarian dictatorship. Whether this struggle can be carried on until complete success is one of the essential points distinguishing the proletariat's revolutionary stand from bourgeois and petty-bourgeois reformism. But the content of the class struggle is not limited to this, because in order to thoroughly win over the bourgeois class and other reactionary forces and successfully build socialism and communism, it is not sufficient to oppress exploiting classes and every other reactionary force or to suppress capitalist economic elements and all other exploiting groups. This is especially true in the northern part of our country, where small-scale production predominates and the capitalist economic element is very small. There, elimination of the exploiting

classes alone cannot create a material and technical basis for socialism. Quelling the counterrevolutionary forces alone does not suffice to insure victory for socialism. The basic problem is to transform small-scale, individual production into large-scale, socialist production and to rebuild almost completely the material, technical, and economic bases and the superstructure of socialist society through the simultaneous carrying out of the three revolutions -- the revolution in production relations, the technical revolution, and the ideological and cultural revolution. Only in this way can we prevent small production from spontaneously advancing toward capitalism, can we definitely eliminate the economic and social conditions which foster and restore capitalism and the bourgeoisie, and can we achieve total, decisive victory for socialism.

Therefore, we say that the struggle between the capitalist and socialist tendencies in the northern part of our country represents primarily a struggle to advance small-scale production toward large-scale, socialist production. To keep a firm hold on proletarian dictatorship in simultaneously carrying out the three revolutions -- of which the technical revolution is the main one -- represents the basic content of the class struggle in the period of transition to socialism in the northern part of our country.

Easing vigilance against the exploiting classes and other counterrevolutionary forces, especially in the present situation in which our country is waging a resolute national, class struggle against the U.S. imperialists -- the most tyrannical imperialists in the world -- and in which an embittered, worldwide struggle is going on between the capitalist and socialist systems, represents a dangerous rightist error and a crime against the revolution. However, in the present socialist revolution undertaking in the northern part of our country, if we overestimated the influence of the exploiting classes and of other counterrevolutionary forces and if we only concerned ourselves with quelling them while losing sight of the essential task of organizing, promoting, and carrying out the three revolutions, we would commit a serious error.

The revolution in production relations, the technical revolution, and the ideological and cultural revolution represent three organic components of the socialist revolution. These three closely interrelated revolutions interact and stimulate one another's development. The new society or new men, and the new production relations or new production forces are not an exclusive product of a single revolution, but are a common product of all three revolutions. Inevitably, apart from their dialectical relationship, each revolution has its specific position and functions, which are aimed at solving specific problems in the process of socialist revolution.

Advancing toward socialism without going through the period of capitalist development means, primarily, that we do not possess large industry, nor a highly developed material and technical basis. We cannot

carry out socialist industrialization on the basis of a scattered, backward agriculture or while the capitalist economic component and the individualistic economy -- which daily and hourly foster capitalism -- are still maintained. Therefore, the revolution in production relations represents an inevitable step to the development of the production forces which rapidly accelerate the technical revolution, and to build the laborers collective economic mastership. Through the revolution in production relations, the worker-peasant alliance has been consolidated, proletarian dictatorship has been strengthened, and the ideological and cultural revolution has acquired socio-economic conditions which provide a basis for the emergence of the new ideology and new sentiment of the new men.

The content of the revolution in production relations consists primarily of eliminating the capitalist economic elements and their integral component, the system of exploitation of man by man and transforming the individual economy of the farmer and artisan into a collective, socialist economy and establishing the system of socialist, public ownership of production means in two forms -- all-people and collective ownership -- represent an extremely great change in social life, they do not represent the total revolution in production relations. This is because in the economic field, the collective mastership system has three aspects -- mastership over production means, mastership over economic management, and mastership over distribution of the fruits of labor. Therefore, immediately after establishing the laborers' collective mastership over production means, we must solve a series of other important problems: Collective labor and collective property must be managed so as to expand production most rapidly, carry out the technical revolution most rapidly, redistribute social labor most rationally, and achieve the highest labor output. Social production must be organized so as to insure centralized, unified leadership by the central echelon, while fully developing the collective mastership of various sectors and localities and of every laborer. Distribution must be carried out so as to insure accumulation for expanded redirected production, while improving the people's living conditions, stimulating their activeness in labor, fully demonstrating the social spirit of socialism, taking adequate care of the people's material life, and successfully stimulating cultural, educational, scientific, and technical development. Economic and administrative measures must be taken to consolidate and qualitatively improve socialist economic organizations, while extending the scope of socialism, drawing people who still adopt individual ways of doing business into the cooperatives, strengthening market management, combating every act of speculation, and correcting any deviations in the management of land and labor; and so forth. These heated, difficult, and complex problems involved in the revolution in production relations confront us nationwide and in each locality and each production establishment. They must be solved in order to build and perfect the laborers' collective mastership system in economic management and in distributing the products of labor, and to continue to fulfill the tasks related to socialist reform.

Advancing directly from small production toward socialism while carrying out the revolution in production relations, we must carry out the technical revolution aimed at converting manual labor into mechanized labor and at building the material and technical basis of socialism. At present, in the northern part of our country, through many stages of social reform, the oppressive and exploitive system has been eradicated. All laborers are free and equal and are masters of the country. But this equality, this freedom, and this mastership cannot yet be considered adequate because our laborers' material and cultural life still relies on an inferior material and technical base. "Communism is soviet power plus nationwide electrification." Lenin's famous formula has enabled us to view the problem more comprehensively. To speak of soviet power is to speak of proletarian dictatorship, and of the laborers' mastership. To speak of electrification is to speak of large industry built on electrification, and of the material and technical base of the new social system. Socialism and communism cannot be achieved without either one of these two factors. Advancing from small production, our present, most serious need is what is referred to by Lenin as "electrification." Only on the basis of electrification can we consolidate the socialist economy, the worker-peasant alliance, and the proletarian dictatorship; overcome the psychology and the habits of small production; consolidate and develop the socialist ideology; bring decent and civilized lives to the working people; and assist the people in knowing how to become masters not only of society, but also of nature. It is in light of this extremely important significance that our party has determined the "key" position of the technological revolution.

Technological revolution and the revolution of production relations are linked together. There are dialectic interactions between them. The revolution of production relations paves the way for technological revolution and creates economic and social conditions to step up technological revolution. Conversely, technological revolution consolidates the results of the revolution of production relations, creates material and technical conditions to improve socialist production relations unceasingly.

A correct economic line must, first of all, be a line which steps up both revolutions simultaneously and brings into full play the dialectic interactions between both revolutions. On one hand, it is necessary to thoroughly use the positive role of socialist production relations to speedily reorganize the division of social labor, develop production, improve people's lives, and accelerate accumulation for the sake of socialist industrialization. On the other hand, it is necessary to improve new production relations actively, unceasingly, and in accordance with the development of production forces and to enable new production relations, especially the economic management system, to constantly "pave the way for and accelerate" the development of production forces.

Today, in our camp and in many other countries worldwide, a new scientific and technological revolution is bringing about many important changes in the conquest of nature as well as in social relations. Therefore,

the production forces of our country must develop gradually in line with the laws of the change from small production to mass production while necessarily and successfully advancing by leaps and bounds toward mechanization and automation, first of all mechanization. On the one hand, it is necessary to exhaustively use all the potentialities of handicraft production, semimechanize and mechanize it step by step, endeavor to develop local industry, and coordinate local industry with agriculture in order to redistribute manpower and create conditions for building a heavy industry. On the other hand, we must rely on the existing superiority of the socialist economy, the positive assistance of fraternal countries, and international exchanges in order to strive toward building a big industry with modern techniques, achieve big economic and technical leaps forward, and, through these big leaps, modernize the entire national economy. This is the best way to successfully achieve the technical revolution and quickly advance toward a big socialist and modern production in our country.

Building socialism is building not only a new economy and a new society, but also new persons -- socialist persons -- by bringing genuine values to them, creating conditions for their comprehensive development, and turning them into conscious participants in the creation of history. Changing the existing society is the fundamental condition for changing the concept of society and new persons emerge only in the process of building a new society through realistic activities and through the revolutionary movements of the masses. Transforming persons and changing their consciousness and views are not, and cannot be, spontaneous processes. Moreover "in order to build socialism, it is first of all necessary to have socialist men." (President Ho's appeals, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1962, Selected Works, Vol. 6, p 174) Therefore along with the economic revolution it is necessary to carry out the ideological and cultural revolution aimed at basically changing the ideological, moral, and cultural life of the society and the majority of the masses, especially in our country which achieves socialism bypassing the development of capitalism, a new path of development requiring great creativeness and self-consciousness. In our society, thoughts and habits still bear the marked traces of small production; our people's cultural, scientific, technical backgrounds are still low. Therefore the ideological and cultural revolution becomes an exceptionally important task.

A socialist man is a man of high quality, reflecting a communist philosophy of life, boundlessly loyal to the people's and class' cause, and living and working in accordance with the collective and "each for everyone and everyone for each" spirit. The collective mastership ideology we are now building is the collective mastership ideology based on the working class' standpoint. It opposes not only individual mastership ideology of the bourgeoisie and small producers, but also the collective spirit of the guild type which separates one's small collective from the centralized leadership of the proletarian administration, and counterposes interests of one collective to those of other collectives. The sense of collective mastership in each individual must be primarily reflected through the

attitude of attaching importance to labor, production, and public property. This was the most correct class stand, after the proletariat seized the administration and became the master of society. This is completely different from the working-for-hire thinking and bureaucratic behavior. This opposes all manifestations of undisciplined freedom and irresponsible acts in labor and everyday life. This opposes the thinking of merchants, telling lies, acting negligently, and desiring to live at the expense of others. This opposes all bureaucratic and far-from-realities-and-production forms. We must realize that only by laboring arduously can we most adequately exercise our mastership right, and that only by achieving a basis of high labor output can we have a rich material and cultural life and a socialist regime.

To have only the spirit of mastership is insufficient. In addition, it is necessary to use scientific methods in order to become masters of society and nature and in order to complete the work of socialist reform and socialist construction. Without revolutionary enthusiasm, there can be no revolutionary acts. But, with only revolutionary enthusiasm, the most we can do is eliminate the old, but not be able to build a new society. To build society and socialism means comprehensively combining all scientific knowledge -- sociology, natural sciences, and technical sciences -- in order to reach the peak of civilization. Therefore, a socialist man must be one who possesses an advanced cultural, scientific, and technological level, who can understand and apply the laws governing society and nature, and who inherits and can creatively develop all the cultural and scientific achievements which mankind has accumulated through the vitality of thousands of generations.

A socialist man is one who possesses ardent patriotism, a deep love for his compatriots and comrades, an indomitable, unsubmitive spirit, and the spirit of independence and freedom -- that of "sacrificing all rather than losing his country and living as a slave." A socialist man is one who is imbued with revolutionary heroism, not only in the undertaking of protecting the fatherland, but also in laboring creatively and in building a new society. A socialist man is also one who is imbued with proletarian internationalism and who knows how to correctly combine the legitimate national interests with the common interests of the international workers' movement against every narrow-minded national tendency and big-country chauvinism.

The socialist men in our country must not only assimilate the latest achievements of the present civilization but must also inherit and develop the fine virtues symbolizing the Vietnamese people's minds, which have been forged through 4,000 years of history.

It is the task of the ideological and cultural revolution to educate and mold such men. The more rapidly this revolution can score achievements, the more it will step up the production relations revolution and the technological revolution. Conversely, it is the production relations revolution

and the technological revolution which will create necessary economic and technological bases for developing the ideological and cultural revolution and for consolidating its achievements.

The successful implementation of the three revolutions will yield the successful development of socialism in our country and transform our country into a prosperous socialist country with modern industry and agriculture and advanced culture and science, which will bring the people a materially plentiful and morally rich life and further increase economic and national defense potential. Therefore, strengthening the proletarian dictatorship in order to develop to a high degree party leadership, the state's organizational and managerial role, and the laborers' collective mastership -- thus aiming at successfully carrying out the three revolutions, of which the technical revolution is most important -- is the basic, regulatory trend of the socialist revolution in our country and the necessary content of the transition to socialism bypassing the capitalist development stage in our country. Holding firmly to and creatively carrying out this trend nationwide as well as in each branch and each echelon and using the gradual, steady, and harmonious building of large-scale production to improve step by step the people's living standards are concrete objectives and the most important tasks of our party, our state, and our people in the socialist revolution.

#### The Economic Development Line During the Initial Period

Building large-scale socialist production in our country is not only to build a number of major enterprises for this or that sector in the economy, but also to improve the overall social production, to basically change the overall national economic structure, to associate the reform of small-scale production with the equipment of major production bases, to build large-scale production on the basis of the results in reforming small-scale production, and, conversely, to use the strength of large-scale production bases to quickly improve small-scale production and lead it to large-scale production. From an overall perspective, the process of building the large socialist production in our country is the process of improving production aiming at transforming manual labor into mechanized labor; the process of reassigning social labor, of developing new sectors and professions on a large scale, and of entering deeply into specialization while at the same time strengthening cooperativization; and the process of building an independent national economy and developing economic relations with foreign countries, especially those in the socialist system.

To build a large-scale production, it is necessary to possess a certain amount of production materials and labor. Previously to rapidly create this ample capital in the initial period of capital accumulation, capitalism resorted to brutal violence to deprive the laborers at home and in colonies of their capital and to turn them into slaves and employees. To build a large-scale production, socialism must not of course accumulate capital through misappropriation and exploitive measures but by developing

production and increasing labor output. It must not only accumulate capital but also take care of the livelihood of various strata of people and immediately carry out distribution according to socialist principles.

In the conditions of our country, to achieve these basic economic tasks in the initial step (accumulating capital for industrialization and improving the people's livelihood), we must build a proper economic structure and achieve a new division of labor on the basis of laborers' collective ownership in order to step up production and to rapidly increase labor output.

To build a proper economic structure, it is necessary to correctly determine, first of all, the positions and developments of and relations between the central and local economies and among the production, circulation, and distribution sectors.

In the first days of the transitional period, when our national economy was still in the state of small-scale production and when agricultural labor with a very low output embraced a great percentage of the total of social labor, these initial steps were of vital significance: To rapidly turn the individual, uncultivation agriculture into a collective, comprehensive agriculture, to achieve a new distribution of social labor on the basis of increasing labor output and according to the new trend of production, to shift part of agricultural labor to agricultural development, to gradually reduce necessary labor, and to increase surplus labor, the only source of accumulation. To do so, it is necessary to, from the start, apply industry to agriculture and closely coordinate agriculture and industry -- including central and local industries. This relationship between industry and agriculture can be satisfactorily created only through building central and local economies.

The process of the birth and development of the large-scale socialist production in our country began there.

Therefore, our party third congress asserted: "We must give priority to the rational development of heavy industry, endeavor to develop agriculture and light industry, consider industry the main economic activity and agriculture the base to develop industry, and coordinate local and central industries." This line of the congress has been and will be our basic direction. The process of implementing this line and the lively realities of the past 15 years allowed us to materialize our economic development line during the initial period, which is to give priority to the rational development of heavy industry on the basis of developing agriculture and small industry, and to build the central economy while developing the local economy.

## Give Priority to the Proper Development of Heavy Industry

"The only possible economic basis of socialism is mechanized heavy industry. Whoever forgets this is not a communist." (Lenin, "On Heavy Industry and National Electrification," Su That Publishing House, 1962, p 219) Lenin's forceful words point out the extremely important role of heavy industry in socialist economy and stress the attitude toward heavy industry as one of the basic norms differentiating scientific socialism from other branches of "socialism." We attach great importance to heavy industry because heavy industry leads small production to large production, and also because heavy industry supplies labor with new equipment and machinery, thus increasing human strength with respect to nature, liberating labor from the state of backward handicraft, and permitting labor to augment its output to build a new society and a new economy. With the great power provided by heavy industry, mankind can more and more fully exploit natural resources and produce more and more new items.

Because heavy industry plays such a decisive role in our country's situation, our party considers socialist industrialization -- the basic aim of which is to build a modern heavy industrial network -- as the central task enabling us to pass from the transitional phase to socialism. However, to develop heavy industry, we must have the prerequisite conditions created by agriculture and light industry. These prerequisite conditions are labor power, consumer goods, the initial accumulated capital, and the market. Formerly, under the capitalist regime, heavy industry could appear only after a long period of light industry development, and it took heavy industry nearly a century to become a fully developed system. Today, in our country socialist production relations permit us to centralize the people's capital and efficiently use labor as needed. Right at the beginning, we are able to reserve a part of the national income and labor for building heavy industry. With our natural resources, and enjoying the support of the socialist bloc and international cooperation, it is possible for us to achieve the initial accumulation of capital more quickly and to settle more rapidly various complicated scientific and technical problems. Thus, even when domestic agriculture and light industry are not yet fully developed, we have already at our disposal a certain number of conditions permitting us to develop heavy industry, which capitalism could not have. Thus, not to immediately draft plans to build heavy industry and set up a certain number of necessary bases for heavy industry is to be unaware of the favorable situation of the building of the economy in our country, and not to know how to make full use of our acquired advantages to move our national economy quickly forward. To make agriculture and light industry progress more rapidly is not only to gradually develop them, but also to make them advance by leaps and bounds. However, we must clearly recognize that heavy industry can only develop strongly when agriculture and light industry are established as its solid bases. If we pay little heed to the present backwardness in our agriculture and light industry, and fail to see the necessary relationship among agriculture, light industry, and heavy industry -- if we only plan the building of heavy industry and pay no heed

to developing agriculture and light industry -- then actually, not only will we be unable to develop heavy industry, we will exacerbate the alarming situation caused by the already unbalanced state of the economy, encounter many difficulties, and impede the progress of the entire national economy. Thus, right at the beginning, we should strive to develop agriculture and light industry, urgently create conditions for agriculture and light industry to advance by leaps and bounds, and direct each step of the development of heavy industry to serve the development of agriculture and light industry. For, without the impact of heavy industry, we will be unable to improve agriculture and light industry. Furthermore, the utilization of heavy industry to serve agriculture and light industry and cause the latter to advance serves to create conditions for the priority development of heavy industry itself.

At present, the most important task of heavy industry is to create conditions for equipping the nation's labor force -- first of all, agricultural and light industrial labor -- with all kinds of tools of different technological levels, from rudimentary to modern, appropriate to each branch and each type of work -- so as to rapidly raise social labor output to at least twice or three times the current level. In the immediate economic situation, the raising of social labor output requires the adoption of several important measures -- such as the rational organization of labor, the effective use of labor, the raising of the laborer's professional skill, the correct determination of the direction of production and division of labor, the improvement of economic management, and the strengthening of ideological work and the organization of activities so that everybody will work enthusiastically, have good labor discipline, and be assured a valuable eight-hour workday. However, the improvement of labor tools remains the most fundamental measure. To accomplish this, we must rapidly develop the machinery sector into an important sector and boldly invest our capital and labor to accelerate machinery development. The present urgent task is that, parallel with the building of new machinery plants, we must pay special attention to the maximum utilization of existing machinery. We must firmly grasp the actual potential of each branch and each enterprise, arrange all the machinery enterprises into a system possessing a division of labor and close cooperation, and correctly determine the direction of production for each factory on the basis of the common plan of the entire unified network. Technical cadres of the machinery sector must go to production bases -- first of all agriculture, small industry, and handicraft -- to study and make specific recommendations for improving each type of tool so that within a short period of time a large number of new, suitable tools may be produced.

In order to fulfill its task, the machinery branch of our country must develop into a system -- from central to regional levels -- with balanced coordination of machinery for repair with machinery for production, and specialized machinery with general commonly purpose machinery. At the time when the central system is concerned with building and directly managing machinery enterprises of a high technological level for producing a

number of modern machines to serve agriculture, light industry, capital construction, communications and transportation, and so forth, the regional machinery system must consider as its main task its services to agricultural production and production of ordinary consumer goods.

In order to gradually modernize our country's economy and to meet the immediate requirements of production and subsistence, another important task of heavy industry is to actively create a source of energy and of material supplies, as the foundation of an independent economy.

Electric power must be greatly developed and absolutely must move a step ahead. We must coordinate thermal power with hydroelectric power, large-scale with medium-scale, under the direct management of the central organs. At the same time, we must develop small hydroelectric stations in areas where favorable conditions exist, particularly mountain areas. In order to rapidly create a new source of electric power for the needs of economic development, we must rely on the country's coal resources in the next few years to step up the building of thermal power stations with great output while relying on existing potential to actively prepare for the building of hydroelectric stations. On the basis of the requirements for production of electric power, cement, bricks, tiles, fuel, and for export requirements, we must rapidly increase the coal output. To do so, we must coordinate the exploitation of old mines with the activation of new mines. We must improve the coal management system and perfect the coal industry management apparatus, determine specific tasks for the basic units, consolidate labor organizations, and build a balanced and rational relationship between labor and resources, between the links in the chain of coal production.

The production of construction materials -- cement, wood, bricks, tiles, and lime -- must be considered an important task of our state. It must be arranged into a nationwide network with clear division of effort between the central network and regional networks and with close coordination between handicraft industry and modern industry. We must develop the construction-material industry in balance with the task of building new material and technical bases, especially after the years of the furious war of destruction waged by U.S. imperialism.

In the construction of the metallurgical industry, we should pay attention to economic and technological problems in order to insure the highest economic achievements in national construction and production. In keeping with our country's resources, sufficient care should be given to ferrous metallurgy; and, at the same time, non-ferrous metallurgy should be placed in a proper position. Right now, we must step up our activities in geological research and strive to train a group of experts who can meet the tasks of research, planning, and production and so on.

Chemistry should be developed into an important branch, in accordance with its big role in modern industry. In the immediate future, we should

concentrate our effort on building a number of important enterprises directly relating to the accomplishment of basic economic tasks during the initial stage — that is, fertilizers, insecticides, plastics, synthetics, and so forth. At the same time, we should actively map out long-range economic and technological objectives with concrete goals for each period, so that after the end of each economic plan our country's production will make noticeable progress on the path of "chemicalization."

This direction of the development of heavy industry in the immediate future is in keeping with the focal role of heavy industry in boosting small-scale production to large-scale production, and at the same time is in harmony with the long-range development of heavy industry itself.

### Step Up Light Industry

This direction of the development of heavy industry requires a proportionate development of light industry, because light industry is a source of products responding to the necessity of the people's daily life, a source of important export items during the [word indistinct] initial accumulation of capital and an important market for heavy industries.

With a relatively undeveloped economy and having experienced many years of war, our people are still lagging behind in material comforts -- which poses a number of urgent questions to be solved. At present, we cannot yet basically change the living standard of the entire society. However, a minimum standard of living during the initial stage of industrialization requires the development of light industries, a speedy increase in the production of consumer goods, and an end to undesirable poverty.

Moreover, with an abundant supply of skilled workers and existing resources, particularly with our country's diversified tropical agriculture, we can rapidly develop light industries to produce various kinds of consumer goods in order to meet internal demands, and for exportation.

In order to fulfill its important function toward internal demands and export, the light industry branch in our country must be fully developed. This branch includes foodstuffs, textiles, household appliances, wood products, paper products, and art items. Such a light industry must be built at both central and regional levels in accordance with economic and technical features of each branch or enterprise. This light industry at the initial stage can apply both traditional and modern techniques; however, it must gradually be completely mechanized and modernized. This light industry cannot include only state-operated enterprises, but also should consist of many collective enterprises of handicraft and small industry. Disregarding handicraft and small industry is tantamount to lacking full knowledge of our country's present economic situation, and of the law of development from small-scale production to large-scale production. We must constantly consolidate and improve socialist production relations in handicraft and small industry, strengthen the state's