

"SOUTH VIETNAM'S REVOLUTIONARY LINE"—

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THE SOUTH VIETNAM REVOLUTIONARY LINE

During two years of struggling for peace, reunification, independence, and democracy, the people of South Vietnam have very clearly revealed the patriotic ardor and steadfast will of the Vietnamese people.

At the same time, the past two years have made the people of South Vietnam clearly recognize the hateful schemes of the aggressive U.S. imperialists and the traitorous, country-selling crimes of the Ngo Dinh Diem gang.

~~July 20, 1956 was the day when, according to the cease-fire agreement signed at the Geneva Conference, there was to be a free national general election for the reunification of Vietnam that was not allowed to materialize. The reason was that the aggressive U.S. imperialists and the Ngo Dinh Diem dictatorial and feudal gang tried in every way to sabotage and to refuse to execute the agreement in the hope of permanently dividing our country and transforming South Vietnam into a colony and military base for the U.S. imperialists in order to unleash a war and steal our country.~~

The Vietnamese people, who defeated the French imperialists and the U.S. interventionists after a heroic nine-year resistance war, and who forced the imperialists at the Geneva Conference to recognize the national independence and territorial integrity of our country, definitely will not permit the feudal imperialists to unleash a war and definitely will not permit them to prolong the division of our country nor to prolong their cruel, feudal, imperialist regime in our beloved South Vietnam.

The Three Primary Tasks of the Entire Country at the Present Time

In order to cope with the situation created by the U.S. -Diem, in order to complete the national liberation task, and liberate the South Vietnamese people from the yoke of imperialism and feudalism, the Party Central Committee has identified three primary tasks as the general line for the overall revolutionary program of the country at the present time.

SENTENCES
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PRIORITY

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These three tasks are:

- (1). To really stabilize and strengthen North Vietnam.
- (2). To intensify the revolutionary movement in South Vietnam.
- (3). To win the sympathy and support of peace-loving, democratic and nationalist people throughout the world.

Why Is It Necessary to Really Stabilize and Consolidate North Vietnam?

Because North Vietnam is the one half of the country which has already been completely liberated from the yoke of imperialism and feudalism and already has an independent and democratic people's administration. The independent and democratic North Vietnam constitutes a victory for the revolution heroically fought by all the people from North to South against the French imperialists and the U. S. interventionists during nine years. North Vietnam presently must serve as a really stable and powerful base in order to provide backing for the revolutionary movement to liberate South Vietnam. It is for this reason, that it is necessary to really stabilize and consolidate North Vietnam.

Why Is It Necessary to Intensify the Revolutionary Movement in South Vietnam?

Because South Vietnam is presently under the yoke of rule of imperialism and feudalism, because the U. S. -Diem imperialists and feudalists are using the dictatorial and fascist policies of the ruling imperialists in seeking to forcibly take over South Vietnam, are subverting the peace and unity of our country, are oppressing and exploiting our people, and are scheming to reinstate war in the hope of invading and occupying our entire country, the people of South Vietnam, in combatting the U. S. -Diem, have only one path of national salvation and self-preservation. That is the path of revolution. There is no longer any other path.

It is for this reason that it is necessary to intensify the revolutionary movement in South Vietnam in order to combat the U. S. -Diem.

Why Is It Necessary to Win the Sympathy and Support of the Peace-Loving, Democratic, Independent, and Nationalist People Throughout the World?

REVOLUTION
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SUBORDINATE
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Because our efforts to preserve the peace and to achieve reunification and complete independence and democracy at the present time is a part of the progressive people's movement throughout the world which is struggling to achieve peace, democracy, and independence for all mankind. Because the peaceful reunification of the country is a legal action recognized by the international Geneva Conference, all actions which resist the peaceful reunification of our country are illegal and are condemned by the people of the world. Therefore, we have righteousness and legality in resisting the U.S.-Diem. Naturally, we have the sympathy and support of the people of the world. For this reason, we can increase our strength, isolate and weaken the enemy, and acquire additional favorable conditions for defeating the enemy in order to complete the task of totally liberating our nation.

These are the three tasks which make up the overall revolutionary line of all the people of our entire nation at the present time. These three tasks are indivisible. These three tasks are intimately interrelated. The only way that our people's national liberation revolution can achieve success is by completing these tasks.

The entire Party organization in Nam Bo and all of the people of Nam Bo must clearly understand this general revolutionary line of the entire country.

In order to complete its task, the Party organization in Nam Bo must thoroughly understand the South Vietnamese revolutionary line in order to maintain and intensify the revolutionary movement.

The Objectives, Position, and Targets of the South Vietnamese Revolutionary Movement

The revolutionary movement in South Vietnam is a part of the general revolutionary movement of the entire country. The intensification of the revolutionary movement in South Vietnam is designed to carry out one of the three general strategic tasks of the entire country in order to move ahead to jointly achieve the objective of the entire country which is to maintain peace and achieve reunification and achieve complete independence and democracy for the entire country.

The position of the revolutionary movement in South Vietnam is to struggle together with the entire country to attain that common goal of the entire country.

However, the South Vietnamese people at the present time not only live in a divided and war-threatened environment but are also oppressed, exploited, jailed, and frightfully murdered every day by the dictatorial, fascist policies of the U. S. -Diem. Workers are starving to death. They cannot earn a living. Unemployment is in a hopelessly critical situation. The peasants are having their land taken away from them, and their rents and taxes raised. They are being foresaken and are being conscripted into military service. Industry and commerce are bankrupted and so forth. The people do not have any democratic freedoms at all. The policy of terrorism, vengeance, imprisonment, and murder is spreading everywhere from the countryside to the urban areas.

This situation definitely is awakening the people of South Vietnam to the need to stand up and smash the dictatorial, fascist policies of the U. S. -Diem in order to save themselves. Therefore, the objective of the South Vietnamese revolution is to overthrow the dictatorial, fascist regime of the U. S. -Diem and to implement a policy of an independent, national democratic coalition in order to liberate the South Vietnamese people from the yoke of U. S. -Diem imperialism, feudalism, dictatorship, and fascism and, in so doing, achieve, together with the entire country, peaceful reunification and national independence.

Therefore, the position of the revolutionary movement in South Vietnam is not only to struggle together with the entire country to achieve the common objectives of the entire country but also to struggle to achieve its own goals, i. e., to struggle for its own liberation from the U. S. -Diem imperialist, feudal regime.

The two objectives fit together into a single objective.

The reason for this is that the only possible way to create the most favorable conditions for the South Vietnamese people to resist the imperialist, feudal policies of the U. S. -Diem and liberate themselves, and the only way to create favorable conditions for the struggle to peacefully reunite the country is through the struggle process of the common movement of the entire country against the U. S. -Diem.

We must realize that the present South Vietnamese administration is not an administration left behind by the defeated feudal imperialists. It is a neocolonialist government of the aggressive imperialists who are seeking to reinstate war -- the U. S. imperialists.

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Although the U. S. imperialists have suffered one defeat after another and are gradually becoming isolated throughout the world and although their dreams of world invasion have been smashed in the face of the power of the socialist, democratic, and peace camp throughout the world and in the face of the Soviet Union's atomic and nuclear capabilities and developments designed to preserve the peace, their financial magnates are still pursuing a policy of war in the hope of resolving their crisis and panic.

In order to unleash this war, the aggressive imperialists are leading the bellicose and vengeful Ngo Dinh Diem feudalists. That collaboration has produced a cruel and insidious fascist dictatorship.

The revolutionary movement in South Vietnam must clearly recognize that the targets of the revolution are:

① The fascist, aggressive imperialists and the dictatorial, vengeful bellicose Diem feudalists.

This feudal imperialist administration is aggressively provoking war, seeking revenge and oppressing, exploiting, and massacring our people. The people definitely will not forgive them. The people definitely will smash them because righteousness is on our side and power will be on our side both at home and throughout the world.

The Requirements of the People and the Contradictions Between the People and the U. S. -Diem Administration

1. The aspirations for peaceful reunification and national independence.

The people of South Vietnam and the people throughout the country, after 90 years of slavery and after nine years of an arduous and courageous war of resistance, brought forth a great victory. At the international Geneva Conference, the participating states formally declared their acknowledgement of the national independence and territorial integrity of the Vietnamese people and stipulated that North Vietnam and South Vietnam, after regrouping their military forces for a cease-fire, must hold negotiations for free general elections throughout the country to reunify the nation.

THINGS
CANNOT GO
ON FOR LONG
TIMES

Thus, the Vietnamese people acquired the conditions for peaceful reunification in order to build independence and democracy for the entire country with free general elections for the entire country.

However, the U.S. -Diem feudal imperialist administration sought to sabotage and counter these requirements and the ardent aspirations of the South Vietnamese and all the people of Vietnam. The contradictions between the Vietnamese people and the U.S. - Diem administration definitely cannot exist for a long period of time. Surely, the South Vietnamese people must rise up in a struggle to smash the divisive and warmongering policy of the U.S. -Diem feudal imperialists in order to realize their aspirations because this is the natural raison d'etre of a nation and it cannot be otherwise.

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2. Democratic freedoms are the burning aspiration of the people who seek to guarantee their lives and property and to guarantee the material and spiritual lives of the people.

The people of South Vietnam are under the fascist, repressive dictatorial rule of the U.S. -Diem. They are tricking, deceiving, and threatening the people with the referendum farce, the election of a National Assembly, and establishment of a constitution with vague and empty slogans: respect for the dignity of man, promulgation of democratic freedoms, land reform, amelioration of the lives of the people, and so forth. But actually, when you look at the difference between their daily activities and their laws, you will see that the people of South Vietnam are caught under their bloody iron hand and militaristic policies. Military posts are everywhere. Secret agents are everywhere. The people are constantly being forsaken, attacked, shot and killed. The people are treated like trash. With their policy of threatening, buying off, deceiving, lying, and violent action, they have transformed the administrative apparatus from top to bottom into a dictatorship of the Ngo family and the U.S. imperialists. The army, the public security forces, the administration, the National Assembly, and the press are all controlled by the Ngo family, its relatives, and lackeys. They control the entire political, military, and economic dictatorship. All of the people must bow their heads to the wishes of the Ngo family and the U.S. imperialists.

Can the South Vietnamese people, most of whom took up arms and stood up and sacrificed everything during nine years of an arduous and heroic resistance war in order to escape from the yoke of slavery of the feudal imperialists, agree to bow their heads before that nauseating fascist dictatorial policy of the U.S. -Diem? Definitely not.

Surely the South Vietnamese people must rise up and demand their right to live. There must be a struggle of the people of South Vietnam against the U. S. -Diem administration in order to demand democratic freedoms and guarantee their lives and property and their material and spiritual well-being. It cannot be otherwise.

Moreover, a nationalist and democratic awareness is being vigorously developed at the present time throughout the world in the former colonial and semi-colonial countries, whether liberated or not. This is an objective historical event which is developing because of the victory of the socialist, democratic and peace camp throughout the world.

This situation is increasingly driving democratic South Vietnamese strata to resolutely rise up and resist the fascist dictatorial policies of the U. S. -Diem. These contradictions between the people and the U. S. -Diem administration cannot continue. The South Vietnamese people definitely will try in every way to resolve them in order to protect their own lives.

3. To earn a living, to have a living wage for the workers, not to have the land of the tiller taken away again, to lower rents, to lower taxes, to lower the cost of living, to provide protection, to expand industry and commerce, to have nationalism, and so forth -- these are the common ardent aspirations of the South Vietnamese people for improving the lives of the people.

Because of the economic and financial policies of increasing armaments and unleashing war, because of the U. S. aid plan, and because of the U. S. vassal, dictatorial regime, foreign goods are pouring in from the American camp and domestic goods are unable to compete with them. The products of the farmers are piling up and losing value. They cannot be exported. Because of the policy of heavy taxation of essential foodstuffs of the majority of the people such as rice, fish, meat, fish sauce, cloth, and so forth, because of the policy of constant inflation and devaluation of the currency, and because of the system of speculation and of competing for profit and position of those in power and so forth, commerce and industry at home have become bankrupted and are unable to develop. Workers are unemployed and receive starvation wages. The farmers are bankrupted and are forced to buy high and sell low. Taxes and debts are rising. Concern is mounting. Poverty and misery are spreading everywhere. In the countryside, the landlords are stubbornly relying on the government and trying in every way

to take the land back from the tillers, demanding interest on old debts, and threatening the tillers everywhere. In the cities, calls for help have rung out concerning unemployment and the hatred of all strata of the people is secretly rising. The miserable situation of the people, caused by the U.S. -Diem feudal imperialists, definitely cannot continue.

Moreover, the lives of the working people of North Vietnam is constantly improving; the workers are guaranteed plenty of food and shelter. The tillers have land. National commerce and industry is on the springboard of development. This situation is also strongly provoking the hatred and patriotism of the South Vietnamese people.

The economies of neutral neighboring countries such as Cambodia and Laos are also developing because those countries are not dependent upon the United States. This is making all strata of people clearly see the warmongering damages and the dependent position of the U.S. -Diem administration and causing the people of South Vietnam to become increasingly determined to combat the U.S. -Diem.

The ardent aspiration of the working people in the urban areas is to have work for the workers with living wages. The ardent aspiration of the tiller is not to have the land which has been divided up among the tillers taken away and not to have his rent raised. The common aspiration of all the working people is to have a lower cost of living by doing away with various types of taxes used to support the national defense and security [one word illegible] percent and the various other type of taxes piled on top, reducing the taxes on essentials, and combatting speculation and inflation.

The aspiration of the industrialists and tradesmen is to protect and help the various national commercial and industrial sectors and to have exports and imports based on the interests of the nation, the protection of domestic industry and commerce and on an awareness of developing a unified economy of the nation on an equal and mutually profitable basis with all other countries.

The economic and financial policies of the U.S. -Diem administration not only run counter to the interests and aspirations of the people but also severely conflict with the aspirations and interests of all strata of people. These contradictions cannot continue. The working people definitely cannot sit quietly and die of starvation and thirst. The tillers, who shed their blood for nine years in order to regain a few human rights,

definitely cannot allow the U.S. -Diem gang to steal their rights. A severe clash and struggle between the various strata of the people and the U.S. -Diem administration is unavoidable.

The revolutionary line of the revolutionary movement in South Vietnam is to resolve these three pressing requirements of the Vietnamese people and to resolve the four basic contradictions between the Vietnamese people and the U.S. -Diem feudal, imperialist administration.

The three struggle slogans of all the South Vietnamese people, particularly the working people, are the peaceful reunification of the nation, the promulgation of democratic freedoms, and the improvement of the lives of the people. It is the daily mission of each revolutionary to teach, propagandize, and widely disseminate these three slogans among all the people. In order to maintain and bring the movement to victory, the revolutionary movement has the continuing task of promptly and resolutely leading the masses, in keeping with the concrete situation at each time and in each place, to struggle to protect the rights of the masses, to protect lives and property, to demand freedom, and to demand the peaceful reunification of the country.

These three slogans are the requirements and aspirations of the people. However, not everyone is clearly, fully, and profoundly aware of his aspirations and not everyone is determined to stand up and struggle to achieve them. Without far-reaching and steadfast education and propaganda among the masses and without learning how to mobilize the thinking of the masses so that they will ardently and resolutely struggle on their own to achieve their requirements and aspirations, these slogans will not be transformed into strengths for smashing the U.S. -Diem fascist, dictatorial administration.

The Struggle Forms and Growth Potential of the Revolutionary Movement in South Vietnam

Having achieved a clear understanding of the objectives and requirements of the revolutionary movement in South Vietnam and having achieved a clear understanding of the position and target of the movement, it is necessary to have correct struggle lines and methods in order to be able to develop the potential of the revolution and bring the revolutionary movement to victory.

In order to have correct lines and methods, we must have an increasingly better understanding of the concrete situation in the world and at home and its possibilities. We must clearly understand the

*Part of Soviet
System.*

balance of strength between the revolution and the counterrevolution at the present time and its possibilities for development.

What Is The Present World Situation?

The socialist system at the present time is large and powerful encompassing nearly a billion people from Europe to Asia including the largest and most densely populated countries in the world such as the Soviet Union and China. The world is no longer under the single dictatorship of capitalism. It has divided into two parallel systems.

Socialist production methods are vastly superior to capitalist production methods. The proof of this is that the Soviet Union, which used to be an economically backward country, now ranks number one among the European countries.

The socialist economy, whose goal of development is to serve the material and spiritual needs of the people, has a peaceful, democratic, progressive, and mutually assisting and mutually profiting character. The peaceful, democratic, and progressive character of the socialist economy is in keeping with the requirements and evolution of mankind. For this reason, the scope of its relations with other countries, particularly countries whose economies are still underdeveloped, is constantly expanding. This is creating a vast area of peace and democracy which encompasses the vast majority of mankind. An example of this is the relations between the socialist camp and India, Indonesia, Burma, Egypt, and so forth.

It is unlike the economy of capitalism whose objective is to exploit the working people in its countries, to usurp the rights of small and weak countries onto the road of poverty and misery in order to make the small and weak countries slave to capitalism and grab up their interests for the U.S. financial magnate and capitalist group. Because of their nature as countries which grab for many interests and which compete against each other for interest, the capitalist countries of England, France, and the United States, particularly the U.S. imperialists, are trying in every way to annex small and weak countries and to unleash wars and struggles among each other.

That situation has made the imperialists increasingly isolated throughout the world and has more and more narrowed their range of influence.

INFLU'ES OF 20TH CONGRESS

On the other hand, the political forces of the movement for peace and national independence are constantly developing, encompassing billions of people throughout the world. The development of atomic and nuclear arms capable of killing on a frightfully massive scale is no longer a monopoly of the bellicose imperialists. The Soviet Union, the representative of the peace movement in the world, has more advanced atomic and nuclear inventions than the U.S. imperialists.

That situation has made the warmongers, such as the United States and England, realize that if they adventurously unleash a world war, they will be wiped out first. As a result, the movement for peace in those imperialist countries is also developing vigorously.

Recently, in the U.S. presidential elections, the Republicans, who presently control the U.S. administration, adopted the slogan of "peace and prosperity" in order to buy off the voters. This proves that the people of a bellicose imperialist country, the imperialist United States, also seek peace.

That general situation shows us that the forces of peace and democracy in the world are on the side of the peace and democracy camp. For this reason, we can observe that at the present time the world is capable of maintaining a long-lasting peace.

However, on the other hand, we must also realize that the imperialist economies are constantly conspiring to unleash war and that the danger of war still exists.

Based on the general situation in the world, the 20th Soviet Communist Party Congress made two important observations:

(1) All of the present conflicts in the world can be resolved through peaceful negotiations.

(2) The revolutionary movements in many countries at the present time can develop peacefully. Naturally, in countries where the ruling class has a powerful military and police apparatus which is employing fascist policies in order to suppress the revolution, the revolutionary parties must clearly recognize their specific situation in order to devise appropriate forms of struggle.

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15603 POSS'LY - BUT THIS
TURNS INTO REVOLUTION

On the basis of the overall situation and on those observations, we conclude that it is possible for all of the conflicts in the world at the present time to be resolved through the method of peaceful negotiations.

FIGHT TO WIN PEACE

Because the interest in and aspirations for the peaceful reunification of our country are common interests and aspirations of all the people of both North and South Vietnam, the people of the two halves of the country have no reason to start a war and have no reason to prolong the division of the country. On the contrary, the people in the two halves of the country are increasingly determined to take action against the U.S. - Diem scheme to divide and to cause war in order to create favorable conditions for moving ahead to negotiations, negotiations between the two halves of the country for the peaceful reunification of the country.

The present division is only caused by the arbitrary decision of the U.S. - Diem. Consequently, the fundamental problem is to smash the divisive and warmongering schemes of the U.S. - Diem.

As observed earlier, there is no other path for the people of South Vietnam to follow in combatting the U.S. - Diem except the path of revolution.

Therefore, what are the struggle lines and methods of the revolutionary movement in South Vietnam?

If the world situation can be kept peaceful because of the change in the balance of forces in the world to the benefit of the peace and democracy camp, the revolutionary movement can be developed in accordance with a peaceful line. Therefore, the revolutionary movement in South Vietnam can be developed in accordance with a peaceful line, too.

First, we must understand how the revolutionary movement is struggling for the peaceful line.

To say that the revolutionary movement is struggling in accordance with the peaceful line means that that movement has as its base the political forces of the people instead of the armed forces of the people in struggling against the incumbent administration to achieve its revolutionary goals.

MUST BE POLITICAL STRUGGLE

NOT NOT REFORM
MOVEMENT

The revolutionary movement, in its struggle in accordance with a peaceful line, is different from the reform movement because the reform movement relies basically on laws and constitutions in its struggle, whereas the revolutionary movement relies basically on the revolutionary political forces of the masses. Furthermore, the revolutionary movement is struggling to achieve revolutionary goals whereas the reform movement is struggling with reform goals.

Thus, can the line of peaceful political struggle achieve its goals in the context of the U.S. -Diem imperialist, feudal, dictatorial, fascist administration?

We must recognize that all efforts in each country are carried out by the people. This is a definite law which cannot be otherwise. Therefore, the line of the revolutionary movement must correspond with the tendencies of the people's aspirations in order to be able to mobilize a revolutionary movement and in order for the revolutionary movement to succeed.

The ardent aspirations of the South Vietnamese people are to maintain peace and reunify the country. We must clearly understand those peaceful aspirations of the people: The revolutionary movement in South Vietnam can be mobilized and can achieve success basically because it has the banner of peace which the people desire. Conversely, the U.S. -Diem are using fascist violence to unleash war. This is contrary to the desires of the people and, therefore, it is certain to fail.

Can the U.S. -Diem, with their policy of fascist violence, generate a powerful force in order to resist the revolutionary movement and extinguish the revolutionary movement?

Definitely not. The basic reason for this is that the U.S. -Diem regime is not based on any significant political force in the country. On the contrary, nearly all strata of the people are opposed to them. Therefore, the U.S. -Diem administration is not a powerful administration. It is only a cowardly, weak, and cruel regime. The U.S. -Diem administration, with its cruel, cowardly, and weak nature, not only lacks any base among the masses at home but also is isolated internationally. Its cruelty definitely cannot shake the revolutionary movement, and it cannot last.

The proof is that for two years now, the repressive gunfire of the U.S. -Diem has been heard constantly throughout the countryside, and there has not been a single day when they have not massacred patriotic people. However, the revolutionary situation is still strong and steady and the revolutionary base of the people has not been shaken.

Once all the people have resolved to protect the revolution, there is no cruel power which can shake them.

However, why is it that the revolutionary movement at the present time is not developing vigorously?

*Why not
develop
vigorously*

There are certain objective and subjective reasons. Objectively, we realize that after nine years of powerful armed struggle, the people's movement at the present time, generally speaking, has a temporary quiet which comes with the change in the movement from violent forms to peaceful forms. It is kind of standing still so that it can move forward later.

Standing still

With the repression and cruel exploitation of the U.S. -Diem, the revolutionary movement of the people definitely will rise up. The South Vietnamese people contended with nine years of resistance war. The cruelties of the U.S. -Diem cannot extinguish their struggle spirit.

On the other hand, in regard to the subjective reasons, we must realize that a large number of the cadres, the people whose responsibility is to guide the revolutionary movement, have not yet achieved a thorough understanding of the political line of the Party, have not achieved a thorough understanding of the political struggle methods, and have not followed the mass line because of the changes in the methods of struggle and the shift from overt to clandestine operations. As a result, the possibilities of development of the movement have been significantly limited.

*Not
understand
the
movement*

Presently, one of the primary reasons why the political struggle movement is not developing among all the people is that some of the cadres and masses do not realize that the power of the political forces of the people can repel the cruelty, oppression and exploitation of the U.S. -Diem. As a result, they still have a hesitant attitude and lack confidence in the power of their political force.

We must realize that every revolutionary movement has its ups and downs and every revolutionary movement has periods of progress and periods of retrogression. Basically, the cadres must clearly understand the developing nature of the movement in order to appropriately lead the masses in struggle. If they make the vast masses resolve to participate in the movement and resolve to struggle -- struggling from low to high -- there definitely cannot be any force which can resist the determination of the vast masses.

The political struggle movement during the past two years in the countryside and in the urban areas has by one form or another proved that the masses have a very considerable potential for a political struggle against the U.S. -Diem. If we thoroughly understand the masses in these struggles; and if we have a more thorough understanding of the struggle lines and methods in these struggles, the movement will be able to further develop, benefiting the revolution. The cruel policies of the U.S. -Diem clearly cannot extinguish the movement and cannot suppress the struggle will of the people.

Some people believe that the U.S. -Diem are employing violence at the present time basically in order to massacre the leaders of the revolutionary movement in order to wipe out the Communist Party.

If the Communist Party is depleted to the point where it is unable to lead the revolution, the political struggle movement of the masses will not be able to develop.

WIAAY ABOUT
COMMIST PARTY

Such observations are incorrect. How can the U.S. -Diem gang wipe out the leaders of the revolution when the leaders of the revolutionary movement are determined to have peace among the masses, are determined to protect and are determined to follow the mass line, and when there is no difference between the masses and the Communists. The U.S. -Diem cannot wipe out the masses, and therefore, they cannot wipe out the cadres leading the mass movement.

The fact is that, during the past twenty-odd years, the French imperialists resolutely sought to wipe out the Communists in order to wipe out the revolutionary movement of national liberation. However, the movement won out. The Communists were not wiped out but the French imperialists were wiped out in this country.

WORLD
LINE
INFLUENCES (?)

The fact is that for two years now the U.S. -Diem have been resolutely seeking to wipe out the Communists in South Vietnam but the movement is still strong and the Communists are still determined to fulfill their tasks. The revolutionary movement will definitely move forward and wipe out the imperialist, feudal administration. The U.S. - Diem will be wiped out just like the French imperialists and their feudal henchmen were wiped out.

We are confident that the peace line is not only suited to the general situation in the world but is also suited to the situation in our country, both nationally and in South Vietnam. We are confident that the peace will and peace forces of the people throughout the country will smash the warmongering and divisive schemes of the U.S. -Diem.

We are confident that the peace will and peace and democracy forces of the South Vietnamese people will repel the cruel, dictatorial, fascist policies of the U.S. -Diem and move ahead to smash the U.S. - Diem imperialist, feudal administration. It is one of the traditions of the Vietnamese people to use love and righteousness to defeat brute force. Since the aspirations for peace are the common aspirations of the people of the world and the people at home, including the South Vietnamese people, our struggle line cannot digress from the struggle line and cannot digress from the peaceful struggle line.

Only that line of peaceful struggle can create the powerful political forces which will defeat the warmongering schemes and cruel policies of the U.S. -Diem.

We are determined to act in accordance with our line and the developments of the situation will permit us to act.

Imperialism and feudalism are dying.

Victory is on the side of the glorious struggle of our people for reunification and independence and on the side of our great Communism and so forth. We are confident that we will definitely win out.

Lessons of History and Common Tasks

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Our task at the present time is to complete the national liberation revolution and the anti-imperialism and anti-feudalism revolution. Our revolution has only succeeded halfway. One half has not succeeded. The revolution is continuing. We must study the lessons and experiences which brought us success and learn how to apply them in the present concrete situation in order to complete our revolutionary task. The lessons and experiences of the revolution from the time of the birth of our Party to the time of the successful August Revolution are the most practically valuable lessons illuminating the path which we must follow in order to achieve the revolutionary goals.

Between 1930 and 1945, our Party carried out a revolutionary movement involving a long-stalemated political struggle. Sometimes the struggle was quiet and sometimes it exploded. Sometimes it was secret and sometimes it was overt. Sometimes the struggle was in the parliament and in the press and combined with struggles out in the streets and villages. Sometimes there were partial armed uprisings. The result was that in August 1945, in keeping with the opportunity of the revolutionary high tide, the political forces of the vast majority of the people from the North to the South rose up and overthrew the imperialist, feudal, dictatorial, fascist regime and returned independence to the people.

The successful August Revolution was no accident. It was the natural result of the revolutionary labor of all our people and Party.

What factors led to the successful August Revolution?

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The Following are Empirical Lessons:

(1). Without internal forces it is impossible to seize external opportunities

Our national liberation revolution not only had the nature of a revolution to liberate the nation as a whole but also had the nature of a revolution to liberate the working people in a small and weak colonial country. It would be difficult for such a revolution to succeed without a very favorable international situation.

What was the most favorable opportunity for the Vietnamese revolution during that period?

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POWER (CHINA'S
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It was when the socialist forces, the forces of the Soviet Red Army along with the Allies, defeated the fascist imperialists, i. e., when socialism and democracy were in a winning position and imperialism, generally speaking, was in a weak position.

The revolution succeeded relatively easily because our Party seized that opportunity and because the revolutionary movement followed that opportunity.

However, if there is an external opportunity but there are no internal revolutionary forces or those forces are weak, that opportunity will pass away without bringing forth any success to the revolution.

Therefore, first and fundamentally it is necessary to have real internal revolutionary power in order to promptly and effectively take advantage of external opportunities.

Why is it that a number of other colonies which had that same opportunity failed to have successful revolutions? It is basically because those countries did not have an adequate revolutionary force and, consequently, were unable to take advantage of a favorable external opportunity.

This is one empirical lesson.

Some of our comrades at the present time in South Vietnam, in struggling against the U. S. - Diem feudal administration in order to achieve complete independence and democracy and liberate the South Vietnamese people, only look at the international situation and only look at international measures. Those comrades have made a mistake. They do not clearly see the path of development of the revolution. Consequently, the revolutionary movement not only has been unable to develop but has even gone on the defensive.



Without real internal power, it is impossible to realize the revolutionary goals, irrespective of favorable external opportunities.

How is it possible to develop real internal power in order to be able to promptly take advantage of external favorable opportunities?

(2). It is necessary to have a revolutionary party, founded on the class position of the working class and working people in accordance with Marxism-Leninism, leading the revolutionary movement of national liberation in order to achieve success.

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When the Japanese fascists overthrew the French imperialists and stole Indochina, so-called nationalist parties, using the phony independence conferred by the Japanese fascists and relying on the power and force of the Japanese, cropped up in bunches. They too were independent and democratic and they too talked about patriotism, love, and dedication to the masses and to the people. They flew their flags and beat their drums throughout the urban areas and countryside. It seemed as if all of the people throughout the country were behind them.

However, when Japan was defeated and the revolution rose up, the so-called "nationalist" parties disintegrated just like bubbles drifting on the surface of the water. All of the masses from the countryside to the urban areas followed the banner of our Party and unanimously stood up from North Vietnam to South Vietnam to topple the imperialist, feudal administration and to return genuine independence to the people.

Why was this so?

It surely was not an accident. It was the result of our Party's revolutionary campaign carried out for fifteen years.

With its revolutionary political line of national liberation and determination to protect the interests of the working people, and with its great political pre-eminence, especially when it mobilized the guerrillas to establish the Viet Bac base, the Party made the masses themselves realize that our Party is the correct and loyal leader of the nation and of the working people. Because ours is the Party of the workers and working people, with its class outlook and Marxist-Leninist line, it has made a scientific analysis of our national liberation and national front lines -- the lines on anti-imperialism and anti-feudalism -- and, consequently, espoused the slogans of "national independence, land to the tiller, the anti-imperialist and anti-feudalist revolutions must be inter-connected, the national front must be based on the worker-peasant alliance, and unite with the national bourgeois strata under the leadership of the working class, represented by the Indochinese Communist Party."

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That correct political line of our Party determined the success of the August Revolution.

(3). It is necessary to build a deep and stable worker-peasant alliance.

After the proletarian revolution succeeded in the Soviet Union and the bourgeois revolution in China, led by the Kuomintang Party, had surrendered to the imperialists contrary to the interests of the Chinese people, and the Chinese Communist Party rose up to lead the revolutionary movement of national liberation in order to achieve a revolutionary people's democratic government, the Vietnamese revolution could no longer follow its old path. The spirit of national liberation and class awareness in Vietnam rose up. This was an objective historical event which could not have been otherwise.

The Vietnamese Nationalist Party only knew how to attack the West in its programs and did not talk about class interests. They maintained that it was a crime against the nation to talk about the interests of the various classes at home and, consequently, some of their leaders once asserted that it would first be necessary to wipe out the Indo-Chinese Communist Party before fighting the West because the Indo-Chinese Communist Party advocated dividing the land among the tillers and that meant dividing the nation.

They did not talk about class but, in actuality, they were only the representative of the interests of the capitalists and landlord class at home. They did not realize or did not talk about the fact that the rebellious feudal elements had collaborated with the imperialists and clung on to the imperialists in order to divide the nation and maintain their selfish interests. They separated themselves from the vast masses of people and, consequently, they failed and went completely bankrupt. They could no longer raise their heads up. The so-called "nationalist" parties during the period of Japanese rule were no different. When the people's movement rose up, these so-called "nationalist" parties all disintegrated and went completely bankrupt primarily because their reactionary and regressive class character had separated them from the worker-peasant masses and from the working strata.

Beginning in 1930, the Indochinese Communist Party became the only leader of the revolutionary movement of national liberation. It led the people in the successful August Revolution. The primary

cause of the success was that the Party, during the revolutionary campaign to develop the national front, had used the worker-peasant alliance as the foundation of the front, and, in so doing, developed a powerful and vast front capable of bringing the revolution to success.

Everyone who lived during the revolutionary movement realizes that the national revolution continuously rose up from North to South after our Party espoused the slogans: "The Vietnamese people must be independent, " "the worker-peasant class must be liberated, " "the workers are the vanguard unit of the revolution and the tillers are the main force of the revolution, " "the only way to drive out the imperialists is to liberate the tillers, " "it is necessary to drive out the imperialists in order to liberate the tillers. "

There has never been any movement as far-reaching and resolute from North to South in the history of the national liberation revolution of Vietnam, since Vietnam was invaded and occupied by French imperialism as the mass movement led by our Party.

The revolutionary ardor of the worker-peasant movement during 1930 and 1931 in Nghe Tinh /Nghe An and Ha Tinh provinces/, the far-reaching political qualities of millions of workers and peasants during the democratic movement between 1936 and 1940, and the unyielding character of the workers and peasants during the movement between 1940 and 1945 were necessary developments for mobilizing, organizing and political educating the vast masses of people. The August Revolution was one of the highest and decisive developments in the revolutionary mass movement.

The millions of people who arose to seize political power during the August Revolution were the millions of people whom our Party had mobilized, educated, and influenced during its fifteen years of political activity, primarily the working and farming masses.

Thus, is it right or wrong to compare the workers and peasants in the national front with other nationalist political parties?

The historical realities of the revolution proved that without the worker-peasant alliance there cannot be any revolutionary forces. There is no doubt about this.

Some comrades think that by clearly espousing the worker-peasant alliance, they are raising the matter of class and, in raising the matter of class, they are doing damage to the national front, i. e., weakening the national front.

That is definitely wrong.

During the resistance war, our Party, because it was also developing an actively combative national front, raised the question of land for the tillers. Because of this, millions of people worked as corvee laborers and tens of thousands of heroic fighters won victory at Diem Bien Phu.

The Lien Viet Front succeeded because it promptly resolved the matter of land for the tiller.

There can no longer be any doubt about this matter. Our comrades who are presently operating in the villages realize that the fact that land was divided among the tillers in a great strength of the revolutionary movement against the U.S. - Diem and a great source of help for our cadres. On the other hand, we realized that the revolutionary movement has declined in those areas where the comrades have not resolutely dedicated their efforts to the protection of the interests of the tillers, particularly the land interests, and organized mutual support and assistance in plowing and transplanting.

Some comrades, based on the statement "neutralize those who can be neutralized at this time and attract those who can be attracted," have been deceived by the landlords. They talk about the country too but mainly in order to take the land from the tillers. Comrades who seek to neutralize and attract the landlords act contrary to the interests of the tillers. It is incomprehensible to try to neutralize and attract a few people, who it is not even certain can be attracted and neutralized, while abandoning thousands and tens of thousands of people.

The statement "neutralize those who can be neutralized and attract those who can be attracted" is a flexible tactic. That tactic must serve certain strategic tasks.

The strategic task of our revolution at the present time in the countryside is to unite the middle farmers and poor farmers and make an alliance with the rich peasants against the feudal imperialists.

We oppose the landlords, but we treat them selectively.
~~Neutralizing and attracting individuals or small groups is merely a tactic aimed at part of the landlord class.~~

One half of our country at the present time has already carried out a land revolution and the other half has not. The sense of class struggle in the countryside is really tense. It is not we who are tense but the landlords.

Therefore, the class position within the Party organization and among the peasants must be developed and consolidated so that there will be determination to fight for the class and for the nation. This is the only way that the front will be able to develop in the countryside and the only way that the revolutionary movement will be able to develop.

Presently, there are millions of working people in the cities, particularly Saigon, and on the rubber plantations who are mired in a situation of hunger, deprivation, and unemployment. The labor movement is intense. A mighty political force is developing. This is the objective political situation in the cities which we must recognize.

The U.S. - Diem administration and their nationalist political parties are trying to control and monopolize the movement. They realize that their government could not survive if those millions of people awakened and resolved to defend their rights, clearly recognizing the rottenness of the country-grabbing gang and the country-selling gang who have made them miserable.

Therefore, the only way to develop the front is to have an awareness of the interests of the working class, to step up the struggle movement of the workers so that they will rise up against the U.S. - Diem, and to use the workers' movement as a foundation for enlarging the national front in the cities.

For this reason, we are definitely not afraid that talk about class will harm the national front. Only when the workers and peasants are aware of the interests of the workers and peasants and only when the petit bourgeois and bourgeois strata are aware of their interests will they resolve to overthrow the imperialists and feudalists. Among these nationalistic and democratic classes, the interests of the workers and peasants are perfectly synonymous with the interests of national liberation. Consequently, the workers and peasants are the basic forces of the revolutionary movement of the national front.

Only when the Party has developed a very stable and far-reaching worker-peasant alliance in a front, can it maintain and consolidate itself politically and maintain and consolidate its political pre-eminence. The reason for this is that the political position and pre-eminence of the Party can only be maintained and consolidated when the political position of the working and farming classes in the revolutionary movement is developed and this occurs basically when the Party learns how to raise the political pre-eminence of the working and farming class within the revolutionary movement.

If the political position and pre-eminence fall to the bourgeois class or to various strata representing the bourgeois class, the leadership of the Party definitely will be harmed and the revolution may be endangered.

Consequently, it is necessary to build a worker-peasant alliance not only because it constitutes the basic force of the workers but also in order to maintain the leadership position and the political pre-eminence of the Party.

The U. S. -Diem are presently seeking in South Vietnam to wipe out our Party and to smash its position and pre-eminence in order to crush the revolutionary movement. In order to cope with this, our Party must devote increasing attention to the task of building a worker-peasant alliance, maintaining the political position of the working and peasant classes, and maintaining the political pre-eminence of the working and peasant classes.

Because ours is the Party of the workers and peasants and of the working people, it cannot survive outside of the political movement of the workers and peasants.

On the other hand, the only way to develop and expand the national front is to develop the worker-peasant alliance.

The experience of the revolutionary movement in Vietnam has proved this point. Only when the worker-peasant movement develops vigorously do the various strata mentioned above take political action. The movements of 1930-1931, 1936-1939, and 1940-1945, proved this point.

We must develop the worker-peasant alliance:

- Because the workers and peasants are the basic force.
- Because the position and pre-eminence of the workers and peasants must be consolidated and developed if the political position and pre-eminence of the Party is to be stable.
- Because the only way to consolidate and develop the national front against imperialism and feudalism is to consolidate and develop the worker-peasant alliance.

(4). Developing, consolidating, and expanding the National Front.

Our Party has led the movement of national liberation since 1930 but our Party did not develop a concrete national front program until World War II erupted, and it was not until 1941 that the front form became clear.

In looking back, we see that the front content in the movement of 1930-1931 was more of a class content than a nationalist content, that the Party's front line only acquired a really full national democratic class content in late 1939 when World War II erupted, and that the front form only acquired a clearer nationalistic, i. e., Vietnamese Front, character in 1941.

Building and developing a national front meant deploying the forces in the nation to defeat the enemy of the nation and so forth.

The enemy of our nation is imperialism and feudalism.

Our national front exists in order to combat that common enemy.

Because of the tactic of concentrating on imperialism and dividing the feudal class, we espoused the slogan of overthrowing imperialism and confiscating the land of the anti-national elements and distributing it to the tillers.

The national front has the task of overthrowing imperialism and feudalism, promulgating democratic liberties, guaranteeing the lives

of the working masses, expanding commerce, completely liberating the country, establishing a democratic coalition government, and establishing a national army under the leadership of the working class.

Our front, which has a clear class character and which encompasses all democratic forces at home, places the interests of the fatherland uppermost.

Such a front is in keeping with the objective situation and progress of our nation. As a result, it is a front which was able to mobilize all of the patriotic, democratic, and progressive forces and to bring the August Revolution to success.

The construction, consolidation, and development of the national front is an important task of our Party at the present time in order to defeat the enemy.

Our comrades must clearly understand the experience relating to the development of the front.

We have occasionally been guilty of leftist deviationism as in the movement of 1930 and 1931 which caused the revolutionary movement to become estranged from its essential friends and allies, isolating it and making it susceptible to disintegration. Also, we have sometimes committed rightist deviations as Communist /SIC/ China observed with respect to the matter of the peasants and the land.

At present, our country is in a special situation. One half of it is already independent and one half is still under the rule of imperialism and feudalism. There are many advantages and there are also many complications with regard to the construction, consolidation, and development of a national front against imperialism and feudalism.

The platform and program of the Fatherland Front, in regard to its content and form, is very suited to the present situation for stepping up the revolutionary movement in South Vietnam against the U.S. -Diem in order to peacefully reunite the country and complete the independence and democracy of the entire country.

In order to correctly carry out the task of constructing, consolidating, and developing the Fatherland Front, it is increasingly necessary for us to clearly understand the following several points:

-- First, we must develop a tight and stable worker-peasant alliance as mentioned earlier.

-- Second, we must intensify genuine patriotism among the petit bourgeois, elementary, high school and college students and intellectual strata.

In the political struggles of the Vietnamese revolutionary movement, elementary and high school students, college students, and intellectuals have played an important mass-type revolutionary role.

Except for some progressive persons who know who is just and who is unjust and reactionary, the elementary, high school, and college students and the intellectuals in South Vietnam are presently at a crossroads and looking for a way out. Their patriotism has not been developed and they have not firmly risen up to protect their interests.

Therefore, it is necessary to have a propaganda and education program and a far-reaching attitudinal, theoretical, and ideological struggle among the elementary, high school, and college students and the intellectuals based on actual developments at home and throughout the world in order to make them clearly recognize the increasingly favorable development of the revolution and make them realize that the bright and glorious future of their material and spiritual life lies with the revolutionary front, the front for peaceful reunification and nationalism and democracy at home and the front for peace and democracy throughout the world, and definitely not in the front of the imperialist camp and of the U. S. -Diem henchmen which they usually fraudulently refer to as the free world and nationalism.

-- Third, it is necessary to build and develop a political awareness and combat aggressiveness among the national bourgeois and industrial and commercial strata in order to make them fully realize that they will not be able to protect their interests unless they actively rise up in a political struggle against the U. S. -Diem and unless they actively participate in the political struggles of the people.

The national bourgeois class is not a numerically large force, but it has an important position because of its economic and cultural position in the national life.

Presently, the resentment of the bourgeois strata against the U. S. -Diem administration is constantly mounting because the South Vietnamese economy is pressed in by the U. S. economic dictatorship and by the Diem political dictatorship. We must actively mobilize and organize them so that they will struggle along with the other strata of people for democratic freedom and a national, democratic-type government in South Vietnam, and so that they will join the people in struggling for the establishment of relations between the two halves of the country and for the peaceful reunification of the country in order to have complete independence and democracy for the entire country. This is the only way to protect their interests, and it is also the most glorious way for them to fulfill the duty of a patriotic citizen.

Moreover, we must win over prominent people and patriots to the front. They have the effect of motivating the masses and dividing the enemy, strengthening the forces of the front.

-- Fourth, we must tighten the solidarity with the various religious faiths -- the Cao Dai, Hoa Hao, and the Catholics -- both at the bottom and at the top, basically at the bottom.

At the present, the front has made many significant achievements in mobilizing and cooperating with the various religious faiths but there are also many shortcomings. Therefore, it is necessary to review the experience in each particular matter in order to develop a plan for achieving greater results in the front activities with the Cao Dai, Hoa Hao, and Catholics.

-- Fifth, seek the sympathy and support of elements and groups in the U. S. -Diem administrative apparatus, particularly in mass-type organizations.

The construction, consolidation, and development of the national front is a very important task in defeating the enemy. This is because the one who is strong in a fight wins and the one who is weak loses. That is natural. Therefore, we must learn to organize all revolutionary resources into the national front. The stronger we become and the weaker the enemy becomes, the more we will acquire favorable conditions for defeating the enemy. The front increases our friends and reduces our enemies.

(5). It is necessary to learn how to exploit the internal contradictions of the enemy in order to weaken the enemy, in order to create forces for us within the heart of the enemy, and in order to isolate the enemy.

The enemy cannot achieve solidarity and internal unanimity. The collaboration with the United States is not a collaboration based on equality but is a collaboration based on protection and enslavement. Because of that protecting and enslaving nature, subordinate elements of the U.S. - Diem administration, particularly petit bourgeois and intellectual elements belonging to the various strata of working people, have contradictions with the U.S. - Diem administration, particularly at a time when the national and democratic revolutionary movement is becoming increasingly stronger.

With the despotic one-man dictatorial nature of Diem, with the monopolistic aid policy of the U.S. imperialists, and with the unavoidable economic and financial crisis in South Vietnam, it is impossible to avoid conflicts between different elements and different individuals whether they are inside or outside the administration.

It is necessary to fully exploit these contradictions in order to divide and win over ~~those elements which are capable of progressing~~ so that we can increase our forces among the enemy and isolate the U.S. - Diem even from elements dependent upon them and even in ~~organizations dependent upon them.~~ This is an important task in bringing the revolution to success.

The experience of our revolutionary movement indicates that the internal contradictions of the enemy and the disintegration of their collaboration constitute an extremely important condition for the success of the revolutionary movement.

Our present situation affords us favorable conditions to actively and flexibly exploit the internal contradictions of the enemy.

Those contradictions are found in the villages, military camps, bases, and political organizations and parties of the U.S. - Diem feudal imperialists. We must thoroughly seek to understand those contradictions and to develop them to the advantage of the revolutionary movement.

(This problem will be treated separately.)

CONCLUSION

In order to maintain and step up the revolutionary movement in South Vietnam, we must follow the political line of the Party and we must study the historical experiences of our revolution.

On the basis of the historical experiences and the necessities of the revolutionary movement in South Vietnam at the present time, we can state that in order to maintain and successfully develop the revolutionary movement in South Vietnam, we must complete the following tasks:

(1). We must maintain the leadership of the Party and develop the political pre-eminence of the Party among the vast masses.

(2). We must develop a far-reaching and stable worker-peasant alliance.

(3). We must construct and develop a very strong and broad national front. We must actively disseminate the platform of the Fatherland Front among all strata of the people, even within the ranks of the enemy.

(4). We must actively exploit the internal contradictions of the enemy in order to increase our forces and isolate the enemy.

In order to develop the revolutionary movement, all of our Party members must have a minimum understanding of the theoretical base of the present South Vietnamese revolutionary movement.

We must use the aforementioned theory and experience in order to step up the positive forces, win over the neutral forces, and isolate the enemy, based on the revolutionary realities of Vietnam and on correct revolutionary methods.

Those methods, in the case of the revolutionary movement in South Vietnam, constitute the guiding precepts for our present revolutionary program. More particularly, in South Vietnam, in viewing the problem of "isolating the enemy" more concretely, these methods are to step up the positive forces, win over the neutral forces, and divide, win over, and isolate the enemy.

This is the only way to acquire favorable conditions for the peaceful reunification of the country and for the completion of independence and democracy throughout our country during the present stage.

The fifteen years experience of the political campaign of the Party from 1930 to 1945 indicates that we can, with our political forces, achieve our revolutionary objectives. We realize that although our liberation army is still in North Vietnam, the masses throughout the country, from the North to the South, have arisen to seize political power. Those masses are the political forces which our Party mobilized and assembled in the course of its struggles -- from the struggles for rice and wages for the workers, grabbing back the paddy for the people, to the struggles for democracy and the return of small freedoms to publish newspapers and magazines and to elect people to the city councils and so forth. With these systematic victories, we learned how to mobilize, educate, and organize the masses. The victory of the August Revolution was the natural outcome of those movements.

We can no longer have any doubts. The present political struggle line definitely can produce results and can achieve our revolutionary goals. Present revolutionary theory in the world has proved this and the revolutionary experience of Vietnam has also proved it.

Today, we are carrying out a political struggle movement under new conditions and naturally with new problems. However, we have new advantages in that our forces are stable in North Vietnam, the South Vietnamese compatriots have experience in arduous and heroic struggle, patriotism is overflowing among all strata of the people, the world situation is developing to our advantage, the enemy of our people is becoming increasingly weaker and isolated, and we have a strong legal foundation, the Geneva Accords.

We are certain to win because we are moving in accordance with the national evolution of the nation.

Under the enlightened leadership of Central and Chairman Ho and with the combat determination of all our Party members, we definitely will fulfill the proud Communist duty and return peace, unity, independence, and democracy to our beloved fatherland.