

# THE VIETNAMESE REVOLUTION

by Le Duan

Fundamental Problems and Essential Tasks

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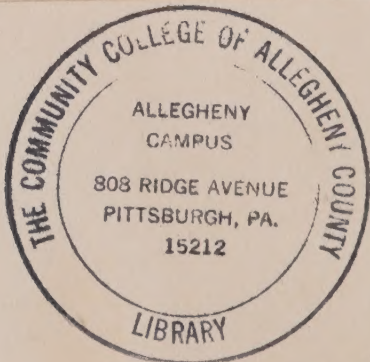


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The Vietnamese  
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# THE VIETNAMESE REVOLUTION



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*Fundamental Problems and  
Essential Tasks*

by LE DUAN



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## PUBLISHER'S NOTE

The present book consists of a report by Le Duan, First Secretary of the Vietnam Workers Party, on the occasion of the 40th Anniversary of the establishment of the Indo-chinese Communist Party, the forerunner of the party that now rules the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

This significant document reviews the entire course of the revolution in Vietnam, North and South, discusses the relation of the war of national liberation to the fulfillment of the revolution, and sets forth the socialist perspective in the North for the period ahead. It is indispensable for an understanding of the war in Southeast Asia and of Vietnamese problems.

The text is based upon the English version published in 1970 by the Foreign Languages Publishing House, Hanoi, which has been completed reedited for this edition. The explanatory footnotes have been supplied by the Editor.



## INTRODUCTION

During the early stages of the extended struggle to build and defend their country, our heroic people quickly developed a national consciousness and manifested an ardent patriotism. Under French colonial rule which lasted for nearly a century, they resisted servitude and repeatedly rose up in arms against the aggressors and the traitors. However, all these early movements in opposition to French rule and in defense of the nation eventually failed.

After the Can Vuong insurrections\* of the 1920s had been suppressed, the seething national liberation movement faced a serious crisis as to which line to follow. On the one hand, the French colonialists severely repressed and terrorized the patriots. On the other hand, they tried to spread capitulationist ideas and deliberately encouraged various reformist and collaborationist tendencies. The people were confused as to which revolutionary line to follow for national liberation. An acute conflict developed among the patriotic forces between two main tendencies: one arising from the young proletariat and the other from the national bourgeoisie. Each presented its own political program to try to win over the masses.

It was at this juncture that President Ho Chi Minh, with his genius and his revolutionary practice, supplied an appropriate answer to these pressing historical needs. Overcoming the limitations of the nationalism of the intellectuals and the bourgeois-oriented revolutionaries of that period, he embraced Marxism-Leninism at an early

\*Monarchist patriotic movement, also called the Scholars' Movement.

age, opting for proletarian revolution. He said: "In order to save the country and liberate the nation, there is no other road but that of the proletarian revolution."\* His first great achievement was to link the Vietnamese revolution with the international working class movement and to guide the Vietnamese people over the road he himself had taken—from patriotism to Marxism-Leninism. This was the only path to liberation, one that was opened to the toiling peoples and oppressed nations of the world by the Russian Socialist Revolution.

For the Vietnamese people, Marxism-Leninism was like "food and drink for a hungry and thirsty traveler." It pointed out clearly to the Vietnamese patriots the road of the proletarian revolution, stirring up a vigorous national and democratic wave throughout the country in which the working class became an independent political force. The combination of Marxism-Leninism, the most revolutionary ideology of our times, with the fierce struggle waged by the working class, the most revolutionary class and the close ally of the peasantry, and with the patriotic movement of the nation already at a high revolutionary pitch, led to the founding of our Party on February 3, 1930.

This extremely important event marked a fundamental turning point in the history of the Vietnamese revolution. The propagation of Marxism-Leninism in a colonial and semi-feudal country was the first necessary preparatory step leading to the insurrectionary period of the 1930s and then the August Revolution of 1945 which established the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the beginning of the greatest leap forward in the evolution of the Vietnamese nation.

The history of our Party and our people for the past

\*Unless otherwise noted, all quotations from Ho Chi Minh are from his *Selected Works* (in Vietnamese), Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1960.

40 years is a splendid record of revolutionary struggle. It is the history of repeated revolutionary upsurges and many heroic insurrections: the revolutionary explosions of 1930-1931 and 1936-1939,\* and the patriotic wave of 1940-1945 which led to the triumph of the August Revolution.†

It is the history of two protracted wars of resistance waged by our heroic people against the French colonialists and the American imperialist aggressors to complete the struggle for national liberation, defend the fatherland, and contribute to the great battle waged by the world's people for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

It is also the history of the two great revolutions of the present age: the people's national democratic revolution and the socialist revolution. Over the past ten years, these two revolutions, closely coordinated under the leadership of our Party and the National Liberation Front, have been directed toward common objectives: the liberation of the South, the defense of the North, and an advance toward the peaceful reunification of the country. Our people, under the leadership of our Party, headed by our great President Ho Chi Minh, have written the finest pages in the history of our nation, ushering in an era of independence and freedom—the era of socialism.

\*In 1930, after the aborted insurrection by the Vietnam Nationalist Party (similar to the Koumintang), the newly-formed Vietnam Communist Party initiated a series of urban strikes and rural protests which were mercilessly crushed by the French forces. The period from 1936-39 marked a resurgence of revolutionary activity in the form of the Indochinese Democratic Front (at the time of the Popular Front in France), which was interrupted by the outbreak of World War II.

†The League for the Independence of Vietnam (Vietminh) was organized in February 1941. The Vietminh waged a war of resistance against the Japanese occupation forces and the French administration. After the Japanese defeat in August 1945, the Vietminh seized power in Hanoi and set up a provisional government. The Democratic Republic of Vietnam was proclaimed on September 2, 1945.

Our Party and President Ho Chi Minh have given guidance to the Vietnamese revolution for 40 years, thrusting us into world politics as one of the first colonial and dependent nations successfully to carry out a national liberation revolution and win power throughout the country. Having overthrown the old colonialism (French), initiating the process of piecemeal collapse of the colonial system of imperialism, now our people are in the vanguard of the struggle against the neo-colonialism of the United States, the leading imperialist power and international gendarme. Under the leadership of the Party, our working class and our nation, as a result of their magnificent victories over imperialism and feudalism and their advancement of the socialist revolution in the North, are actively contributing, along with the peoples of fraternal socialist countries, to the historical process of change now taking place in the world.

The brilliant successes won by our people over the past four decades originate from the clear-sighted leadership of our Party, a party absolutely loyal to the foremost interests of the working class and the nation. Every step forward taken by our revolution and our people is a triumph for Marxism-Leninism, the invincible revolutionary doctrine expressing the truth of the new era. All our triumphs are an outgrowth of the invincible, militant unity of our toiling people and our entire nation struggling for independence, freedom and socialism.

The achievements recorded by the Vietnamese revolution over the past 40 years are closely associated with the progress of the world revolution in the present era of transition from capitalism to socialism. This era began with the great Russian Socialist Revolution, and was strengthened by the commanding victory of the Soviet Union over the German-Italian-Japanese fascist coalition and the splendid success of the Chinese revolution. Today, the overwhelming superiority of the socialist camp is the



decisive factor in the history of human society. The powerful national liberation movement, the intense struggle of the working class and toiling people in the capitalist countries, and the democratic and peace movements sweeping the world point to the ascendancy of this era.

On the way to realizing these glorious achievements, our Party and people have had to face innumerable hardships and trials. Under the Party's banner, many cadres and Party members and many civilians and fighters have given up their lives. They fought with the heroic spirit of the vanguard class and the nation, unceasingly loyal to the fatherland, to the cause of the people's liberation and to Marxism-Leninism. These examples of heroism will be forever remembered by our Party, our people, the present generation and all generations to come.

On this important anniversary day\*, our hearts are filled with infinite sorrow; our venerated and beloved President Ho Chi Minh has passed away. Our Party and our entire people feel eternally grateful to our great leader.

President Ho Chi Minh was the first to sow the seeds of Marxism-Leninism on Vietnamese soil, causing the Vietnamese revolution to blossom and bear fruit. He devoted much effort to training the elite cadres of our Party and much care and energy building it into a unified and solid whole. President Ho Chi Minh, the teacher of the Vietnamese revolution, the great national hero and outstanding international militant, founded, guided and taught our Party. As a result, our Party quickly became a new type of working-class party, one with a great wealth of experience and a splendid record of struggle. Every step forward by our people and our Party over the last 40 years was bound up with the infinitely active and

\*Le Duan wrote this document for the 40th anniversary of the Indochinese Communist Party, now the Vietnam Workers Party.

noble revolutionary life of President Ho Chi Minh. His work and the achievements of our people and our Party comprise the immortal epic of the Vietnamese revolution.

President Ho Chi Minh was the great leader of the Party and the nation. He embodied the close union of the principles of independence and freedom with socialism and communism and the ideals of ardent patriotism with genuine proletarian internationalism. He represented the essence of the spiritual values of our people during their 4,000-year history. In him, the best qualities of our nation are blended with Marxism-Leninism, the highest ideology attained by mankind in our times.

President Ho Chi Minh's life ought to be a model for us all. He set a magnificent example of steadfast revolutionary determination in safeguarding independence and sovereignty and in expressing a deep and humane love for the people. He was totally dedicated to the public interest, manifesting complete selflessness, modesty and simplicity.

President Ho Chi Minh's lofty mind and noble virtues will remain forever as a source of spiritual and moral enlightenment for us. His resplendent banner will forever show us the way to march forward.

**PART ONE**

**THE PEOPLE'S NATIONAL  
DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION**



## CHAPTER 1

### PROBLEMS OF REVOLUTIONARY STRATEGY

In the light of Marxism-Leninism, our Party from the beginning had a clear and complete conception of the necessary path of development of the Vietnamese revolution. Its *Political Theses* of 1930 pointed out that the Vietnamese revolution must go through two stages: first, the national democratic revolution; then, bypassing the stage of capitalist development, a direct passage to the socialist revolution. The ultimate aim of the Party remains the realization of communism. Guided by this program, the Party has worked out a concrete line for each period and has led the people through successive stages—each beset with difficulties, hardships and complexities—to the present glorious triumph.

Once the French colonialists had conquered our country, we lost our independence, freedom, right to live, and even our national culture with its heritage of thousands of years. It would be necessary to drive out the imperialist aggressors, liberate the nation, win back independence and freedom for the fatherland, provide the people with a decent standard of living, and restore their cultural and spiritual values. These were the deepest aspirations of all Vietnamese patriots.

But these national aspirations were thwarted by the imperialist aggressors in alliance with the feudal class. This collusion between imperialism and feudalism is the characteristic feature of colonial regimes. It is why the contradiction between our people and aggressive imperialism is tied up with the people's opposition to the

feudal regime, the prop of imperialist rule and exploitation. The anti-imperialist struggle cannot be separated from the anti-feudal struggle. Thus, the national liberation revolution must necessarily have a democratic content. At all times, a genuine national movement must have a definite democratic context, for any class wishing to regain national sovereignty or to "become a nation by itself" must satisfy certain democratic claims of the popular masses, the force which secures the victory of the national movement.

Since our country is agricultural, with 90 per cent of its population composed of peasants, imperialism relies on feudalism to exploit our people. That is why to liberate our nation, it is essential to liberate the peasants. In our situation, democracy means essentially democracy for the peasants. They desire an independent nation in which all who farm can have land and be free from the oppression of imperialism and feudalism. Oppression and exploitation by the landlords can be overcome only if imperialism, the defender and protector of feudalism and therefore the worst enemy of our nation and peasantry, is defeated. The freedom of the peasants from the tyranny of the feudal landlords and the granting of land are the basic goals of the democratic revolution; it also meets the demands for national liberation, for "the national problem in the colonial countries is in essence a peasant problem."

Emphasizing the national and democratic program with its two strategic slogans, "National Independence" and "Land to the Tillers," our Party has succeeded in organizing large masses of the peasantry around the leadership of the working class, as well as mobilizing other popular strata in the people's anti-feudal and anti-imperialist struggle. By basing our revolutionary course on an analysis of concrete class relations, it has been possible to divide the ranks of our imperialist and feudal enemies. We have related this strategy to the concrete

objectives suited to each period in order to concentrate our revolutionary strength on the most dangerous enemy at the moment. In all periods, the concrete objectives and political tasks set forth by the Party have been fundamentally national and democratic in orientation, closely bound up with the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal struggle.

During the war of resistance against the French colonialists after the August Revolution, the thrust of the revolution was directed essentially against the imperialist aggressors and their agents. Yet at the same time, the Party carried out the tasks of the agrarian revolution. When the war of resistance entered a most decisive stage in 1953, the Party mobilized the masses for a drastic reduction of land rent and for the initiation of land reform—an implementation of the slogan, "Land to the Tillers." As a result, the spirit and force of resistance of millions of peasants were intensified, reinforcing the worker-peasant alliance and strengthening the people's power and the National United Front. The fighting ability of the people's army improved tremendously and further encouraged all activities of the resistance. This drive decisively contributed to the great victory at Dien Bien Phu. The implementation of land reform during the war of resistance was a well-planned and creative policy of our Party.

At present, the invincible strength of the revolution in South Vietnam is due to the fact that the people of the South, whose ten million peasants are the bulk of the population, have been given genuine national and democratic rights by the revolution. The revolution in the South has imaginatively combined the national and democratic objectives in the struggle against the neo-colonialism of the American imperialists. Neo-colonialism is characterized by the fact that it is not brought about through direct administration by the imperialists, but through a

servile indigenous regime representing the interests of the feudal landlords and the comprador bourgeoisie under a "national democratic" guise. In these circumstances, the revolution must vigorously attack the puppet regime to smash the imperialist prop of neo-colonialism. By overthrowing the Ngo Dinh Diem administration,\* the people of the South dealt a severe blow at American neo-colonialism and precipitated a period of continual crisis for the puppet regime.

Refusing to accept defeat and stubbornly persisting in their policy, the American imperialists began to send massive numbers of American troops to South Vietnam in 1965 in the hope of salvaging the situation. But the Vietnamese people, far from retreating, resolutely pushed forward and directed the thrust of the people's war against the American aggressors while continuing the relentless attack on the puppet army and administration. Determined to fight both the Americans and their puppets until "the Americans quit and the puppets topple," the people of the South, encouraged by their victories, are sure to achieve their immediate and fundamental objective at all costs. This objective is an independent, democratic, peaceful, neutral and prosperous South Vietnam—the precondition for the peaceful reunification of their country.

While struggling together with our Southern countrymen to bring the national democratic revolution to completion, our people in the North, under the leadership of the Party, set about building a socialist society after the victory of the war of resistance against the French colonialists in 1954. This objective is a strict implementation of the first program of the Party. It is in conformity with the irresistible trend of national liberation move-

\*Ngo Dinh Diem headed the regime in South Vietnam from 1954 to November 1963, when he was assassinated, together with his brother Nhu, during the generals' coup.



ments of our time—the transition from the national democratic revolution directly to the socialist revolution, bypassing the stage of capitalist development. This is the only way to guarantee complete victory for the cause of national liberation, genuine independence, and uninterrupted progress and prosperity for people previously kept under backward conditions by imperialism and colonialism.

The socialist revolution which has been going on for the last ten years has reaped only initial results so far. But, these results are extremely important. They are fundamentally changing the face of the North in all fields—political, economic, social and cultural—and are turning the North into an ever stronger base for the completion of the national democratic revolution throughout the country. By building socialism, completely frustrating the American imperialist war of destruction, and fulfilling the role of a great rear area for the epic fighting front of national salvation in the struggle against the American aggressors our people are providing a vivid illustration of the greatest truth of our time: in the present era, national independence, democracy and socialism are inseparable.

Over 100 years ago, Marxism came into being with a rousing battle cry: "Workers of all countries, unite!" Later in the era of imperialism, when capitalism had not only become an intolerable yoke on the proletariat and the toiling people of the "mother countries," but had also clamped the fetters of servitude on the colonial peoples, Lenin called out: "Workers of all countries and oppressed peoples, unite!" This strategically significant slogan points out that in the present era the revolution to overthrow capitalism and establish socialism can only succeed through an alliance of the proletariat in all countries and the colonial peoples in a common struggle against imperialism. The battle for national liberation, inde-

pendence, and democracy fought by the people of colonial and dependent countries can only end in total victory if it becomes part and parcel of the world proletarian revolution in the advance toward socialism—the necessary trend of development of society in the present era. As President Ho Chi Minh asserted: “Only socialism, only communism, can free the oppressed nations and the toiling peoples of the world from servitude.”

Since the capitalist system is deteriorating, the problems of national independence and democracy do not rest solely with the people of colonial and dependent countries; they are also the responsibility of the communist and workers parties of developed capitalist countries in their struggle for socialism and communism. At present, the monopoly capitalists controlling these countries are forfeiting their national sovereignty and selling out to the American imperialists, the international capitalist organizations, and the supra-national military blocs. Meanwhile, they are intensifying the exploitation and oppression of the working class and laboring people in their own countries and are curtailing, even in many instances denying, all democratic liberties, though they are but bourgeois democratic liberties. For these reasons, the communists must now seize hold of the national democratic banner and march forward as Stalin had insisted they do.

The transition from the national democratic revolution directly to socialism, bypassing the stage of capitalist development, is the strategic line of our Party proven wholly correct by the realities of the Vietnamese revolution over the past 40 years, and by the world revolution as well. The victory of the Vietnamese revolution is a victory for Marxism-Leninism creatively applied to the conditions of a colonial and semi-feudal country.

Because of its correct line, our Party has succeeded in rallying around it all patriotic classes and strata, and

building a strong and large revolutionary army fighting for the liberation of the nation and the people.

The first crucial problem of the revolution is correctly and fully to assert the *leading role of the working class*. Because of its economic, political and historical position, the working class has become the representative of social progress in our time—the only class capable of leading the toiling peoples so that they may control their own future. Although it is relatively new and small in number, the Vietnamese proletariat is a resolute revolutionary class. In existence before the formation of a Vietnamese national bourgeoisie, it had hardly developed when it absorbed the revolutionary tradition of Marxism-Leninism and quickly became a conscious political force unified throughout the North, Center and South of the country.\* Because the proletariat originated from the pauperized peasantry, favorable conditions were created for the setting up of a firm worker-peasant alliance. Furthermore, the Vietnamese working class entered the political arena at a time when the repercussions of the Russian Socialist Revolution spread throughout the world and when the Chinese proletariat, after the treason of the bourgeoisie, had stepped forward to lead the national democratic revolution. This historical background added to the political prestige of the Vietnamese proletariat. It gave the workers the necessary strength and moral ascendancy which helped them win the preeminent position in the Vietnamese revolution, taking over its leadership after the failure of the Yen Bai insurrection.†

\*In June 1929, the Indochinese Communist Party was founded in the North. Then followed the formation of the Annamese Communist Party in the South and the Tan Viet Communist League in Central Vietnam. Under the direction of Ho Chi Minh, the three organizations were amalgamated into the Vietnam Communist Party in 1930.

†This insurrection had been staged by the Quoc Dan Dang nationalist party in February 1930.

President Ho Chi Minh declared: "The *working class* is the most courageous and revolutionary class which firmly and fearlessly stands up to the imperialists and colonialists. Armed with a vanguard revolutionary doctrine and the experience of the international proletarian movement, our working class has proven to be the most deserving and trustworthy leader of the Vietnamese people." Our Party's correct political course through all periods of the Vietnamese revolution has guided it from one victory to another because it holds firm to the standpoint of the working class and has a thorough grasp of Marxist-Leninist theory, the revolutionary doctrine of the working class.

Besides the proletariat which is the leading class, the peasantry is the most active opponent of imperialism and feudalism. The peasants make up the majority of our population and are the greatest force in the national democratic revolution. By following the lead of the working class, the peasants develop their great revolutionary potential to the utmost. The *worker-peasant alliance* is the basic condition insuring victory for the revolution. Since this alliance is a strategic principle of Marxism-Leninism—a universal necessity for all revolutions led by the proletariat—it is a problem which assumes particular importance in a country such as ours. Under the colonial and semi-feudal regime, our proletariat, though small in size, displayed a strength out of proportion to its numbers. Besides following a correct revolutionary course, it had won over an extremely reliable, natural ally—a powerful peasantry which expressed great revolutionary enthusiasm. Immediately after its formation, our Party was able to establish itself as the leader of the revolution, for it had succeeded early in building a worker-peasant alliance. The political prestige of our Party and its leadership of the revolution are absolute and indisputable because they stem from the invincible strength of the Party's grassroot support, the worker-peasant masses.

In the present era, a movement for social emancipation and national liberation can only be truly revolutionary when its core is made up of workers and peasants, when it matures as a result of this alliance, and when it is led by the working class. If revolution is the work of the masses, then in the conditions prevailing in our country a truly revolutionary movement must be one whose main force includes workers and peasants. This alliance provides a firm foundation for the party of the working class to broaden the ranks of the revolution to include other classes and strata with national and democratic aspirations. There can be no National United Front without the worker-peasant alliance. The people's democratic state born of the August Revolution reflects a broad national union, but it is first and foremost a worker-peasant power under the leadership of the working class. Thus, the people's democratic state could set about discharging the responsibilities of the dictatorship of the proletariat immediately after the basic completion of the national democratic revolution in the North without having to go through another political revolution. Without the worker-peasant alliance, one cannot bypass the stage of capitalist development and proceed directly to the socialist revolution. Similarly, the revolutionary army, which is a very important instrument of violence in our national democratic revolution, can only be a worker-peasant army under the direct and absolute leadership of our Party, the party of the working class.

The unity of the Party as vanguard of the working class and the worker-peasant alliance means everything. Of the factors insuring victory for the Vietnamese Revolution, one must give priority to the *leadership of the party of the working class and the role played by the worker-peasant alliance*.

Unlike the peasantry in other countries, the Vietnamese peasants never followed the lead of the national bour-

geoisie, which was weak economically and flabby politically. Their revolutionary fervor and aspirations went far beyond bourgeois limitations. Although the peasantry is highly revolutionary, it cannot lead the revolution, for it does not represent any distinctive mode of production and has neither an independent political position nor an ideology of its own. In our national democratic revolution, it can only join with and be guided by the working class. It is even unable to carry out the agrarian revolution by itself. In a bourgeois democratic revolution of the old type, the land problem could only be solved in accordance with the political aspirations and interests of the bourgeoisie. Throughout the new democratic revolution, the agrarian revolution must be carried out under the leadership of the proletariat according to its standpoint and line. Only then can both the peasants' immediate and long-range interests be satisfied. Only by uniting with the working class will the peasantry become an immense force. Similarly, the strength of the working class is greatly increased through an alliance with the peasantry. Furthermore, the peasants' power can only be fully realized in alliance with and under the guidance of the working class.

Our Party's political line reflects the stand and viewpoint of the working class and has fulfilled the peasants' eager aspirations and vital interests. Because of this, over the past 40 years, the peasant masses have faithfully followed the lead of the party of the working class, making the worker-peasant alliance firmer and stronger. The Vietnamese revolution proves that a revolutionary movement which adheres to the working class line of Marxism-Leninism and has a worker-peasant alliance as its main force is bound to triumph, no matter how powerful its enemies and how numerous the trials and dangers it may have to face.

Throughout all periods of the national democratic

revolution, our Party, on the basis of a firm worker-peasant alliance, has brought together all patriotic and progressive popular strata and has united all the nationalities and religious communities within the country that could be rallied. It has won over all forces opposed to the common enemy of the nation and has brought into existence a broad *National United Front*, which, by neutralizing many forces, was able to direct the thrust of the revolution against the imperialist aggressors and their agents. The success of the revolution is a result of the correct Front policy pursued by our Party.

Experience has shown that in carrying out the Front policy one must guard against and oppose both the Rightist and "Leftist" tendencies. The Front is a unity of opposites which includes various classes cooperating with each other on the basis of a definite common program of struggle. That is why one cannot conceive of a classless Front. On the basis of a principled line, one should view and solve all problems related to the Front policy from a class standpoint. There are classes with essentially similar interests and classes whose interests converge only to a certain extent. Each class, for the sake of its own and the common interests, joins forces with other classes within the Front. Moreover, the common interest itself is viewed by each class from its own angle. On account of the historical position of the proletariat, its class interest and the common national interest are the same. But for the other classes, their respective interests and the common national interest converge in some respects and diverge in others. For this reason, there must necessarily be a struggle between the viewpoints of the various members of the Front who represent different classes, even though the Front must strive to maintain and strengthen unity. One-sided unity unaccompanied by struggle leads in practice to the disruption of unity and the collapse of the Front. If one knows how to conduct a principled

struggle based on the implementation of a common political program, then, instead of breaking up unity and weakening the Front, one will have done the only thing that could strengthen unity and consolidate the Front.

As the leader of the revolution with a political line that fully represents the common national interest, our Party has naturally been recognized as the leader of the Front. The interest of the revolution and the nation require that one should constantly enhance and consolidate the leading role of the Party within the Front by firmly maintaining the Party's independent political line and organization and opposing all tendencies to downgrade and dissolve the Party in the Front. The key to the firm maintenance of the Party's leadership for a strong Front is the constant reinforcement of the worker-peasant alliance. Without this alliance as its firm foundation, there can be no genuine national democratic Front, let alone a broadening of its base.

The petty bourgeoisie in our former colonial country shows great revolutionary enthusiasm. In particular the various strata of intellectuals and students are fervently patriotic and eager to safeguard the nation's fine cultural traditions and to restore the noble spiritual values of Vietnam which have been degraded by the imperialists and their feudal allies. They are historically conscious and aware of the trend of events. Awakened and stimulated by the revolutionary upsurge of the workers and peasants, they have increasingly joined the revolutionary ranks and have played an important role in the people's struggle, especially in the towns and cities.

The national bourgeoisie, restricted by the imperialists, is also patriotic in some respects. It has made some contribution to the national liberation struggle. Present day capitalism, utterly outmoded historically, has displayed its odious reactionary features right on our soil in the form of old and new colonialism. Socialism is without a



doubt the inevitable trend of social development. Because of the historical advance of socialism, the powerful revolutionary movement of the masses, and the great achievements of the revolution, a certain number of intellectuals of national bourgeois origins—even some national bourgeois, their children in particular—have become conscious of the trend of the times and gradually have shown a fundamental shift in their stand by going over to the side of the workers and peasants and following the road of national independence and democracy of the new era.

Relying on the basic force of workers and peasants and in each period making an accurate analysis of the changes in class relations to single out the most dangerous enemy to defeat, our Party has applied extremely flexible tactics, successfully broadened the National United Front, and consistently drawn new forces into the Front organizations or into various forms of joint action aimed at securing an immediate concrete objective for the revolution. While carrying out the Front policy, our Party has never failed to *take the utmost advantage of the contradictions within the ranks of the enemy, dividing and isolating them to the greatest extent*. This strategy weakens their position and influence, increases the strength of the revolution to the highest degree and paves the way for its advance. Therefore, the problem of utilizing the internal conflicts of the enemy is strategically significant in the proletarian revolution.

The inevitable collapse of capitalism and its replacement by socialism will result from the struggle waged by the proletariat to topple it, and also from internal contradictions within capitalist production and conflicts in the ranks of the bourgeoisie which undermine this system.

The Leninist strategy of world revolution in the era of imperialism was based on three fundamental contradictions: between the proletariat and capital, between the oppressed nations and imperialism, and among the

imperialists themselves. After the Russian Socialist Revolution, a fourth fundamental antagonism appeared—between the socialist and capitalist systems. The development of these contradictions as a whole creates the relation of forces between revolution and counter-revolution on a world scale.

Communists never harbor any illusions and never wait passively for the contradictions within the enemy's ranks to work themselves out. Moreover, we are aware that in the face of action by the people, the hostile forces attempt to settle their differences in the hopes of "closing their ranks" against the revolution. But, Lenin pointed to a more fundamental truth: "Capitalist property disintegrated them, transformed them from allies into savage beasts."\*

Far from pinning our hopes on antagonisms within the ranks of the enemy, we are fully aware that the development of these contradictions and the extent to which they may be capitalized upon are in the last analysis determined by the strength of the revolution. The experience of all genuine popular revolutions shows that the stronger the revolutionary forces become and the higher the revolutionary tide rises, the more the enemy's ranks are torn by contradictions and are likely to split. Ultimately, the time comes when these conflicts have grown so exacerbated as to render impossible all compromise between the various enemy factions. This constitutes one of the unmistakable signs of the maturity of the revolutionary situation. The revolution then breaks out and the enemy's rule is overthrown in decisive battles.

The revolution in our country has always had a powerful imperialist enemy and on many occasions has had to cope with several enemies at one time. In such circum-

\*V. I. Lenin, "Report of the Central Committee, Ninth Congress of the R.C.P.(B.)," in *Selected Works*, International Publishers, N.Y., 1967, Vol. III, p. 317.

stances, our Party has applied creatively Lenin's shrewd observation: "The more powerful enemy can be conquered only by exerting the utmost effort, and by *necessarily*, thoroughly, carefully, attentively and skilfully taking advantage of any, even the smallest, 'rift' among the enemies . . . by taking advantage of every, even the smallest, opportunity of gaining a mass ally, even though this ally be temporary, vacillating, unstable, unreliable and conditional."\*

By taking advantage of the enemy's internal contradictions to divide and isolate them, our Party, while adhering firmly to principles, has used various tactics in a very flexible and clever way. Before the August Revolution, our Party took opportune advantage of the mortal conflict between the Japanese and the French to advance the anti-Japanese resistance for national salvation. After the Japanese surrender, it seized the opportunity and led the people in a victorious general insurrection. After the August Revolution, when the revolutionary power was still weak, we faced serious dangers created by internal and external enemies. Indeed, the situation could be likened to a "thousand-pound weight hanging by a hair." Under the leadership of President Ho Chi Minh, our Party pursued an extremely clear-sighted political line, rigorous in principle and flexible in tactics, which guided the nation through countless and seemingly insuperable difficulties. We would reach a temporary compromise with Chiang Kai-shek to be free to cope with the French colonialists, only to do the same with the French in order to drive out Chiang Kai-shek's troops and wipe out the reactionaries and their agents. Thus, we gained time to consolidate our forces and prepare for nationwide resistance to the inevitable French colonialist aggression. Those extremely perspicacious moves will go down in the history

\*V. I. Lenin, "*Left-Wing*" Communism, an Infantile Disorder, International Publishers, N.Y., 1940, p. 53.

of our revolution as magnificent examples of the Leninist tactic of exploiting contradictions within the enemy's ranks by granting concessions, while holding firm to principles.

The fusion of boundless loyalty to the revolutionary cause, strong determination to liberate the nation and the people, and firm reliance on the strength of the masses—in combination with our special political knowledge and skill—resulted in a creative and effective application of the strategic principle of capitalizing upon the enemy's internal contradictions so as continually to advance the revolution to new positions.

## CHAPTER 2

### PRINCIPLES AND METHODS OF REVOLUTIONARY ACTION

The victory of the revolution depends primarily on a correct determination of the general orientation and strategic objective, as well as the specific orientation and objective for each period. But just as important as defining the orientation and objective is the problem of how to carry them into effect once such decisions have been made. What road should be followed? What forms should be adopted? What measures should be used? Experience has shown that a revolutionary movement may mark time, or even fail, not for lack of clearly defined orientations and objectives, but essentially because there have been *no appropriate principles and methods of revolutionary action*.

Methods of revolutionary action are devised to defeat the enemy of the revolution, and in the most advantageous way, so that the revolution may attain its ends as quickly as possible. Here one also needs wisdom as well as courage; it is not only a science, but also an art.

Decisions over methods of revolutionary action require, more than in any other field, that the revolutionary maintain the highest creative spirit. Revolution is creation; it cannot succeed without imagination and ingenuity. There has never been nor will there ever be a unique formula for making a revolution that is suited to all situations. One given method may be adaptable to a certain country but unsuitable in another. A correct method

in certain times and circumstances may be erroneous in other situations. Everything depends on the concrete historical conditions. Lenin said: "Marxism demands an absolutely *historical* examination of the question of the forms of struggle. To treat this question apart from the concrete historical situation betrays a failure to understand the rudiments of dialectical materialism. . . . To attempt to answer yes or no to the question whether any particular means of struggle should be used, without making a detailed examination of the concrete situation of the given moment at the given stage of its development, means completely to abandon the Marxist position."\*

A method or form of struggle can be considered best and most appropriate only when it fully satisfies the requirements of a given concrete situation, is thoroughly suited to the conditions in which it is applied, raises the courage of the revolutionary and progressive forces and rouses them to action, permits a thorough exploitation of the enemy's weaknesses, and for all these reasons, is likely to bring about the greatest success possible, given the relation of forces prevailing at the moment.

As a result of more than a century of revolutionary struggle, the international proletariat has amassed a great wealth of valuable experience. If one has mastered the concrete historical perspective and has taken the peculiar traits of one's country into full account, then the knowledge gained about revolutionary experiences in other nations allows for greater revolutionary inventiveness in one's own country. While carrying on the struggle, our Party knows how to enrich its fund of revolutionary knowledge and develop continuously its imagination and skill in political leadership—not only by constantly assessing, summing up, and improving upon the experience

\*V. I. Lenin, "Guerrilla Warfare," in *Guerrilla Warfare and Marxism*, William J. Pomeroy, ed., International Publishers, N.Y., 1968, pp. 85-86.

gained in our revolution, but also through attentive, selective and careful study of the revolutionary experience acquired in other countries, with full attention paid to the specific conditions of the Vietnamese revolution.

It is a matter of principle that either in the daily policies or in the practice of revolutionary struggle, in whatever way and under whatever circumstances they are carried out, a revolutionary should never lose sight of the final goal. If one considers the fight for small daily gains and immediate targets as "everything" and views the final goal as "nothing" ("to sacrifice the future of the movement to the present"), then one displays the worst kind of opportunism which can only result in keeping the popular masses in eternal servitude.

However, it is by no means sufficient to comprehend only the final objective. While keeping firmly in mind the revolutionary goal, the art of revolutionary leadership lies in knowing how to *win judiciously step by step*. Revolution is the work of millions of popular masses standing up to overthrow the ruling classes, which command powerful means of violence together with other material and spiritual forces. That is why a revolution is always a long-term process. From the initial steps to the final victory, a revolution necessarily goes through many difficult and complex stages of struggle full of twists and bends, clearing one obstacle after another and gradually changing the relation of forces between the revolution and the counter-revolution until overwhelming superiority is achieved over the ruling classes. To push the enemy back and gain one success after another for the revolution, and proceed to the total defeat of the enemy and a complete victory for the revolution, is a law of revolutionary struggle.

Throughout the long road leading to the final goal, one should never fail to consider the concrete conditions of the struggle in each period. When and in what circum-

stances are the masses going into action? How are the various social forces aligned? What are the enemy's strong and weak points? How is he maneuvering and what are his aims? Lenin used to demand that the Communists carefully study and view with the greatest objectivity not only the situation at home but also all elements of international economics and politics, and the relation between all class forces within their country and throughout the world. Without taking full notice of all these factors of changing concrete reality, a revolutionary may at best perceive the ultimate objective of the struggle, but he will have no command over the means to achieve it. He will not find the ways, methods and practical means to reach that goal and may commit serious errors in his strategic and tactical guidance of the revolution.

Knowing how to win step by step in a judicious manner means that in various situations one sets the most appropriate concrete objectives and, on the strength of objective laws, directs the fight in such a way as to achieve the maximum success. This approach paves the way for further revolutionary advances and opens up certain prospects for ultimate victory. These steps have been taken in our revolution.

The triumph of the August Revolution would not have been possible had it not been preceded by the 1930-31 and 1936-39 movements, and the patriotic upsurge of 1940-45.

The greatest achievement of the 1930-31 movement—a gain that the subsequent atrocious white terror of the imperialists and feudalists failed to obliterate—lies in the fact that the proletariat, represented by our Party, asserted in practice the claim and ability to lead the revolution, and that it infused the peasantry with an unshakable faith in the proletariat. Thus the worker-peasant masses were inspired with confidence in their immense revolutionary stamina. The 1930-31 movement also exposed the adventurism, reformism, tendencies to compromise, vacil-



lations and half-heartedness of the national bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie, as well as demonstrating the sound revolutionary line of the proletariat and the huge revolutionary capabilities of the workers and peasants. Furthermore, it revealed to our entire people the extremely reactionary nature of the landlord class and comprador bourgeoisie. That first successful step was decisively significant for the whole subsequent development of the revolution. In fact, had it not been for the fierce class conflicts of 1930-31 in which the peasants and workers displayed extraordinary revolutionary energy, the upsurge of 1936-39 would not have been possible.

The period of 1936-39, in which legal and semi-legal actions were coupled with clandestine and illegal activities, seldomly occurs in a colonial country. When the Popular Front came to power in France, the Party viewed this event as a favorable occasion to push the revolution one step forward. It was able to utilize this opportunity because it had built solid and fundamental combat positions beginning in 1930. Acting upon Lenin's recommendation, "concrete political tasks must be presented in concrete circumstances,"\* the Party set as the immediate tasks for the 1936-39 period the struggle against the reactionary colonialists (not as yet the defeat of colonialist rule as a whole), fascism and war, while demanding democratic liberties, a decent standard of living, and peace. The Party was fully aware that these demands were by no means the final goals, that one could never radically change the social order through reform. Only by eventually smashing the imperialist and feudal rule through violence and winning power for the people would the revolutionary objective be achieved. However, Lenin himself said that without the democratic liberties brought about by the February Revolution of 1917 it would have

\*V. I. Lenin, *Two Tactics of Social Democracy in the Democratic Revolution*, International Publishers, N.Y., 1963, p. 72.

been difficult to start the large-scale mass struggle that led to the October Revolution. We may refer in similar terms to the effect of the 1936-39 democratic movement on the subsequent development of the August Revolution. The intense mass agitation during this period was without precedent under French rule. Through a variety of flexible forms of organization and activity, including our utilization of the "chambers of people's representatives" and the "colonial councils" set up by the French colonists, the Party mobilized and gave political education to millions of people, especially workers and peasants. The political struggles swept through town and countryside. They spread from factories, plantations and mines to villages and hamlets and created conditions for leading the masses into the new, fierce battles of the 1940-45 period.

After the outbreak of the Second World War, the French colonialists capitulated and offered Indochina to the Japanese fascists, putting a two-fold yoke on our people's necks. During this period our Party held that oppression, exploitation and war would incite the people to ever more vigorous revolutionary action; the revolution would inevitably flare up. On President Ho Chi Minh's initiative, it founded the Viet Minh Front to bring together the broadest range of national democratic forces. At the same time, the Party began building revolutionary bases, and the first armed units started a "fight the French, drive out the Japanese" movement, expanded guerrilla warfare, and extended the partial insurrections. When, as the Party had foreseen, the Japanese betrayed the French, it made a quick shift and initiated a movement to resist the Japanese and save the nation. This was a period of seething and vigorous mass mobilization in which political forces developed intensively in all areas—rural and urban, plain and hill-forest—together with the armed revolutionary forces. Widespread preparations were made for the forthcoming general insurrection.

The glorious triumph of the August Revolution was not only the result of the national liberation movement of the 1940-45 period but also the outcome of a revolutionary process fostered and prepared through the two full dress rehearsals of 1930-31 and 1936-39.

A revolutionary struggle unfolds steadily in all spheres of social life—political, economic and cultural. Hence, constant success in each area of combat requires the mobilization and organization of the masses to undermine the enemy's successive policies and thwart every one of his schemes and maneuvers. It is necessary to point out and attain at all costs every objective possible in a given period or during a specific battle, thereby impelling the movement forward and bringing it to a higher level. Nothing succeeds like success, and each success in a given field stimulates the struggle in other fields. Starting from scratch, the movement develops to ever higher levels, driving the enemy from pillar to post, consolidating its partial gains and relentlessly expanding the revolutionary battlefield in the direction of total victory. In the Vietnamese revolution, the movement toward the seizure of power shows the distinguishing feature of an evolution from partial to general insurrections. This is indeed an application of the method of "winning step by step" to the specific conditions of our revolution.

In short, this method expresses the unity between steadiness of purpose and a clear understanding of changing concrete reality. It is the art of dialectically combining firmness of principle with flexibility of policy and applying to the work of revolutionary leadership the law of development from gradual changes to "leaps." One must show boldness and determination in setting new tasks and devising new plans. One must be able to foresee, at least in a broad outline, the results of forthcoming actions and of all possible trends of development of the objective situation. In practice, new factors and possibilities keep

emerging, so that one must take them into account by changing or correcting actions and quickly working out new plans to insure that the strategic and tactical guidance keeps pace with the changing situation. Only then is it possible to pursue the fight without hesitation, a gradual process—interspersed with leaps, big and small, in the revolutionary movement and in the relations of forces—toward the crucial leap to final victory.

Lenin firmly opposed subjectivism and voluntarism, as well as all forms of political passivity. He required that the Communist parties work out their policies and tactics in such a way as to “combine complete scientific sobriety in the analysis of the objective state of affairs and the objective course of evolution with the most emphatic recognition of the importance of the revolutionary energy, revolutionary creative genius and revolutionary initiative of the masses.”\*

A revolution is not a *coup d'etat*; it is not the outcome of plots. It is the work of the masses. Hence, *the mobilization and rallying of the mass forces, the establishment and expansion of the political army of the revolution, is a fundamental and decisive problem.* This task must be approached in a vigorous and sustained way both throughout the period when a revolutionary situation has not yet appeared and the period when such a situation has arisen and matured. To realize this task, one must mingle and be active with the masses in everyday life, even within enemy organizations. One must keep abreast of the situation in the enemy's camp as well as ours, correctly appraise all schemes, moves and capabilities of the enemy, accurately assess all changes developing in his ranks, and at the same time be fully aware of the state of mind, wishes and potential power of the masses. In this way one can put forward appropriately incisive and timely slogans

\*V. I. Lenin, “Against Boycott,” in *Collected Works*, Vol. 13, Moscow, 1962, p. 36.

which will arouse the broad masses to action, direct them from lower to higher forms of struggle, ceaselessly heighten their political consciousness and help expand the army of the revolution both in scope and in depth.

On the road to the seizure of power, the only weapon available to the revolutionary masses is organization. The hallmark of the revolutionary movement led by the proletariat is its high organizational standards. All activities seeking to bring the masses to the point where they will rise up and overthrow the ruling classes revolve around this point: organize, organize, organize. The purpose of political propaganda is the organization of the masses. Only by organizing them in some way will conditions be created for educating them and building up the immense strength of the revolution. Once organized, their power will significantly increase. The masses are to be organized for combat. Conversely, through combat they are further organized and educated, and the revolutionary forces are expanded. Therefore, propaganda, organization and struggle go hand in hand and have as a common purpose the formation and growth of the political army of the masses in preparation for the decisive leap.

In every period, our Party has resourcefully organized the masses by all appropriate means and in all suitable forms. The Party knows how to interest the masses in current political events, big or small, and mobilize them to drive the enemy into confusion and passivity while building and expanding our own forces. Even when its activity requires the strictest secrecy, the Party has established varied, broad and flexible organizational forms to rally the masses for revolutionary action and guide them from lower to higher forms of struggle, thereby educating them and enlarged the revolutionary ranks. Always taking illegal action as its foundation, the Party skillfully combines it with all possibilities for legal action. In a given situation the Party may start an all-out drive

for legality. It does not deceive itself with any illusions about the "legal" road to power nor spread such illusions among the masses, but seeks to provide a broader scope for the education and rallying of the masses and to augment the influence of the revolution. At such times the Party must oppose indecision and timidity just as it must guard against and combat legalism, prevent the violation of its principle of organizational secrecy, and continue building and expanding the Party and the core organizations of the masses. If one does not guard against and fight legalism in time, this situation may lead to very dangerous consequences if there is a sudden shift in events, the enemy attacks the revolution, and the Party has to change quickly and completely to illegal action.

Organization and struggle, struggle and organization, again struggle—one battle leads to another. Once the masses have gone into battle, they will grow more politically conscious, and their experience will show them the truth and teach them which way to act—hence, the particular importance of *slogans*. The art of giving strategic and tactical guidance to the revolution while directing a struggle is most significantly expressed in sharp-edged and relevant slogans that keep pace with the situation.

One should not hold the oversimplified view that economic slogans are reformist while only political ones are revolutionary. There can be political slogans with a reformist character and economic ones that carry a revolutionary content. The question is: when, in what connection, and with what aim is a given slogan put forward. A genuine revolutionary party that is decisively devoted to the final goal of the revolution can in one way or another put the seal of the revolution on all slogans and all forms of organization and struggle, including minimally political ones that are necessary for rallying the masses in a situation not yet favorable for all-out revolutionary actions.

Throughout all periods and especially the period preceding the August Revolution of 1945, the Party has skillfully combined action and propaganda slogans to link immediate targets with fundamental objectives. A slogan relevant to a concrete situation makes it possible to arouse a whole movement. One vivid example is the slogan, "Get the stocks of rice and stamp out famine," put forward by our Party in the preparatory period for the August Revolution. It was issued at a time of terrible famine in Bac Bo and northern Trung Bo. It answered the most urgent aspirations of the masses, fomenting their anger and hatred and arousing them to advance with intense revolutionary fervor toward insurrection and the seizure of power.

A distinction should be drawn between propaganda and action slogans to avoid involving the masses in decisive battles either too soon or too late. Both kinds of slogans must continually be altered to conform to the evolution of the struggle. Action slogans closely connected with the daily effort must especially show extreme flexibility, even changing with each hour. As the situation develops, one must gradually raise the level of action slogans, and when the right time comes turn previous propaganda slogans into ones for direct and resolute action. It is dangerous for the revolution to lead the masses into decisive battles either too late or too soon. Under all circumstances, the most important and basic guarantee against blunders is a thorough grasp of concrete reality, both in general analysis and in every decision for action. In a revolutionary period, events develop very rapidly and intricately. Lenin pointed out: "The substitution of the abstract for the concrete is one of the greatest and most dangerous sins in the revolution."\* He castigated those who, at a sharp turn in history, fail to adapt them-

\*V. I. Lenin, "On Slogans," in *Selected Works*, International Publishers, N.Y., 1967, Vol. II, p. 179.

selves to the new situation and cling to old slogans which were correct yesterday but are meaningless today.

For a revolution to break out and be successful, a *revolutionary situation must prevail*. A revolutionary situation is the product of the combination of a series of necessary, objective and subjective factors. One should guard against the tendency to wait passively for the revolution, as well as the hot-headed inclination to "skip intermediate stations."

Before and after the First World War, revolutionary situations and the outbreaks and triumphs of revolutions were generally connected in one way or another with the world wars provoked by imperialism. However, one should not draw the conclusion that war is either the natural source or necessary condition of revolution and that consequently one should wait for war to start before making a revolution. A revolution is first and foremost the result of class contradictions that are exacerbated to the extreme in a given country. Formerly, when imperialist wars were inevitable, they had the objective effect of accelerating the revolutionary crises in various countries. Taking advantage of this situation, the Communists advocated the "transformation of imperialist wars into revolutionary civil wars."

The present international situation differs radically from that before and after the First World War. Today, the world socialist system and the forces battling against imperialism to create a socialist society are shaping the essential content, orientation and characteristic features of the historical development of society. The possibility of breaking the weak links in the remaining parts of the imperialist chain has increased to an unprecedented degree at a time when it becomes practically feasible to prevent a world war. The fundamental interest of the proletariat, the people and the nations of the world lies in *safeguarding world peace while promoting the revolu-*



*tion in various countries.* These two objectives are organically linked together; each is the premise of the other. Both are perfectly attainable once the Communists, thoroughly conscious of the strategically offensive position of the world revolution, are successful in setting up a united front bringing together all currents of the world revolution, all forces fighting for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism, and are resolved to crush all imperialist aggression, repel every one of imperialism's belligerent moves and schemes, drive it back step by step, destroy it piecemeal, and eventually overthrow it entirely.

The revolution in the South of our country is an example of a correct way to march forward. It proves that a revolution can still break out and be victorious in the absence of a world war, and even as world peace has to be defended. Indeed, the intensification of the anti-imperialist revolution, far from being incompatible with the defense of peace, is proving in practice a fundamental way to attack imperialism and thus effectively safeguard world peace. Conversely, the prevention of world war and the defense of peace is also a very important way to assault imperialism and create more favorable objective conditions for the progress of the revolution in all countries.

The South Vietnamese revolution also proves that a fascist dictatorship cannot prevent the outbreak of a revolution. When the puppet administration in the South resorted to the most barbarous fascist measures against the people, this meant that they had suffered a crucial defeat in the political field. An explosive situation was developing which would surely break out into a revolution, as it did.

The existence of a revolutionary situation means that the problem of the seizure of power is immediately at hand. The manner of winning power depends on the specific conditions of each country. However, under all

circumstances the only road to power lies in revolution, not reform.

Revolution is the climax of class struggle. It is always accomplished through a violent confrontation of the oppressed and ruling classes which settles the problem of political power. Violence may manifest and exert itself in various forms. In a nutshell, we may say, revolutionary violence must rely on two kinds of force, armed and political, and include two forms of struggle, military and political, and a combination of these two. The experience of the Vietnamese revolution demonstrates that in a successful revolution one must have armed forces in addition to political forces, and must know how to carry out clever military and political action according to the concrete situation prevailing in a given place and time. If the revolutionary forces, including the armed forces, are not prepared, they will not be able to resist the fierce onslaught of the enemy. However, the use of violence does not rest solely with the armed forces, nor does it only assume the form of military struggle. Political forces and political struggle are indispensable, for success cannot be won by military action and armed forces alone. It goes without saying that not all forms of political struggle are violent. The only actions that may be considered so are the *revolutionary actions undertaken by the masses outside the bounds of the state laws of the ruling class and directly aimed at overthrowing the ruling class and seizing power for the people, once the question of political power has been raised*. Revolutionary violence aimed at overthrowing the ruling class must necessarily be the *violence of the broad masses* who are oppressed and exploited. Under the leadership of the Party, they can display their strength and determination in countless ways. The best and most revolutionary method is the one that can create and organize those forms of violence most appropriate for the circumstances and can successfully

mobilize the power of the masses against the ruling class, bringing about victory for the revolution under the most favorable conditions. Reluctance in starting a military struggle when the need arises or engaging in such an effort under unfavorable circumstances is a serious mistake.

In the August Revolution, our Party creatively applied the law of violent revolution and insurrection to gain power. The August Revolution combined political and military struggle. It combined elaborate preparation of the political and military forces with quick seizure of the opportune moment for inciting the masses to overthrow the imperialists and feudalists. Originating and developing in the vast revolutionary movement of the masses, the armed units for national salvation and liberation, whose prestige far outstripped their numbers and the extent of their engagements, had contributed significantly to the upsurge of the patriotic masses in the period from 1941-45. After the Soviet Union's resounding victory over the Kwangtung army of the Japanese fascists had forced them into an unconditional surrender, the Party quickly seized that unique opportunity to launch a general insurrection. It relied on the political forces of the broad rural and urban masses in combination with the revolutionary armed forces, smashing the enemy's key organs in the capital and other cities, liquidating his whole administrative network in the countryside, and seized power throughout the country.

One must have a thorough grasp of revolutionary violence, build overwhelming superiority for the revolution, and unite the broadest masses of the people on the basis of a truly firm and strong worker-peasant alliance. At the same time, one must strive to divide and isolate the enemy to the utmost, cripple his power of resistance, smash the state apparatus of the ruling class, and establish the people's power.

Besides the preparation of political and military forces, a very important problem revealed by the experience of all revolutions is the *seizure of the opportune moment*. This moment may be brought about either by revolutionary forces at home or by conditions abroad. Without sufficient revolutionary forces, it is impossible either to create a favorable opportunity or to take timely advantage of one should it develop. Therefore, it is crucial to exert a sustained effort to tip the scales in our favor and achieve decisive superiority regarding both the position and strength of the revolution. When will the fire of the revolution flare up? What spark will set off the powder keg? Once the revolution has acquired firm position and strength, and the enemy has been driven to the wall, the daily political and social life will supply us with every favorable opportunity and circumstance to encourage a great movement. The decision only depends on the leaders' perspicacity and political ability. Lenin remarked that history as a whole, and the history of revolutions in particular, is always richer in content, more varied, multi-form, lively and ingenious, than is imagined by even the best parties and the most class-conscious vanguards of the most advanced classes. In the course of the revolution, it often suffices that the leaders fully possess a fundamental orientation, certain basic factors and conditions, and the boldness to act. As action evolves, possibilities and trends of development will reveal themselves. The boundless creative power of the masses who make history will provide us with the orientation and methods for solving all practical problems.

## CHAPTER 3

### THE REVOLUTION IN SOUTH VIETNAM AND THE PEOPLE'S WAR FOR NATIONAL SALVATION AGAINST U.S. AGGRESSION

Immediately after winning power throughout the country, our people engaged in a war of resistance against the French colonialists who, with the help of the American interventionists, again invaded our land. This first patriotic war of resistance was a continuation of the August Revolution. It was a war for the liberation of the nation and the defense of the fatherland, waged under the leadership of the working class and our Party, which had a correct political and military line. This line advocated an all-out protracted war fought by the entire people that depended mainly on our own forces. It favored a combination of the powerful political forces of the revolutionary masses with the armed forces. The political forces served as a foundation on which to set up and expand the people's armed forces, whose three types of troops were the core of the entire people's resistance to the enemy. Armed combat was the main form of struggle. To a certain extent, it was combined with political struggle in areas behind the enemy lines. Great attention was also paid to the fight on the economic front. Thus, we were able to bring into full play our people's absolute political and moral superiority. Simultaneously, we made the most of the favorable conditions of this new era to overcome the difficulties and weaknesses of a small country, with a backward agricultural economy and scant armed forces,

that was initially surrounded by imperialism. Finally after nine years of great and glorious struggle, our armed forces and people defeated a professional army of aggression, nearly half a million strong, of a powerful imperialist country.

The most outstanding exploit in the epic of this prodigious people's war was the great battle of Dien Bien Phu. It will go down in national history as a Bach Dang, a Chi Lang, and a Dong Da of the 20th century.\* It will be recorded in world history as a brilliant victory which breached the citadel of the imperialist system of colonial servitude.

The revolution in South Vietnam has incorporated the experience gained in the August Revolution and the war of resistance against French aggression and applied it to new conditions.

Between late 1959 and early 1960, the oppressive regime of the South sank into deep crisis. Although the regime was still relatively strong in the cities and towns, the enemy was no longer able to exercise his ordinary rule over the people in the vast rural areas. The puppet administrative apparatus grew weak and impotent at the base in one section after another. The popular masses, especially the peasants, were boiling over with revolutionary fervor and were determined and ready to engage in mortal struggle with the enemy. Conditions were ripe for rousing the rural masses to stage *partial insurrections* and smash the weakest link in the enemy's administrative system.

The "concerted uprisings" which broke out in this period were an important leap which shifted the revolution to an offensive position and expanded the revolutionary upsurge throughout South Vietnam. The new offensive

\*Three brilliant and decisive victories of the Vietnamese people over foreign invaders in the 13th, 15th and 18th centuries, respectively.

combined armed combat with political action. As the revolution developed into a fierce war, the military struggle increased daily, assuming a more important role. A military defeat of the enemy is indispensable for the victory of the resistance and the revolution. *Armed struggle is a fundamental form of struggle that makes a direct and decisive contribution to the annihilation of the enemy's military forces and thereby to thwarting all his political and military schemes.* However, it is always closely coordinated with the political action which assists the masses in their continued uprisings, undermines the enemy's control, secures and maintains sovereignty for the people, and impells the revolution forward. Together with military struggle, *political struggle by the masses is also a fundamental form of struggle with a decisive effect on the success of the revolution in the South throughout all its stages.* The political forces not only serve as a foundation for the armed forces but also form an organized political army of the masses. This army is the nucleus which directs the political struggle against the enemy in areas under his control, including places where his military, political and economic forces are concentrated. *The coordination of military with political struggle is the fundamental form of revolutionary violence in the South. The combination of the two is the fundamental rule of revolutionary methods.* These two extremely effective prongs of attack produce an immense aggregate strength. They multiply severalfold the fighting forces of our 14 million countrymen in the South and enable them to upset every military and political scheme or operation of the Americans and their puppets, threatening and eventually breaking their aggressive will.

While practicing these two fundamental forms of struggle, the Southern people have also strongly encouraged *political work among enemy troops* to enlighten the soldiers in the American army of aggression and

especially those of the puppet regime, attempting to win the latter over to the side of the revolution and to frustrate the American imperialists' perfidious policy of "using Vietnamese to fight Vietnamese." This is also a strategic prong of attack, a fundamental form of revolutionary work in South Vietnam. It is an implementation of the slogan, "Workers, peasants and soldiers, unite," to overthrow neo-colonialist rule and defeat the aggressive war of the American imperialists.

*The combination of mass uprisings and revolutionary warfare* is the process of development of the revolution in South Vietnam. Initiated by partial uprisings in the rural areas, these mass uprisings vigorously developed through several stages, closely coordinated with the revolutionary war. They enlarged the people's field of action, built up their forces, expanded the revolutionary war and gave it ever-wider prestige. Conversely, the more the revolutionary war developed, the more favorable conditions it created for the outbreak and spreading of insurrections. The period of the general offensive and the "concerted uprisings" which began on Tet of the year Mau Than (Spring 1968) was the natural outcome of the revolutionary process in South Vietnam, the peak of combined military and political struggle.

*A correct assessment of the strategic position of the hill-forest, plain and urban areas* is a problem of central significance in the South Vietnamese revolution. The combination of military struggle with political struggle, and combat actions with mass uprisings will vary according to the specific features of each area and the stage of development of the revolution. "*Attack the enemy in all three strategic areas*" is an original guideline for the methods used in the revolution in the South. This guideline is a result of the summation of, and improvement upon, the long experience gained in the Vietnamese revolution. A survey of the whole process of development



indicates that the Vietnamese revolution constantly relies on the workers and peasants as its main forces and pays great attention to the revolutionary movement in both town and countryside. Strong bases are built in the hill-forest and plains areas at the same time as footholds are gained in the cities and insurrections are staged in both urban and rural regions.

In brief, the most salient features of the revolutionary methods used in South Vietnam are: *partial insurrections; a combination of military and political struggle; attacks against the enemy coordinating military operations, political action, and agitation and propaganda work among his troops; coordination of mass uprisings with revolutionary warfare; and striking the enemy in all three strategic areas.* These are not rigid and unconnected formulas but are forms and modes of struggle which are extremely flexible, vivid and organically linked. It is precisely these revolutionary methods which have fully developed the strength, intelligence and creative power of the millions of popular masses. They always know how to act on the offensive, preserve and build up their forces, and carry on a protracted struggle, while exerting every effort to create favorable opportunities, win even greater successes, and eventually inflict total defeat on the enemy.

As in our previous war of resistance against the French colonialists, the present war of resistance for national salvation against American aggression is a highly developed *people's war*.

In the *North* we carried out a war of self-defense against air and naval destruction of unprecedented scope unleashed by the American aggressors. After four years of extremely valiant fighting, our armed forces and people completely defeated them—a new and meaningful advance for the people's war fought by our nation.

This victory was very significant since it firmly preserved the socialist North (the great rear base of the

nationwide revolution), reversed an important operation in the savage aggressive war of the American imperialists, and dealt a stiff blow to their belligerent will. This victory proved that the line put forward by our Party—a war of resistance fought by the entire people, national defense shouldered by the entire people, and a readjustment of the economy—was completely sound. It brought out the great vitality of our fine socialist regime, the inexhaustible strength of the people's democratic power in the North, and the unquestionable determination and revolutionary heroism of our armed forces and people to resist American aggression and save the country.

As President Ho Chi Minh pointed out in his Appeal of November 3, 1968: "This is the victory of our Party's correct revolutionary line, the victory of our people's ardent patriotism, strong unity and determination to fight and win, the victory of our fine socialist regime. It is the common achievement of the armed forces and people in both North and South zones of our country. It is also an accomplishment for the people of the fraternal and friendly countries of the five continents."

The people's war in the *South* is a revolutionary war, a war of liberation fought against a typical "special war" and the largest, most barbarous "limited war" ever executed by the American imperialists. The line followed by the people's war now being fought in the South under the sound leadership of the National Liberation Front is based on the just character of this war and the profoundly popular nature of the revolution. It rests upon the fervent patriotism and thorough revolutionary spirit of the people in the South, who are determined to defend and exercise their sacred national rights violated by the American imperialists and their lackies. It has thoroughly and imaginatively applied the military science of Marxism-Leninism and the invaluable experience gained by the fraternal socialist countries to the conditions of our

country. It has inherited and elevated to a very high level the extremely rich experience of nationwide insurrection and people's war during the Vietnamese revolution, together with our nation's glorious traditions of national resistance to foreign aggression and the military skills of our forefathers.

The people's war in the South is a war "for the people and by the people." It is an all-sided war waged by the entire people at a very high level, based on the general laws governing revolutionary methods in the South. It is a war comprising both military combat and political action originating from a mass insurrectional movement. *It is consistently inspired by an offensive strategy* which has guided the revolution in South Vietnam ever since it switched to the offensive during the upsurge of "concerted uprisings" in the years 1959-60. The offensive position of the revolutionary war in the South in the period of fighting against the "special war" *was based on the absolute political and moral superiority and overwhelming strength of the revolutionary masses.* The masses were determined to stand up and engage in a life-and-death struggle with the aggressors and traitors to regain their right to live. Firmly held, this offensive strategy was raised to higher forms and evolved from a local to a total character because of the increasingly powerful blows dealt by the military and political units. Confronted with the "limited war," an offensive "posture" depends on *the deployment of our military and political forces throughout all strategic areas of the battlefield,* thus providing the armed forces and the people of the South with strong combat positions and ample power to maintain their initiative and continue their attacks after the defeat of the American imperialists' "special war." The general evolution of this revolutionary war reveals a constant application of an offensive strategy—a chain of grim, repeatedly fiercer and more developed assaults which

alternate gradual steps with leaps. Under certain circumstances, this process may take on a defensive character, but this is only a temporary tactical move to clear the way for a continuation of the offensive. With this offensive strategy, the armed forces and people of the South have foiled the neo-colonialist policy of the American imperialists, overthrown the fascist dictatorship of Ngo Dinh Diem, and defeated the Americans in their "special war." At present, they are overwhelming the American "limited war," the highest level of U.S. escalation.

The offensive strategy of the people's war in the South is based on a war of resistance fought by the entire people on the strength of both political and military forces. It prescribes using both forms of struggle, attacking the enemy in all three strategic areas, coordinating the combat actions of the three types of armed forces with uprisings by the revolutionary masses, and striking at the enemy while striving to win sovereignty. The latter facilitates the destruction of the enemy's forces which in turn consolidates popular sovereignty. An offensive strategy further requires constantly maintaining the initiative over the enemy, attacking him over the entire battlefield, and driving him into a passive position so that all he can do is attempt to cope with whatever way of fighting we choose to employ. Thus, his troops are thinly spread, surrounded, cut up and subjected to relentless pressure.

The offensive potential of the people's war in South Vietnam depends on a correct appraisal of the peculiar features and trend of development of the relations of forces between the Southern armed forces and the people on one hand, and the American imperialists and their agents on the other. Although strong in numbers and technical means, the enemy suffers from basic weaknesses which are beyond improvement. Moreover, in spite of shortcomings, the Southern armed forces and people

possess fundamental strong points which they know how to use against the enemy's weaknesses to win the initiative and increase greatly their striking power.

The application of an offensive strategy requires the successful solution of a whole series of problems of military art, tactics and combat methods. The armed forces and people of the South have devised many appropriate fighting methods which are highly original, flexible, varied and effective in inflicting bitter losses on the enemy while keeping ours to a minimum. Guerrilla operations by regional troops, people's militia and self-defense corps are combined with concentrated attacks by main-force units. The coordination of small, medium and large actions raises the level of wholesale destruction of enemy forces while ceaselessly consolidating and expanding the people's sovereignty in all three areas. The high quality of the revolutionary armed forces overcomes the enemy's numbers and creates advantageous conditions for successfully defeating large and well-equipped enemy units with small and poorly-equipped detachments. The revolutionary forces strike with hard, bold, clever, secret and sudden blows by sometimes using only one kind of military force, and other times coordinating the actions of several units to strike at the enemy's vital organs (his "brain" and his "throat") and achieve devastating combat efficiency. Resolute and boldly initiated attacks impose our own way of fighting on the enemy and prevent him from utilizing his strong points; his tactics are rendered impotent and patchy, and his reactions and defenses are made ineffective. Other fighting tactics require the coordination of several methods and forms of destructive attacks, the utilization of all forces, weapons and war means available, an adaptability to terrain and weather, the execution of attacks against the enemy in all kinds of situations whether he is advancing or retreating, and the carrying out of assaults in all kind of places and cir-

cumstances whether he is weak and off guard or strong and prepared.

All these tactics and combat methods are a product of the dynamism, intelligence and inventiveness of the cadres and fighters of the Liberation Army, and the heroic people of the South. They are men and women inspired by ardent patriotism and a profound national and class consciousness, who are not only daring and determined to fight, but who also know how to fight and win in the most advantageous way.

The strategic guideline of the people's war in South Vietnam calls for a *protracted war, gaining strength as one fights*. This law has governed our people's war for national liberation and the defense of the fatherland over the past quarter century. In the present liberation war, the armed forces and people of the South are facing American imperialism (the leading imperialist power), operating with a large army, modern equipment, and a military and economic potential many times our own. That is why we need time to gradually destroy and weaken its forces, limit its strong points and aggravate its weaknesses, foster and develop our armed and political forces, turn the struggle to our favor with each passing day, and exhaust the enemy's forces and augment our own as we fight and gain greater successes.

Protracted warfare entails an attack on the enemy commencing with small actions and developing into ever bigger ones so as to push him back step by step, frustrate his successive strategic schemes, and ultimately defeat him completely. In such a drawn-out struggle, we must know how to fully exert ourselves while taking complete advantage of every favorable objective condition. It is necessary to exacerbate the enemy's weaknesses and skillfully exploit them. We must be able to give our forces accurate and effective strategic guidance, follow the right orientation, choose the right target and the opportune

moment, strike with hard crippling blows, and win substantial military successes. It is also important to combine military struggle with political action and armed assaults with popular uprisings. Only then can we make very important advances which will change the relation of forces and the face of the war.

Such advances occurred during the liberation war in South Vietnam with the Binh Gia campaign of Winter 1964-Spring 1965, the opening of the Tri-Thien front [near the 17th parallel] in 1967, and the general offensive and "concerted uprisings" in Tet of the year Mau Than (1968). Such forward strides prove that the armed forces and people of the South have followed the right direction, cleverly combined small, medium and large engagements, and coordinated continuous and protracted fighting with bold and sudden lightning blows. On the basis of a persistent, drawn-out struggle, they have exerted every effort to create and utilize advantageously all favorable opportunities for achieving ever greater success.

Another important guideline in the conduct of the war in the South is *the combination of destroying the enemy's vital forces with winning and maintaining sovereignty for the people. The people's control makes it possible to eradicate the enemy forces. These successes, in turn, facilitate the ceaseless expansion and consolidation of popular sovereignty.*

Certainly, in any war victory demands the destruction of the enemy's armed forces. But there are many ways to achieve this end. The choice of combat methods is based on strategic thought and is connected with the character of the war, the objectives of combat action, the size of the battlefield, and other factors.

The people's war in South Vietnam is a revolutionary war growing out of a mass insurrectional movement to overthrow the rule of the American imperialists and their lackies. During the war, both combat actions by the

armed forces and various forms of mass political action occur, the most developed of which are continuous uprisings by the broad masses to win varying degrees of sovereignty, depending on the concrete conditions prevailing in any given place within the three strategic areas. These insurrections have erupted over large areas, often repeatedly, with the aim of overthrowing the local puppet administration step by step and eliminating all forms of oppression and control. They are very important spearheads of attack when launched in coordination with military actions so as to create favorable conditions for our armed forces to further destroy enemy strength. Conversely, the combat activities of the revolutionary armed forces attempt not only to wipe out the enemy's military forces but also to promote the political struggle. In particular, they help the insurrectionary masses to smash all forms of enemy control and oppression, win sovereignty, and establish some form of revolutionary power.

The combination of destroying enemy forces with winning and maintaining the sovereignty of the people is the secret of success of armed insurrection and revolutionary warfare in the South. It is not only a matter of combining armed actions and popular insurrections for a gradual conquest of power, but also *one of establishing the strategic position of the people's war.*

From a military point of view, the Southern battlefield is very small in size, and the density of enemy troops is very great. On the other hand, the armed forces and people of the South are fighting on their own soil and carrying out a revolutionary war relying on nation-wide resistance and the combination of armed and political struggle. They must build a strategic position that is advantageous to our side and unfavorable to the enemy. They can best attain this end by winning sovereignty so as to destroy enemy forces and, conversely, destroying enemy strength so as to win sovereignty.



The attainment of sovereignty demands that the people and their semi-military forces resolutely smash American and puppet domination and fight the enemy right in our fields and orchards, villages and hamlets, and forest-clearings and streets. They must hold and control the land and to varying degrees run the administration. They must be masters of the situation. Each village and hamlet must be transformed into a fortress. Each citizen must become a fighter who tenaciously battles the enemy, devises methods of warfare, engages in military and political action, agitates among enemy troops, and utilizes all weapons and means available.

Securing sovereignty requires that the revolutionary armed forces rationally deploy all three types of troops throughout the key regions of the three strategic areas. These key regions are the liberated zones, the zones constantly subjected to enemy raids and "pacification" operations, and the outlying areas of enemy bases. The revolutionary armed forces must rely on the sovereignty of the people and the continuous growth of mass political force so as to turn the South into a "pre-arranged" battlefield. Only then are the battlefield forces deployed in a way that is advantageous to us and unfavorable to the enemy. The liberation troops can attack with great mobility and flexibility and can force the enemy into a position in which he is surrounded and subjected to relentless military and political assaults.

The battle formation of a people's war combines military and political attacks, combat actions and mass uprisings, and guerrilla and conventional warfare; it is laid out in all three strategic areas. It has no definite front; indeed, the battlefield is everywhere. More than one million American and puppet troops are thinly deployed, surrounded, divided, and attacked from every side. They suffer from all kinds of mistakes and weaknesses. Should they attempt to dig themselves in, their defenses would

surely be easily penetrated. Should they attempt an attack, they would certainly rush blindly into an ambush by our forces. Drowning in the raging sea of a people's war, the enemy forces are scattered and exhausted in spite of their numbers and their modern war equipment and are unable to use the combat methods in which they excel. The armed forces and people of the South can always surround them, stage continual attacks and uprisings, maintain the initiative, and strike from the front and the rear at whatever place and time they choose.

Our most outstanding strategic achievement in South Vietnam is having forced the enemy into a defensive posture in which he confronts attacks on every front that are determined by the revolutionary armed forces. This defensive posture drives the enemy into political passivity and serious strategic difficulties. He cannot decide whether to scatter or concentrate his forces, to engage in "pacification" or "search and destroy" operations, and to withdraw to a defensive position or attack. Because of these difficulties, the numerical superiority of the army of aggression is inadequate; indeed, its strength is a handicap. In spite of their modern weapons and high mobility, the enemy troops prove inefficient in combat; their huge potential cannot be brought into full play. Moreover, the people's armed forces in the South have a rational organization, high combat efficiency, appropriate, flexible and skillful combat methods, and an advantageous strategic posture. They can constantly attack the enemy from a position of strength. As they fight on, they grow stronger, achieve higher combat efficiency, organize successful campaigns, and attain greater strategic effectiveness.

These successes are the result of the invincible line of the people's war. They are the outcome of the application of an offensive strategy, a military art, which *defeats large forces with small ones and large units with small detachments, and matches high quality against large*

*numbers. The enemy's strength on the battlefield is curbed at the same time as our military and political power is fully developed. We initiate strikes against the enemy from an offensive position and secure positions of strength from which to hit the enemy hard and wear him down in a protracted war.*

The present people's war in South Vietnam is a vivid illustration of Engels' prediction: "A people who want to win independence cannot confine themselves to ordinary methods of warfare. Mass insurrections, revolutionary warfare, guerrilla detachments everywhere—such is the only way in which a small nation can vanquish a big country and a small army oppose a more powerful one."

Our people's resistance to American aggression so as to achieve national salvation has entered its tenth year. Since Tet of the year Mau Than (1968), the resistance has shifted to a new stage of valiant struggle and tremendous success—a steady advance to total victory. The American imperialists have failed miserably throughout our country. In addition, they are confronted with difficulties both in the United States and throughout the world. Yet, they are inflexible and treacherous; they persist in their war of aggression.

President Ho Chi Minh told us: "The war of resistance against U.S. aggression may drag on. Our compatriots may have to face new sacrifices of property and life. Whatever may happen, we must keep firm our resolve to fight U.S. aggression until total victory."\* Acting upon his Testament, we are determined to wage a protracted war until the enemy abandons his aggressive designs, withdraws all his troops, and respects our sovereignty and territorial integrity. The whole Party, the entire people and the armed forces should exert the greatest efforts, display revolutionary heroism, and overcome all difficulties and

\*Ho Chi Minh, "Testament," *Selected Articles and Speeches, 1920-1967*, International Publishers, N.Y., 1969, pp. 174-75.

hardships. They should maintain and advance the war of resistance against American aggression, for national salvation, until total victory. They should liberate the South, defend the North, and advance to the peaceful reunification of the country.

The defeat of the American aggressors is the most urgent obligation of the Vietnamese and the world revolution so as to guarantee our present life and the future happiness of all generations to come. This responsibility is the honor and pride of our Party and people. It is our duty to the fatherland and the revolutionary people of the world. We are determined to fulfill this glorious mission entrusted to us by history, whatever the sacrifices and hardships we may have to face and however long and hard the war.

Given the leadership of the National Liberation Front and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam; the invincible line of the people's war; the valor, intelligence, military skill and great militant unity of more than 30 million countrymen throughout our land; and the immense assistance of our brothers and friends all over the world—we firmly believe that the people and fighters of the South will certainly win complete victory.

On July 20, 1965, President Ho Chi Minh assessed the glorious revolutionary struggle carried out by our people under the experienced leadership of the Party. "Our people are an heroic people. We have toppled the Japanese fascists and defeated the French colonialists; we are resolutely fighting and defeating the American imperialist aggressors." Our present war of resistance against American aggression, which will secure our national salvation, is the greatest in our people's glorious history of struggle against foreign domination. In the present era, our war of resistance is one of the finest pages in the history of the struggle of the world's revolutionary people

against imperialism. The rich experience of our people's national democratic revolution has contributed to the development of the revolutionary theory of the peoples in the colonial and dependent countries battling against old and new colonialism.

Enlightened by the valuable lessons of the Vietnamese revolution, our people will more firmly march forward. We will gain total victory in the war of resistance against American aggression for our national salvation. We will complete the people's national democratic revolution throughout the whole country. We are making a valuable contribution to the common struggle throughout the world for peace, national independence, democracy, and socialism.



## PART TWO

# THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION IN NORTH VIETNAM

Fifteen years have elapsed since the war of resistance against the French colonialists ended in victory and the entirely liberated North entered the stage of socialist revolution. During this short period North Vietnam has realized many social reforms, eliminated colonial and feudal vestiges, and has become the socialist North, the base area of the revolution throughout the whole country. In spite of its still backward economy and of American imperialist aggression, North Vietnam has displayed a tremendous vitality. It has brilliantly fulfilled its duties as the great rear area, smashed the war of destruction of the American aggressors, and accomplished uninterrupted success in the socialist revolution.

It goes without saying that these achievements are only the initial steps. The transformation of a backward agricultural country in which small production occupies the essential position into a socialist nation with modern industry, agriculture, an advanced culture and science, and a rich material and cultural life for our people demands the exertion of great effort for the next twenty to thirty years.





## CHAPTER 4

### THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT AND THE TASKS OF THE TRIPLE REVOLUTION

The Third Congress of the Party and the subsequent meetings of the Central Committee accurately appraised, in the light of Marxism-Leninism, the entire situation in the North. The analysis pointed out that "*the greatest characteristic of our country in the period of transition is its direct advance from agricultural backwardness to socialism without passing through the stage of capitalist development.*" On this basis, the Congress and the Central Committee presented the general line for the socialist revolution and the orientation for the development of the various branches of the national economy. The course charted by the Congress and the resolutions of the Central Committee faithfully reflect the law governing the advance to socialism in a backward agricultural country like ours, and conforms to the characteristics and content of the new times.

While capitalism chronically decays and disintegrates in the present era, socialism has become a reality—a world system which is the decisive factor in the evolution of society. Thus, the problem of the transition to socialism has become an historical necessity not only for the advanced capitalist countries, but also for those economically backward countries which have regained national independence.

As a result of the great victory of the Soviet Union over

the German, Italian and Japanese fascists, the weakening of many imperialist countries, and the appearance of numerous socialist nations after the Second World War, national liberation movements flared up in almost all colonial and semi-colonial countries and formed a powerful spearhead against imperialism. In many of them, a national democratic power has been established. Its character varies according to the strength of the workers and peasants and the relation of class forces in each country. In countries where the workers and peasants play the decisive role and the vanguard of the proletariat has assumed the leadership of the revolution, the national democratic revolution is not only a victory of the people over imperialism and feudalism but is also a political triumph of the proletariat over the national bourgeoisie, the triumph of a new type of state. *The victorious completion of the national democratic revolution signals the opening of the socialist revolution.* The revolutionary power of the worker-peasant alliance led by the working class immediately sets about discharging the historical duties of the dictatorship of the proletariat. These duties are the achievement of a socialist revolution and the construction of socialism. Therefore, in our time, the national democratic revolution led by the working class is necessarily bound up with the socialist revolution.

As soon as our Party was formed, its first political theses made it clear that the Vietnamese revolution must necessarily go through two stages, the national democratic and the socialist. This clearly-defined course is in full accord with the principles of Marxism-Leninism, the trend of our time and the aspiration of our people. The past 40 years of revolutionary practice have proven this course to be completely correct.

All bourgeois revolutions in history have supplanted the dictatorship of one exploiting class with that of another; they all maintained the rule of a minority over a majority.

This rule is only possible through violence. Therefore, by their very nature bourgeois dictatorships involve violence and repression. All the fine rhetoric of liberty, equality, fraternity, human rights and democracy aims to keep the bourgeoisie firmly in power and to serve its free enterprise and free exploitation. There can never be a genuine democracy, democracy for the majority, so long as the basic means of production and state power are held by a minority. The dictatorship of the proletariat is an historical necessity derived from the trend of the times. Its birth generates a tremendous social upheaval which brings democratic rights to the toiling people who comprise the great majority of the nation. They are elevated to the dominant position over society, economy, culture, and control their own destiny. Henceforth, they are the actual makers of history. The dictatorship of the proletariat is the power of the toiling people, the majority, pitted against the exploiters, the minority. Its characteristic is not essentially violence and repression, but construction and organization. Thus, it is the highest and fullest form of democracy, "a million times more democratic" than bourgeois democracy.

The dictatorship of the proletariat in our country came into being at a time when the forces of production were extremely backward and the material conditions for the construction of socialism were still very weak. The social system of production could either advance to socialism, develop into capitalism, or remain for a time at the stage of small production. The construction of socialism demands that both new productive forces and new relations of production, both a new economic foundation and a new superstructure, be built from the very beginning. Under these circumstances, the *initiative* and the *constructive and organizational role* of the dictatorship of the proletariat, as well as the *political consciousness* of the masses in the creation of a new society, assume all the more importance.

The dictatorship of the proletariat in any country must resolve the question of the supremacy of capitalism or socialism. In the developed capitalist countries, the bourgeoisie is a powerful enemy. Capitalism is a system of production relations extending throughout all areas of the national economy with a colossal superstructure which serves the oppressive and exploitative regime. After the seizure of power and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the class struggle against the bourgeoisie and other reactionary forces will continue with unabated ferocity in various forms, "sanguinary and bloodless, violent and peaceful, military and economic, educational and administrative,"\* in order to build socialism. However, even under these conditions Lenin pointed out that the dictatorship of the proletariat "is not only the use of force against the exploiters, and not even mainly the use of force. The economic foundation of this use of revolutionary force, the guarantee of its effectiveness and success, is the fact that the proletariat represents and creates a higher type of social organization of labor compared with capitalism. This is what is important, this is the source of the strength and the guarantee that the final triumph of communism is inevitable."† In countries that bypass the stage of capitalist development and advance directly to socialism, a protracted and complex class struggle takes place to abolish the capitalist economic sector and all other forms of exploitation, to stem the trend of small production toward spontaneous capitalist development, to suppress all attempts at disruption by hostile elements, and to assure order, security and a strong potential for national defense. These are among the most important tasks of the dictatorship of

\*V. I. Lenin, *"Left-Wing" Communism, an Infantile Disorder*, International Publishers, N.Y., 1940, p. 29.

†V. I. Lenin, "A Great Beginning," in *Selected Works*, International Publishers, N.Y., 1967, Vol. III, p. 212.

the proletariat. The revolutionary stand of the proletariat can be distinguished from bourgeois and petty bourgeois reformism by its determination to see the struggle through to complete victory.

However, class struggle is not limited to these tasks. A radical victory over the bourgeoisie and other reactionary forces and the construction of socialism and communism are not gained merely by repression of the exploiting classes and other counter-revolutionary forces. It is not enough to eliminate the capitalist economic sector and all other forms of exploitation. In the North of our country, where small production was predominant and the capitalist economic sector insignificant, the expropriation of the exploiting classes cannot by itself create the material and technical basis for socialism, nor can the suppression of counter-revolutionary forces in itself assure the success of socialism. The basic problem is the conversion of small-scale individual production into large-scale socialist production. We must construct almost from scratch the entire material and technical base, economic foundation, and superstructure of a socialist nation through the simultaneous implementation of the triple revolution; revolution in relations of production, technical revolution, and ideological and cultural revolution. Only in this way can we essentially prevent the spontaneous development of small production into capitalism, eliminate the socio-economic conditions which beget and restore capitalism and the bourgeoisie, and insure the total and complete victory of socialism.

The struggle between the capitalist and socialist paths in the North of our country is primarily *a struggle to raise small production to the level of large-scale production. The basic content of the class struggle in the period of transition to socialism* is to adhere firmly to the dictatorship of the proletariat in order to simultaneously implement the *three revolutions*, with the technical revolution as the keystone.

At the present juncture, it would be a dangerous rightest blunder and a crime against the revolution if we relaxed our vigilance against the exploiting classes and other counter-revolutionary forces since we are involved in a bitter national and class struggle against American imperialism, the most savage imperialism in the world, and since a relentless battle between the capitalist and socialist systems is unfolding on a world scale. But, if during the socialist revolution in the North we overestimated the strength of the exploiting class and the other counter-revolutionary forces and overemphasized our duty to suppress these elements, we would fail to realize that our main task is the organization, formation and implementation of the three revolutions.

The three organic elements of the socialist revolution—the revolution in the relations of production, the technical revolution, and the cultural revolution—interconnect, mutually effect one another, and push each other forward. The new society, the new man, new relations of production and forces of production are not the results of any single revolution, but the common products of all three. In this dialectical relationship, each revolution maintains its specific position and function in the solution of the specific problems of the socialist revolution.

The advance to socialism without passing through the stage of capitalist development means, in the first place, that we do not possess large-scale industry and lack a highly developed material and technical base. It is impossible to realize socialist industrialization with a backward and dispersed agricultural economy while at the same time supporting a capitalist economic sector, and an individual economy which continually stimulates the growth of capitalism. Thus, the revolution in the relations of production is an absolute prerequisite for the development of the productive forces. It accelerates the pace of the technical revolution and consolidates the collective

control of the economy by the working people. The worker-peasant alliance and the dictatorship of the proletariat are strengthened. The ideological and cultural revolution benefits from the new socio-economic conditions, for it is from these conditions that the advanced thoughts and feelings of the new man will emerge.

The revolution in the relations of production consists primarily in the eradication of the capitalist economic sector and the elimination of the exploitation of man by man, the transformation of the individual economy of the peasants and craftsmen into a collective socialist economy, and the institution of collective socialist ownership of the means of production in two forms—ownership by the people as a whole and ownership by the various collectives. This tremendous change in social life by no means exhausts the objectives of the revolution in the relations of production. Collective control of the economy involves three aspects: control of the means of reproduction, of economic management, and of the distribution of the products of labor. Therefore, after the establishment of working people's collective control of the means of production, we must solve many important problems. How can we manage collective labor and property so as to accelerate and expand production, quicken the growth of the technical revolution, and achieve the most rational re-division of social labor and the highest labor productivity? What will be the organization of the system of social production which will insure unified central leadership while guaranteeing the rights of the various branches and regions and of the working people to rule collectively? In what manner should we regulate distribution so as to secure adequate accumulation for expanded production while improving the people's standard of living? How are we to encourage industriousness while realizing fully the collective spirit of socialism? How concurrently provide for the material welfare of the people and stimulate cul-

ture, education, science and technical ability? Furthermore, what economic and administrative measures should we apply to consolidate and improve the various socialist economic organizations, yet continue to expand socialist activity, draw individual producers into cooperatives, tighten control over the market, hinder speculation, remedy all the defects in the management of land and labor, and satisfy other demands? These urgent, complex and difficult problems that the revolution in the relations of production has raised on a national scale, as well as in each region and production unit, must be solved. They must be solved in order to consolidate and perfect collective control by the working people in both economic management and the distribution of the products of labor, and to complete the tasks of socialist transformation.

If we are to advance directly from small production to socialism, we must carry through (parallel with the revolution in production relations) a technical revolution which will transform handicraft labor into mechanized labor and create the new material and technical base of socialist society. The many social reforms in the North of our country have abolished exploitation and oppression. All working people are equal, free, and the masters of their land. But, freedom, equality and control cannot be considered sufficient, for the material and cultural life of our working people rests on a weak material and technical base. Lenin's famous formula, "Communism is Soviet power plus electrification of the whole country," provides us with a fuller grasp of the problem. Soviet power means the dictatorship of the proletariat, the right of the working people to rule. The electrification of large-scale industry lays down the material and technical basis of the new society. Without both of these factors, there cannot be socialism or communism. Since we begin from small production, we have an urgent need for electrification. Only by electrification can we consolidate the socialist



economy, the worker-peasant alliance, and the dictatorship of the proletariat; eradicate the mentality and habits of the small producer; strengthen and develop socialist ideology; provide the working people with material welfare and a civilized life; and make them master of nature as well as society. Because of the importance of these objectives, the technical revolution holds the primary position in our Party's program.

Since the technical revolution is closely related to the revolution in the relations of production, both exert a reciprocal and dialectical influence on each other. The revolution in the relation of production paves the way for the technical revolution by creating the socio-economic conditions of its development. Conversely, the technical revolution consolidates the results of the revolution in the relations of production and creates the material and technical condition for their continual perfection. A sound economic program should simultaneously extend both revolutions and induce their dialectical interaction. On one hand, we must fully utilize the positive function of socialist relations of production for organizing a rapid redivision of social labor, expanding production, improving the people's living standards, and accelerating the rate of accumulation for socialist industrialization. On the other hand, in keeping with the level of development of the productive forces, we must actively and tenaciously perfect the new relations of production, especially the new regime of economic management, so that they can play the role of a "trail blazer" and "booster" in the development of the productive forces.

Presently, in our own socialist camp, as well as in many other countries, a new scientific and technical revolution is bringing about many important changes both in man's conquest of nature and in his social relationships. Thus, our productive forces can simultaneously develop gradually—according to the law of change from small to

large-scale production—and by *leaps*, in a direct course to mechanization and then automation. On one hand, we must utilize all the possibilities of handicraft production, proceed step by step to semi-mechanization and mechanization, and expand regional industry in coordination with agriculture with a view toward a redivision of social labor. Then, the conditions will exist for the birth of large-scale industry. On the other hand, taking advantage of the supremacy inherent in the socialist economic system and the active assistance of the fraternal socialist nations, as well as international trade, we must direct all our energies toward the construction of large-scale industry with modern technology, and in economic and technical leaps approach the modernization of our whole national economy. This is the best way to carry out successfully the technical revolution and rapidly build a modern, large-scale socialist system of production in our country.

The construction of socialism requires training new socialist men as well as building a new economy and society. They must be instilled with profound values. Conditions must exist for them to develop fully and become the conscious makers of history. The transformation of social existence is the basic condition for a remolding of social consciousness. The new man will only arise in the process of building the new society, through practical activity, through the revolutionary movement of the masses. The transformation of man and his ideological remolding cannot be a spontaneous process. President Ho Chi Minh said: "To build socialism there must first of all be *socialist men*."

Along with the economic revolutions, it is necessary to have an ideological and cultural revolution throughout the whole of society that will bring about radical changes in the spiritual and cultural life of the broad popular masses. In our country in particular, an intense creative spirit and political consciousness is required, for the passage to

socialism without going through the stage of capitalist development is a new course. Indeed, the ideas and habits of our society still bear the stamp of small production; our people's cultural, scientific and technical level is still low. Thus, the ideological and cultural revolution takes on particular importance.

The socialist man possesses noble virtues which reflect his communist view of life. He is boundlessly loyal to the cause of the working class and the nation. In his life and work he displays a sense of collective responsibility: "All for each and each for all." This spirit of collective responsibility that we are trying to foster is based on the standpoint of the working class. It is opposed not only to the spirit of individual domination of the capitalists and small producers, but also to the "collective" spirit of the guilds, which separates each individual collective from the unified leadership of the proletarian state and sets the interests of one collective against the interests of others. The spirit of collective responsibility of each man must be shown first and foremost in his respect for labor, production and public property. Once the proletariat has seized power and become the master of society, this collective spirit constitutes the most correct class standpoint. It is totally alien to the mercenary mentality and the "functionary" style. It is opposed to all manifestations of irresponsibility and lack of discipline in work and everyday life. The spirit of collective responsibility castigates mercenaries, liars, bunglers and parasites. It is antagonistic to all manifestations of bureaucratism and critical of any divorce from reality and production. Only the highest standards of work can bring about complete collective control. Only high labor productivity can guarantee both a rich material and cultural life and the achievement of socialism.

It is not enough to be conscious of being the master; one must also possess scientific knowledge. Only then can

we control society and nature, complete the socialist transformation, and build communism. There can be no revolutionary action without revolutionary enthusiasm. However, by itself revolutionary enthusiasm can at best destroy the old but cannot build the new. The construction of socialism demands the coordination of all scientific knowledge (social science, natural science, techniques) for the highest development of civilization. Therefore, the socialist man must maintain advanced cultural, scientific and technical standards. He must understand and apply the laws of society and nature. He must creatively gather and augment all the accumulated cultural and scientific achievements of mankind, the product of the vitality and strength of thousands of generations.

The socialist man is ardently patriotic, profoundly devoted to his countrymen and comrades, and intensely courageous. He has an indomitable spirit and a deep attachment to independence and freedom. He would rather endure any sacrifice than lose his country and become a slave. He is a revolutionary hero in the defense of his fatherland and in the creative work of building a new society. Also, he is deeply imbued with proletarian internationalism. He seeks to judiciously reconcile the legitimate interests of his nation with the common good of the international workers' movement. He opposes all tendencies toward narrow nationalism and great-power chauvinism.

The socialist man of our country must not only assimilate the newest achievements of modern civilization. He must also inherit and develop the fine qualities representative of the Vietnamese mind and soul for 4000 years.

The education and training of such men is the task of the ideological and cultural revolution. The greater the results and the more rapid its pace, the greater will be its impact upon the revolution in the relations of production and the technical revolution. Conversely, the eco-

conomic and technical achievements of these two revolutions will be the base for the expansion and consolidation of the ideological and cultural revolution.

The completion of the three revolutions will result in the successful construction of socialism in our country. We will become a prosperous socialist nation with modern industry and agriculture, and an advanced culture and science. Our people will be guaranteed material well-being and a rich spiritual life. Our economic potential and our defense capabilities will be strengthened. *The strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the full development of the leading role of the Party, the organizational and managerial role of the state, and the spirit of collective responsibility of the working masses will lead to a successful completion of the three revolutions, with the technical revolution as the primary emphasis.* This is the fundamental orientation, having the character of a law, of the socialist revolution in our country, and the basic meaning of the transition to socialism while bypassing the stage of capitalist development. Thus, the most important tasks of our Party, state and people in the socialist revolution revolve around this orientation. We must imaginatively implement it on a national scale, as well as in each branch and on each level. The gradual, steady and balanced construction of a system of large-scale production and the progressive improvement of the people's living conditions are our concrete objectives.

## CHAPTER 5

### THE COURSE OF INITIAL ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

The construction of a large-scale system of socialist production in our country is not limited to building a certain number of large enterprises in some branches of the national economy. Rather, it entails a transformation of the entire system of social production and radical changes in the entire national economic structure. It involves the combination of a reconverted system of small production with building great bases of production, relying on the former to carry out the latter. Conversely, the strength of the large bases can be used to accelerate the conversion rate of small production into large-scale enterprises. In general, the process of building a large-scale system of socialist production requires the transformation of the relations of production, together with the execution of a technical revolution and the conversion of handicraft into mechanized labor. This process also includes a redivision of social labor, an extensive development of new branches and trades, and a combination of specialization and increased cooperation. The construction of a national and independent economy unfolds along with an expansion of economic relations with foreign countries, primarily those in the socialist camp.

Sufficient labor and means of production are necessary to build a large-scale system of production. Previously, during the period of primitive accumulation, capitalism resorted to ruthless violence to rob the working people in both the "mother countries" and the colonies, turning

them into hired slaves to quickly amass a huge stock of capital. Socialism certainly cannot accumulate capital for the construction of a large-scale system of production through robbery and exploitation. Essentially, it must accomplish accumulation by developing production and increasing the productivity of labor. It cannot merely go on accumulating capital, but must also look after the welfare of all strata of the people and carry out distribution according to socialist principles.

Under conditions prevailing in our country, the fulfillment of the fundamental economic tasks of the initial period (capital accumulation for industrialization and improvement of the people's living conditions) necessitates the *development of a rational economic structure and the implementation of a redivision of labor* on the basis of collective control by the working people, with a view to stimulating production and rapidly increasing the productivity of labor. In the first place, the development of a rational economic structure demands an assessment of the relative positions, rates of growth and relationships between agriculture and industry, the centrally-run economy and the various regional economies, and production and distribution.

In the initial phase of the transition period, the national economy is still at the stage of small production, and low-output agricultural labor constitutes a great proportion of the total social labor. Under these conditions, the first significant step is the rapid transformation of agriculture, based on individual holdings and monoculture, into a collective and multi-crop system. On the basis of increased labor productivity, we must proceed to a redivision of social labor corresponding to the new orientation in production, the transference of part of the agricultural labor force to industrial development, and the gradual reduction of necessary labor and an increase of surplus labor, the only source of accumulation. From the

beginning, industry must influence agriculture, and agriculture must be closely coordinated with both central and regional industries. This relationship between industry and agriculture can only be established through the construction of a centrally-run economy and the various regional economies.

*This is the ground for the inception and growth of a large-scale socialist system of production in our country.*

That is why the Third Congress of our Party emphasized that we must give priority to the rational development of heavy industry, while promoting agriculture and light industry; consider industry the leading force and agriculture as the basis for industrial development, and coordinate the regional economies with the centrally-run economy. This course decided by the Congress has been and will remain our fundamental orientation. The process of implementation of this line and the living realities of the last 15 years have made it possible for us to state concretely our program for initial economic development: *priority for the rational development of heavy industry based on the growth of agriculture and light industry, and the concurrent construction of a centrally-run economy and various regional economies.*

### *A. First Priority to the Rational Development of Heavy Industry*

“The only possible economic foundation of socialism is large-scale machine industry. Whoever forgets this is no Communist.”\* Lenin’s forceful words point out the extremely important role played by heavy industry in the socialist economic system. This attitude toward heavy industry is one of the basic criteria distinguishing scien-

\*V. I. Lenin, “Report on Tactics of the R.C.P., July 5, 1921,” *Collected Works*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1965, Vol. 32, p. 492.



tific socialism from other kinds of "socialism." We emphasize heavy industry, for it is the lever that raises small production to large-scale production. It equips labor with new tools, increases man's power over nature, liberates labor from the backward conditions of handicraft production, and increases the productivity of labor for the building of a new society and economy. The immense strength of heavy industry puts man in a position more fully to exploit natural resources and produce more commodities.

Under the conditions in our country, our Party considers socialist industrialization, with heavy industry playing the decisive role, to be "the central task all through the period of transition to socialism." However, the construction of heavy industry depends upon certain prerequisite developments in agriculture and light industry—in the labor force, consumer goods, primitive accumulation and the market. Previously, the growth of heavy industry under capitalism began only after a long period of light industrial development; it took nearly a century for heavy industry to evolve. Presently, the socialist relations of production in our country make it possible to accumulate capital and implement a redivision of labor more rapidly. From the beginning, we can appropriate a part of the national income and utilize the labor force for the construction of heavy industry. We can accelerate primitive accumulation and more quickly solve the complex scientific and technical problems by using our own resources, the aid of socialist countries, and other international cooperation. Even though our agriculture and light industry are at a low level, there are numerous advantageous conditions for the growth of heavy industry that capitalism could not have had at its disposal. If we do not decisively confront the tasks of immediately building certain necessary bases for heavy industry, then we are not fully aware of the favorable conditions for economic transformation in our country. We will show

ourselves to be incapable of utilizing existing advantages to give an early stimulus to the national economy and accelerate agricultural and light industrial development—progressing by leaps as well as by gradual steps. However, we must be fully conscious that heavy industry can only advance vigorously when agriculture and light industry are its firm bases. Failure to take into account the present undeveloped state of our agriculture and light industry and of the necessary link between heavy industry and agricultural and light industrial production, while promoting the growth of heavy industry without the development of agriculture and light industry, will, in practice, lead to a setback for heavy industrial development, a worsening of the existing economic imbalance, a multiplication of difficulties, and a reversal of the advance of the national economy as a whole. For these reasons, from the outset we must promote the growth of agriculture and light industry; we must promptly make the first leap forward in these fields. Each advance in heavy industry must further the growth of agriculture and light industry, for without the achievements of the former, there can be no progress for the latter two. Also, when heavy industry helps agriculture and light industry to advance, it creates conditions for its own priority development.

At present, the most important task of heavy industry is to make it possible to *provide every branch of production, primarily agriculture and light industry, with various kinds of tools of different technical levels, both rudimentary and modern tools suitable for each branch and category of work.* This will quickly double or triple the productivity of labor. An increase in the productivity of labor calls for a whole series of important measures, such as a rational and scientific organization of work, a strict utilization of the labor force, an improvement of worker skills, and a correct determination of the orientation in production as well as the distribution of manpower.

It also demands greater efficiency in economic management, the strengthening of ideological work, and better organization of daily life, to assure that everyone works enthusiastically, observes good work discipline, and fully utilizes his eight working hours. However, the improvement of work tools is the most fundamental measure. To this end, we must urgently develop mechanical engineering into an important industrial branch, boldly investing capital and labor to increase its rate of growth. At the same time that we build new engineering facilities, there are other burning questions. We must pay great attention to the management of existing engineering enterprises. The actual potential of each branch and factory must be fully determined. The engineering factories are to be integrated into a system that provides for a distribution of tasks and close cooperation. We must give a correct orientation to production in each factory according to the overall plan for the entire network. The technical cadres in each branch of engineering should turn to the bases, first of all in agriculture, small-scale industry and handicrafts. They should carry out conclusive surveys on the improvement of all types of tools, so that within a short time a whole series of more appropriate tools can be produced.

To fulfill these tasks, the engineering branch should develop a system extending from the central to the regional level, in which manufacturing is judiciously combined with repair work and specialized with general engineering. The central administration sees to the construction and management of engineering factories that have high technical standards and turn out modern machinery and equipment for agriculture, light industry, capital construction, transportation, communications, and other sectors. But meanwhile, the main task of the regional engineering system is servicing agricultural production and turning out current consumer goods.

Another important task for heavy industry is the creation of *sources of energy, materials and equipment*, to serve as the basis of an independent economy. This is necessary gradually to modernize our economy and to meet the present requirements of production and daily life.

The vigorous development of *electrical power* should necessarily stay one step ahead of the other branches. Under direct management of the central administration, thermoelectric and hydroelectric power as well as large and medium-sized plants should be coordinated. At the same time, we must build small hydroelectric power stations wherever possible, especially in the highlands. The rapid creation of a source of electrical power for economic expansion in the years ahead depends on domestic coal supplies and the construction of large-capacity thermoelectric power stations. Also, we must make active preparations for the building of hydroelectric power stations on the strength of existing possibilities.

*Coal* is necessary for the production of electrical energy, cement, bricks and tiles, as well as for fuel and export. Therefore, we must rapidly increase our coal production. New mines must be dug while we proceed with the exploitation of old ones. Management must be streamlined and its apparatus strengthened. It is necessary to determine the precise tasks of each unit at the base, to consolidate the various labor organizations and to obtain a balanced and rational relationship between labor and equipment, as well as between the various links in the chain of coal production.

The production of *building materials* (cement, wood, brick, tiles, lime, etc.) should be considered an important task for our state. This production should be organized in a nationwide network with a clear-cut distribution of

responsibilities between the central and regional administrations and a close combination of handicrafts and modern industry. We must make the construction materials industry keep pace with the building of new material and technical bases. After the years of savage and destructive war waged by the American imperialists, this is especially necessary.

The *metallurgical branch* of production poses various economic and technical problems to which we must pay attention. We must endeavor to achieve the highest economic efficiency possible in building and production. We must give due importance to ferrous metallurgy, while according to non-ferrous metals an appropriate place in conformity with the level of our natural resources. Beginning right now, we must intensify geological surveys and the training of cadres and skilled workers capable of shouldering the various responsibilities of research, planning and production.

The *chemical branch* should be developed rapidly to a level appropriate to its role in modern industry. For the immediate future, we must concentrate our efforts on building a number of major enterprises that have a direct bearing on the completion of the fundamental tasks of the initial period: plants for the production of fertilizers, insecticides, synthetic plastics, etc. At the same time, we must actively map out a long-term economic and technical plan with concrete targets for each period. Each economic plan will definitely orient our national production toward chemicalization.

The orientation for the various branches of heavy industry in the immediate future that was presented above conforms to the function of heavy industry as a lever for lifting small production to large-scale production, as well as to the requirements of its long-term advance.

## *B. Intensification of Light Industrial Development*

The development of heavy industry requires a balanced expansion of light industry. During the period of primitive accumulation, light industry produces necessities for the people and goods for export. It is also an important outlet for heavy industry.

Because we are an underdeveloped country ravaged by many years of war, our people's standard of living is still low, and we have many urgent problems to solve. Presently, we are not yet able to improve radically the living conditions of our entire society. However, we must provide a minimum standard of living that is essential for the early stages of industrialization. Thus, we must develop light industry, rapidly increase the production of consumer goods, and put an end to unnecessary shortages. With our abundant and skillful labor force and our available natural resources, especially our rich tropical agriculture, we can strongly encourage light industry and quickly turn out a great variety of consumer goods for home consumption and, partly, for export.

Our system of light industry must develop in an all-sided way, including food products, weaving, household utensils, wood-processing, paper products, and cultural articles so that it can assume its important role in the people's life and in export. Such light industry should be built on both the central and regional levels according to the technical and economic characteristics of each branch and enterprise. The combination of rudimentary and modern techniques at the outset should gradually lead to complete mechanization and modernization. The system should be comprised of state-owned enterprises and a large number of collective enterprises operated by workers in handicrafts and small-scale industry. Underestima-

tion of the latter enterprises reveals a poor understanding of our present economic situation and an inadequate grasp of the law of advance from small to large-scale production. We must unceasingly consolidate and perfect socialist relations of production in handicrafts and small industry, strengthen leadership and management by the state, and bring about true equality among the members of the cooperatives and proper relationships between the latter and the state. We must also actively encourage technical improvements, boost production, extend the variety of commodities produced, and turn handicrafts and small industry into an efficient part of light industry.

In short, while carrying out socialist industrialization, we must get a firm hold on the key branches: mechanical engineering, electricity, fuel, metallurgy, chemicals, building materials, foodstuffs, weaving, household utensils, wood processing, paper, and cultural articles. The attention paid to these key branches for a rational and balanced development not only helps meet the need for better living conditions and expanded reproduction, but also contributes, along with agriculture, to the creation of an adequate basis for an independent national economy.

### *C. Agricultural Development*

Since agriculture is a basic branch of the economy that supplies society with such vital products as cereals and other foodstuffs and is an important base on which to expand industry, total output must be increased rapidly in a great variety of products, and labor productivity must be raised at the same time. Only by fulfilling these two goals can we stimulate an all-sided agricultural growth, build modern industry, and convert the part of social labor hitherto serving home needs to manufacturing goods for export. Furthermore, through foreign trade, a

sector of agricultural labor can be used to produce equipment and machinery for the technical revolution. This is the correct way to improve the people's standard of living, expand the rural market, and simultaneously accumulate capital for socialist industrialization.

During the initial stage, the agricultural tasks are extremely demanding. Agricultural production must make vigorous progress in meeting the needs of the entire people. First of all, the production of *foodstuffs* will insure the people a better diet. Agricultural production supplies *raw materials* to light industry and goods for *export*. In this way it serves the technical revolution and satisfies the requirements for *national defense* on all fronts. Only by accurately and concretely determining the requirements of the entire country and each region and by relying on our existing agricultural possibilities can we work out the best orientation in production and carry out regional specialization and rational planning of production. In addition, we will be able to intensify the technical revolution and transform agriculture throughout the entire country.

Our agricultural production is primarily tropical, with some cultivation in a temperate climate. There are three clearly-delimited agricultural areas: *plains, midlands and highlands*, each with its own advantages. The highlands emphasize forestry, livestock breeding and perennial industrial crops. The plains grow cereal, other food crops, and short-term industrial crops. The midlands support rice, subsidiary food crops, leguminous plants, industrial crops and large-scale animal husbandry. The regional administrations should take advantage of the favorable agricultural conditions in each area. The various branches of the central administration should concentrate equipment and capital in appropriate sectors to promote agricultural production in all three areas. During the last few years, agriculture in the plains area has made much



progress and has accounted for several remarkable achievements. However, there must also be rapid advances in the output of rice, subsidiary food crops, and other plants, as well as an increase in labor productivity that will make possible a new division of labor. Otherwise, there cannot be any substantial changes in our economy and our people's life. The midlands and highlands have made little headway in the past few years. This lack of growth does not correspond to their great potentialities. On the basis of our achievements, it is high time we brought about a profound change in orientation regarding agricultural development. Agricultural zones in the midlands and highlands should be boldly set up to produce a high proportion of marketable commodities. Only by combining agricultural production in the plains with production in the midlands and highlands can we bring into existence a rich and diversified agriculture which is capable of functioning fully as the "basis" for industrial expansion. The vigorous growth of agriculture in the plains will serve as a resilient springboard for agricultural development in the highlands. Conversely, the development of the agricultural potentiality of the highlands will support agriculture in the plains.

In addition to these three areas, the *sea* assumes particular importance as an abundant source of marine products and a convenient means of communication and transportation. We must pay adequate attention to the exploitation of the immense resources that the sea offers throughout the course of socialist industrialization, and during the establishment of an orientation in production and a new division of labor. The resources of the sea could contribute effectively to the improvement of the people's standard of living and the enrichment of the nation.

The strategic task for agriculture in the immediate period comprises three targets: "five tons of paddy,\* one

\*Threshed, unmilled rice.

farmer, two pigs." "Five tons of paddy per cultivated hectare" does not only provide enough food for the rice-growers, but also for our entire society. It does not mean that the problem of food will be solved solely with rice. It will be necessary to grow subsidiary food crops, vegetables and other produce in appropriate proportions according to the peculiarities of each region.

"One farmer per cultivated hectare" is a measure not simply to provide adequate manpower for intensive cultivation, but also to achieve a new division of labor which will develop agriculture and industry while reserving part of the labor force for producing export goods.

"Two pigs per cultivated hectare" will not only supply meat for home consumption, but will also provide manure for intensive cultivation and meat for export. The effort to fulfill these three targets means that we are striving to turn monoculture into a diversified agriculture. We are attempting to make full use of the regional economies and redistribute the regional labor force as the basis for a new, nationwide division of labor.

The fulfillment of all these strategic tasks demands a full awareness of our orientation in the construction and development of large-scale socialist agriculture and of the relationship between agriculture and industry in the stage ahead. We must boldly perfect our general and operational guidance of agriculture and adopt a new, practical and thorough style of work. Leading cadres should visit every cooperative and locality to assess the situation there and recommend bold, practical and radical solutions to their economic and technical problems. One should draw general scientific conclusions from the typical individual successes and not be content with mere empiricism. However, any attempt to "multiply" these successes should take full account of the concrete conditions, adapting this acquired experience to each type of animal, plant or soil. Democracy should be broadened and inno-

vations encouraged. Yet, it is necessary to enforce economic and technical discipline strictly, in both production and distribution, in keeping with the peculiarities of each locality and cooperative. Waywardness and diffuseness, the all-encompassing sins of the small producer, must be combated. Party cadres and administrative personnel, particularly at the village and district level, should have a thorough knowledge of the technical and economic peculiarities of every plant and animal. They must solve problems concerning water, fertilizers, seeds, the cultivation calendar and agricultural tools. They should have practical knowledge of cooperative management, and each should specialize in some given field of agricultural production for which he can be held responsible. With a thorough knowledge of the new regulations for the cooperatives, the party cadre and administrative personnel must presently proceed with their scrupulous implementation. While endeavoring to perfect agricultural management and consolidate its machinery from the central to the basic level, we should actively build a new material and technical base, complete the hydraulic networks, and insure a sufficient supply of water for intensive cultivation. Also, we should equip the labor force with appropriate tools, eliminate bad seeds, increase the supply of fertilizers (especially manure and green compost) and perform other vital functions.

Capital accumulation and satisfaction of the people's needs are the two fundamental tasks of the initial period. To fulfill these tasks, our still backward agriculture must go through a process of deep and many-sided revolutionary transformation. This process includes the transformation of the relations of production in coordination with technical improvement, all-sided agricultural development combined with regional specialization, and intensive cultivation and crop rotation coupled with the expansion of cultivated acreage. This revolutionary transformation

cannot be the work of the peasantry alone. It must be the common concern of the working class, the entire socialist state, and all branches and levels. Agriculture, like industry, is a basic branch of the national economy that is built upon socialist collective ownership, though to a lesser degree than industry, and contributes to an expanded social reproduction. Thus, agriculture should not be minimized in our work of general and operational guidance for the national economy. Certainly, slow and unbalanced agricultural development will adversely affect the whole cycle of social reproduction, particularly in the initial stage when agriculture is the basis for the preferential development of heavy industry. Therefore, our central and regional state organs, particularly in the industrial, financial and commercial branches, should better serve agriculture and vigorously promote its development, rapidly bringing about fundamental changes that foreshadow other changes in our entire national economy.

#### *D. Simultaneous Development of the Central and Regional Economies*

To assure close and harmonious coordination with a diversified agriculture that is undergoing a thorough transformation, our industry should comprise two sectors: one run by the central administration and the other by the various regional administrations. Coordination takes place not only on a national level, but also in each region. Agriculture must furnish the central and regional industries with food, labor, raw materials, and a market. Regional as well as central industries must provide means of production and consumer goods for the rural areas. This double relationship between agriculture and both industrial sectors has a constant evolution, depending on the technical level and the scope of production achieved

in each branch and period. While a new division of labor is being carried out in agriculture and centrally-run industry is still immature, the coordination between agriculture and industry at the regional level assumes particular importance for the immediate future. Hence, to achieve an *optimum balance between industry and agriculture*, the responsibilities of economic management must be transferred to the various regional levels. The central administration must provide stronger assistance in promoting prosperous regional economies while building up the different branches of the centrally-run economy.

The building of regional economies alongside a centrally-run economy means the establishment of a rational economic structure, which not only seeks to secure the best possible relationship between industry and agriculture but also offers rational solutions for a whole series of other major problems and relationships in our economy as it progresses from small production to large-scale socialist production. Indeed, the objective development of our economy raises problems on both the national and regional levels and questions concerning the balanced proportion for the whole country and each region. Our socialist economy includes economic branches and enterprises that can prosper only under regional management, besides those that can do so only under central management. Disregard for this objective reality of our economic life and for the distinction between national and regional problems will obstruct the action of economic laws and the expansion of our economy, which has not experienced the capitalist stage of development. Large-scale mechanized production can only result from a judicious combination of concentrated and unified leadership by the central administration and the right of the various regional administrations to collective control. It can only come about through the construction of large enterprises coupled with the conversion of small production and a

redivision of labor on the regional level. We should know how to bring into full play the great potentialities of the entire country and each region to promote the dynamic development of production in many places and on various levels. We should not only make the most of the superior features of socialism for the construction of modern large-scale economic bases which serve as the backbone of our national economy. We should also know how to build appropriate economic organizations at the regional level which will realize all the potentialities of the people and lead them to participate in the construction of the economy, the development of production, and the organization of daily life.

We start from a backward economy and a low standard of living. Yet, the needs of our people and country are becoming more complex. The central authorities can and must only provide for the basic consumer needs of national importance, while the various regions must adequately satisfy secondary needs on time. Close coordination and clear apportionment of responsibilities between the central and regional administrations is the best way to fulfill the people's consumer needs, in accordance with the level of development of the entire country as well as with the possibilities and peculiarities of each region. For these reasons, the problem of the *balance between production and consumption* must be posed and solved not only on a national scale but also for each region. The national and regional balances have their own separate importance; together, they support and complement each other. Once the major problems of balance between production and consumption are solved by the central administration, the various regional administrations are in a position to provide better solutions to similar problems in their areas. Conversely, once local problems of balance are solved, conditions are created for the central administration to settle favorably the major problems of equilibrium that are nationally significant.

A balance between production and consumption in each region will stimulate economic growth, raise the standard of living, and contribute greatly to the national economy. Since each region can develop its potentialities to the highest degree and can emulate other regions in expanding its economy according to its potentialities and requirements, both production and consumption will diversify, and the people's living conditions will be improved. Certainly, basic national standards of consumption must be set for the entire country, since this is a socialist principle and a necessary requirement for a socialist regime of collective ownership.

The advance from small handicraft production to large-scale modern production necessarily demands a *redivision of labor*. A specific division of labor necessarily corresponds to a given technical level. Presently, when productive forces have grown beyond national boundaries, social labor should be distributed not only within the framework of individual nations, but also to a certain extent on an international scale. In our country the agricultural labor force, with a very low productivity, still comprises three-fourths of the total social labor force. Therefore, a new division of labor means primarily a redivision of agricultural labor. The urgent requirements of economic development and the essential aims of labor management in the present stage are: the transfer of part of the food-producing labor force to industrial crop cultivation, livestock breeding, fishing and forestry; the reassignment of agricultural labor to industry, transportation and communication; the conversion of unskilled into skilled labor; and the raising of unproductive labor to a highly productive level. If these steps toward the redivision of labor are timely and rational, then they will quicken the pace of the technical revolution and the birth of a system of large-scale production. We must remain deeply aware that both primitive accumulation and the improvement of the

people's living standards can only be achieved on the basis of a redivision of social labor among the various branches of the economy, and not by maintaining the present state of agricultural labor.

The new division of labor should essentially be put into effect in the various production bases and regions during the immediate stage ahead. No doubt the vigorous growth of the centrally-run economic branches will attract a certain number of rural workers, impart to labor a completely new quality, and transform the structure of the labor force in the direction of large-scale production. However, if we rely solely on the development of the centrally-run branches, the redivision of labor will proceed very slowly. Each year they can absorb only a relatively small portion of the labor force and raise the productivity of only a part of the social labor, while the major part of the work force remaining in the various regions urgently requires rational distribution and utilization. How is it possible to increase the productivity of labor and free part of the agricultural labor force from its old occupations? How can we use this freed labor most advantageously? These are daily problems that can only be grasped and solved in time by individual cooperatives and localities. The setting up of small mechanical workshops in rural areas has saved millions of workdays; yet, in many places this freed labor has not been channeled into new occupations. New wealth has not been created for society, and the productivity of agricultural labor has not been raised. If these shortcomings in economic management are not overcome in time, the introduction of science and techniques into agriculture will be hampered, the new division of labor hindered, and the building of the new economy slowed down.

The law of development of the division of labor in our county, as it progresses from small to large-scale production, requires our greatest efforts to promote not only the



growth of the centrally-run economic branches, but also the rational development of the various regional economies. Only on the basis of a redivision of labor together with economic construction in each region can we proceed to a redivision of labor for the whole society. Conversely, the expansion of the national economy and of centrally-run branches will effect the economic and labor situation in the various regions and accelerate the redivision of labor there.

In the relationship between town and countryside, there are usually two aspects: separation of town from countryside on one hand, and the urbanization of the countryside on the other. These two processes are by no means independent and separate; they are closely linked with the development of the economy, especially industry. The separation of town from countryside is in fact the separation of industry from agriculture. The urbanization of the countryside is in effect the industrialization of agriculture and the location of industry in rural areas—the close coordination of industry and agriculture. The construction of a centrally-run economy with the concurrent development of the various regional economies is the best way to associate town and countryside and quickly to eliminate the differences between the two. The construction of centrally-run industrial bases at appropriate sites and expansion of the regional economies (including agriculture and regional industry) will enable us to *develop both town and countryside*. In many places, towns will appear that are closely connected with rural areas. In addition to some relatively large cities which will serve as political, economic and cultural centers for the whole country, we will build, in proportion to our economic growth, a large number of small and medium-sized towns in various places. They will influence the rural areas and help them to progress rapidly in economic, social and cultural fields. We shall have then given every region a

new face, in the highlands as well as the lowlands, and provide for all citizens material welfare and a rich and wholesome cultural life, wherever they may live.

The concurrent construction of the central and regional economies also creates a *firm economic basis for the people's national defense*. The strength of the people's war in our country lies in the power of the entire people standing up to oppose the enemy. This power is organized into political and military forces which use appropriate tactics in the strategic areas: hill-forest, plains, and urban. Each province is both an operationally and logistically strategic unit, both for combat and production. Therefore, it is not only necessary to build modern heavy industry. One must also construct solid regional economies. Similarly, it is not enough to turn out great productive forces, but also know how to distribute them geographically, in accordance with our military strategy. By making these preparations, we will be able to maintain and expand our combat strength and our production potential in any kind of war or under any circumstance, and to foster the people's strength for a protracted struggle.

As a result of the law of economic development in our country *many new relationships between the central and regional economies* have developed, and many new problems of economic management have been raised.

The expansion of the regional economies leads to heavier managerial duties, and the functions of the centralized management of the national administration become more complex. As our economy develops, many regional problems will assume national importance. Numerous questions of balanced proportion and production of a regional character will take on national dimensions. Thus, the central economy will be strengthened step by step because of the expanding regional innovations and potentialities. However, the functions of regional

management will also grow more complex as the economy develops. While questions of balanced proportion and production areas that have gone beyond the bounds of regional management are turned over to the central administration, a whole series of new problems relating to these matters will arise from local economic life. Thus, economic life supplies an ever changing and developing content to the management of both the central and regional administrations. The centrally-run economy will not be weakened by its extension to the various regions. Neither will centralization check the growth of the regional economies. Previously, we had taken steps to apportion economic responsibilities between the central and provincial administrations, but this was not clearly set forth. We had not yet taken full account of the reality of the law that our socialist economy must necessarily comprise both regional and centrally-run economies. The distribution of managerial responsibilities to the various regions seeks to create conditions for the regional expansion of agriculture and industry and for the implementation of a new division of labor. On this basis, distribution of responsibilities can make a greater contribution to the development of the central economy, as well as provide timely solutions for the problems raised locally by the people, according to the line and policies laid down by the central authority.

Because of this delegation of managerial responsibility in all fields within our unified economic structure, there will be a centrally-run and regional economies—a centrally-run industry and local industries, and likewise in planning and budgets. Regional economic management and the development of regional economies are by no means the same as the transformation of each region into an independent economic unit. The central administration provides unified and concentrated leadership of the whole economic system through the national plan comprising

the major balances and indices, the establishment of major policies and basic standards for production and consumption, and the allocation of resources and capital. The central economy includes the most important branches. It is the leading force and lever for the entire national economy. Each region will build and manage its own economy on the basis of the line, policies, common orientation and plan laid down by the central administration. Each regional economy is a component of the national economy and at the same time a rational and balanced structure within its own area. Although it follows the common orientation, plan and policies worked out by the central administration, it also reflects the innovations, creativity, traits and peculiarities of each particular region.

The relations between the regions are actually relations of socialist cooperation between the various sections of a nationwide division of social labor. These relations have many aspects: exchange and assistance as regards technique, raw materials, and consumption; cooperative efforts for economic and cultural projects of common interest, etc. They are under the guidance of the central authorities and should not run counter to the state plan; on the contrary, they should complement and enrich it.

The provinces must possess all the necessary conditions for developing their economies. Along with the delegation of managerial responsibilities to them in the economic, cultural and educational fields, the provinces must be assured of adequate manpower, resources, finances, and a market to meet their requirements for economic development and an extensive redivision of labor. Naturally, the optimum requirements for any region are not rigidly or immutably determined, nor are they identical for all the provinces. In determining these requirements, we should carefully weigh all factors: territory, population, industrial and agricultural resources, means of transportation

and communication, and others. Thus, we will achieve an arrangement conducive to a balanced expansion of the regional economies.

The multiple and complex relations between the centrally-run economy and the various regional economies should be delineated in a whole series of regulations and practical measures, for example, on planning, revenue and expenditure, and allocation of resources and products. We should not be content with a number of general principles and slogans for implementing the line and policies on economic development advocated by the Party and the state. On the contrary, we should make a thorough study of organizational problems, rules and regulations. We must clearly assign work and responsibility which will avoid both unnecessary duplication and a scarcity of directing personnel, guarding against both bureaucratic centralization and anarchistic dispersal.

### *E. Improvement of Economic Management*

The establishment of an appropriate system of management assumes tremendous importance once the line and orientation for economic development have been formulated. This system may decide the success or failure of the line itself. Our present system and machinery of economic management is inadequate, and not yet equal to the tasks of economic construction. The implementation of the Party's line and policies is affected, and the pace of economic transformation and construction is somewhat slowed down. Yet, many comrades are not fully aware of our shortcomings in this area. They have not fully understood the importance of economic management, and they have not seriously undertaken the work of economic organization.

The management of the economy is actually the super-

vision of a living organism which develops according to objective laws. A managerial system can only be considered appropriate if it fully reflects the laws governing the evolution of the economy as a whole and the peculiarities of each region, sector, unit, and period. Since it originates in objective reality and varies with the economic conjuncture, a managerial system tolerates neither waywardness, schematism, nor bureaucratism. It requires that the leaders from all branches and at all levels be thoroughly acquainted with economic conditions and sensitive to the emergence of new factors. The strength of the dictatorship of the proletariat arises from the ability to comprehend the laws of development and to propose measures that meet its demands.

Since the development of production and the redivision of labor in the North are presently in the initial stage, economic management must show extreme flexibility and conform to both the universal economic laws of socialism and the laws which govern the transformation from small to large-scale production. It must reflect most fully both the unified central leadership and collective control of the various regions and basic units. We must step up planning while proceeding with a wider application of cost accounting and a judicious utilization of market relations. Material incentives should be utilized along with an intensification of political and ideological education and a heightening of the socialist consciousness of the masses.

Planning is the special advantage of the socialist economic system, and therefore it should receive primary attention in socialist economic management. Neglect of planning and underestimation of the law of planned economic development will lead to an abandonment of the essence of the socialist economy and the abolition of the role of the dictatorship of the proletariat in organizing and managing the economy. Of course, there are several

problems facing us at present. How are we to carry out the work of planning in our economy? To what extent should we utilize market relations and levers such as credit, prices, wages and profits? These are among the fundamental questions of economic management in our country at the present time.

Since we are beginning with small-scale production, we are faced with economic problems that are both nationally and regionally significant. Thus, comprehensive plans should be worked out on the central, regional and basic levels. This is an objective necessity which conforms with the present level of our economy and the essential tasks of the initial stage of economic expansion and accumulation. The planning authorities at each level are entrusted with tasks and powers which will enable them to solve their own specific economic problems and contribute greatly to the development of the national economy. The central plan sets the orientation for the entire national economy. It determines the pace and rate of growth of the key branches. It defines the major balances and stages of economic development and sets forth the major tasks and indices for the whole country. Under the general leadership and operational guidance of the central planning authorities, each region and basic unit will work out its own plan of development for fulfilling the tasks and indices of the central plan. Also, the central plan must imaginatively and ingeniously take advantage of all potentialities, fulfilling all tasks and solving all problems arising at the regional or basic levels. Each planning echelon is a unit for production and cost accounting as well as for accumulation and extended reproduction. In addition to the economic and technical indices fixed for the entire nation, each level must have its own goals. Although the three planning levels are each given different tasks and functions, they form an organic whole in which the leading position is occupied by the central planning authorities.

Our national economy is going through a process of rapid revolutionary change. New requirements, potentialities, and balances constantly appear in both production and consumption, which can be comprehended only through actual practice. Thus, we must *hold firm to the long-term plan*, which outlines the development of the national economy over a relatively long period and includes major projects for the construction and expansion of large-scale production. At the same time, we must *pay the greatest attention to short-term plans*, which are concrete operational plans for realizing a specific target, settling specific questions and providing timely solutions for problems that arise during the implementation of the plan.

Without a long-term plan, extending from five to ten years for instance, it is impossible to visualize the development of the entire economy. Nor could we carry out all the necessary preparations, such as accumulation of capital, training of cadres and workers, scientific and technical research, fundamental investigations and geological surveys, delimitation of economic zones, planning of production, and other tasks. Yet, under the present economic conditions, we must attach the greatest importance to our short-term, yearly plans, and assure their monthly, even daily implementation for these practical activities to bear tangible fruits. The regular style of work for all economic services must include a clear comprehension of economic development, a thorough grasp of the situation in the basic units, the uncovering of new factors, and the prompt correction of all defects. In this sense, supervision of the economy and production may be compared to commanding a military operation.

An important sector of our present socialist economy consists of dispersed handicrafts. Many social needs, especially daily necessities, are too numerous and diverse for our state to anticipate or satisfy. Along with direction



of the economy, this situation demands that our state should *skillfully combine the plan with the market*, supplementing the former with the latter. The state plan, which may be considered the second program of the Party, is a state law enacted by the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Although we must regulate fundamental economic relations and essential balances with this plan, we also utilize the market mechanism to control economic indices and adjust certain subordinate economic activities not included in the directives of the plan. We must not only devote great attention to the work of planning and the plan indices, but we must also strictly control market activity to encourage the positive function of the market while checking its negative influence on planned economic management.

The practice of economic construction in our own and other socialist countries proves that economic management must *correctly utilize certain levers*, such as prices, wages, profit, and credit, and fully enforce the system of cost accounting and the socialist mode of business. The commodity-money relationship is the result of history and is closely related to a given level of development of production. When this relationship develops on the basis of private ownership, it is accompanied by class differentiation and accelerates the division of society into rich and poor. However, once the economic levers are in the hands of the proletarian state, the exploiting classes have been abolished, and the small producers have turned toward collective work, then a judicious and rational development of the commodity-money relationship, along with a redivision of labor and a technical revolution, will become a positive factor in promoting the growth of production and the organization of a new life. Therefore, to bring into play the law of value, cost accounting, and the levers of profit, wages, prices, and credit is an extremely important economic problem. The law of value

and the practice of cost accounting make it possible to gauge the effectiveness of economic and technical measures and to assess the quality of work in each enterprise, region, branch and level. They permit the mobilization of latent economic potentialities and the encouragement of innovation, thriftiness and industriousness in the interests of the state and the nation. The work of economic construction in a poor country such as ours, with low labor productivity and limited financial resources, demands an intensive preoccupation with business efficiency if we are to satisfy our immediate needs while achieving extended reproduction. Indeed, we must accumulate profits for extended reproduction on a national scale, as well as within each branch, level and basic economic unit. All branches, levels and units must show definite progress after each production cycle. However, profits and losses should not be viewed with the petty mentality of the small individual producer. In our present conditions, the greatest profit lies in extended production, a multiplication of branches and trades, an increase in the quantity of products, and the raising of labor productivity in each branch and the entire national economy. Only on this basis can we speak of profits and reconcile profit-making with the socialist nature of our economy. Thus, on one hand, we must make profits in each branch and period whenever possible. On the other hand, if we take into consideration the development of the entire economy over a long period, then we can comprehensively examine the question of profits and losses.

During the advance from small to large-scale production and from a natural to a commodity economy, the problem of *circulation and distribution* becomes more important in relation to the process of social reproduction. Circulation is an intermediate link between the various sectors of production, and between production and consumption. It binds the various economic branches and

sectors into a unified system and ties our national economy with those of other nations. With its many branches, circulation must actively serve production, expand economic exchange, reinforce the pricing policy, stimulate buying and selling, and reduce circulation costs. Only in this way can we bring about a new division of labor, encourage extended reproduction, contribute to capital accumulation and better satisfy the people's needs. The cadres of the trade services are not "vulgar merchants." They should be considered the "housewives" of society and the "commissaries" of the people, who look after the economic interests of all the members of society and insure their right to rule.

The financial and banking services are the central mechanism for the distribution of the national income, the clearing house and nerve center of the entire national economy. Therefore, they must not merely take in capital, but also create conditions for more rapid capital accumulation and concentration. Moreover, they must wisely distribute the national income and maintain a rational relationship between accumulation and consumption in keeping with the distinctive characteristics and requirements of each stage of economic development.

Since our country is still poor, with very low labor productivity, the establishment of a correct relationship between primitive accumulation and immediate consumption is a very difficult task. A qualitative leap in economic expansion toward heavy industry and a system of large-scale production that would provide the basis for a prosperous economy and an abundant life is inconceivable without primitive accumulation. Thus, it is imperative that we "tighten our belts," make only indispensable expenditures, and resolutely reserve funds for accumulation. These measures demonstrate our people's high political consciousness for socialist construction. Yet, the very nature of the socialist economy, the necessity for increas-

ing labor productivity and expanding production, demand that we should carefully and attentively look after the people's welfare and meet all their basic needs, with the determination to eliminate all unnecessary shortages and complications in their daily life.

Through their activities, the financial and banking services must strengthen their control and supervision over the various branches, regions and production units. They must encourage all branches and levels to perfect their economic planning and production orientation, drastically save labor, resources and money, and resolutely combat waste and embezzlement. These last two evils should be viewed as unpardonable offenses. They not only drain our material wealth, but also impair the new relations of production and influence the thoughts and feelings of the new socialist man.

Economic cadres of all branches and levels, especially those of the trade, financial and banking services, should study diligently in order to acquire a thorough understanding of the economic line and policies of the Party and the state, and a fundamental knowledge of circulation, distribution and credit. They must also fully grasp the importance of the system of levers, which should be expanded and strengthened for use in economic management and supervision.

An outstanding feature of economic management in our country at present is the following: In addition to the management of a socialist economy progressing from dispersed small-scale production to concentrated large-scale production, we also must operate modern, strictly organized and highly concentrated enterprises. Hence, besides the establishment of a common managerial system for the entire national economy, we must work out an appropriate managerial system for enterprises according to the following basic principles: fulfill the political tasks of the enterprise; thoroughly master techniques and

create conditions for their improvement; observe production discipline in all respects—planning, materials and equipment, finances, and labor; guarantee the workers right to collective control and adequate living conditions. These fundamental managerial principles reflect the concentrated and unified character of modern industry and the collective control of the working masses. They ceaselessly stimulate and increase labor productivity and help improve the living standards of the working people. These principles embody the purposes of enterprise management.

The *formation of a powerful machinery* is essential if we are to carry out our tasks of economic management, the development of production and the organization of social life. It must meet the requirements of economic management and take into account the peculiarities of each branch and region. It must be systematically oriented toward the base and be thoroughly acquainted with every economic and technical problem. We must guard against modeling it after an administrative service, which would divorce it from the economic tasks and prevent it from meeting the needs of technique in production. Important problems may arise which no one has been entrusted to settle, or there may be duplication of responsibilities and powers. There may be an abundance of desk personnel, along with a scarcity of managers, controllers and supervisors, which will result in an impairment of managerial efficiency. Therefore, working relationships and correct rules and regulations must be established between the operative parts of the apparatus, clearly delimiting powers and responsibilities. These procedures should insure the autonomy of each branch and level, subject to the overall sovereignty of the state. The right of the various management levels to allocate labor, money and resources for the exploitation of all potentialities and the successful completion of all production tasks should be

guaranteed on the basis of general economic and technical standards, and within the framework of the state plan.

It is crucial to pay great attention to the economic, technical, and personnel controls in the relationships between the various branches and levels. The work of control and the supervision of economic contracts should become a management routine, which will promptly allow us to correct all errors and inadequacies in our practical managerial work.

The correct determination of the *relationship between the Party, the state and the masses* in the area of economic management is an important task of economic organization. Since the Party is the leader and the general staff of the army for economic construction, it must work out the fundamental line and policies, and decide on the major principles and measures. It must also see to the mobilization of the masses for the powerful offensive on the economic front, and control all activities of the state organs. The Party's leadership is an historical necessity which gives our economy a correct orientation, safeguards the interests of the various strata of the people, and ceaselessly strengthens the people's ruling position. Our Party has no axe to grind, either in the revolution in general or in economic construction in particular. The entire national economy, as well as each factory and field, is the people's property under different forms of collective ownership and different economic and technical conditions. This objective reality requires that our Party work out different methods of leadership appropriate for each area (industry, agriculture, factories, cooperatives, etc.) which will firmly maintain its leadership, and uphold the managerial functions of the administration, while insuring that the masses can directly exercise their right to rule.

As the symbol of the people's sovereignty, the state is the organ of power which manages the national economy

in the name of the people. Therefore, its managerial and organizational functions must be brought into play so that the Party's economic line and policies can be implemented. The various levels of state power—acting on the basis of laws, statutes, and rules, as well as through the medium of their specialized technical and professional agencies—directly manage the economy, guide production and distribution, and harmonize the material interests of the various social strata according to the Party's line. The responsibilities of the Party at all levels are the construction of a strong state apparatus and respect for the managerial bodies at the various levels and their role as "organs of power," assuring them every condition and adequate powers for economic management. Our Party's success in economic leadership is not limited to its having charted a correct course nor to the mobilization of its ranks for serious economic and technical work. It has also created a strong administrative system that is capable of shouldering managerial tasks and of translating the Party's line and policies into the practical deeds of the masses.

In the last analysis, the aim of both the Party's leadership and the managerial role of the administration is to assure the people's right of collective control in all spheres of social life. However, we must devise adequate forms of direct mass participation in economic management and in the control over the activities of the Party and state organs if we are to muster the strength of the entire people for economic construction and prevent all manifestations of bureaucratism and abuse of power.

The *trade unions* are the "school of communism" and also the school of economic management and of education for the working masses. They must imbue the workers with the political tasks of their enterprises, and with their position and importance in the system of production, the people's life and the destiny and future of the country.

They must constantly raise the workers' consciousness and capabilities as rulers and urge them to participate effectively in all productive activities and in the life of their enterprises. The organs for economic management must heed the opinions of the trade unions, for this means that they are listening to a mass political organization and respecting the masses' right to collective control. Thus, the trade unions mobilize and guide the workers toward full participation in the emulation movement to invest it with a genuine mass character and demonstrate that the workers are the actual masters of their enterprises. In fact, socialist emulation is a product of the collective economic system and the new democratic government, and has a rich content—political, moral, economic, and technical. It is an appropriate means for the mobilization and education of the masses and a powerful motivating force for stimulating production, improving technique, and increasing labor productivity. It judiciously reconciles the interests of the state with the interests of each collective and the individual.

The *Working Youth Union*, the shock brigade on the front of production, science and technique, must hold a prominent position in the managerial apparatus, especially at the basic level. Party and state organs must rely on it for the fulfillment of their new and extensive economic responsibilities and the solution of complex scientific and technical problems. Our young people are toughened and educated in the course of these seething social activities. They are turned into true collective masters of society, both in production and in daily life.

Throughout our entire national economy, as well as in each economic unit, there must be constant and close coordination between the Party, the state and the people. Only on this basis can the people's sovereignty be fully and permanently safeguarded and the socialist government be truly consolidated.



The advance to socialism without going through the stage of capitalist development is the shortest way to freedom and happiness for the working people. We will have to face many difficulties and hardships, for we are starting from scratch, having inherited very little from the old society. Indeed, this is a new historical road.

This revolutionary road is beset with difficulties. Yet, with the guidance of Marxism-Leninism and thanks to the rich experience of the fraternal nations, as well as our own, our Party has gradually achieved a full grasp of the law of revolutionary development and has perfected its line and policies. In addition, after over ten years of socialist revolution under varying circumstances, we have accumulated valuable experience in economic construction and social transformation. Both our managerial and technical cadre have matured, and their ranks have expanded. The new relations of production occupy a dominant position in society, playing a highly positive role in economic development and in the resistance to American aggression for our national salvation. A number of material bases for future progress have been created as a result of our people's diligent labor. Lastly, we have received substantial assistance from fraternal nations and have benefited from their experiences in economic, technical, and other fields. These accomplishments are *fundamental advantages* by which we will be able to make firm advances. There is no doubt that in the period ahead we will achieve even greater successes in the socialist revolution. We will further increase the economic potential of the North for an improvement of the people's standard of living. Together with our 14 million countrymen in the South, we are absolutely determined to win a complete victory over the American aggressors.

Our generation feels boundless pride in its defeat of the two big imperialisms of the French and the Americans, and also in its opening the way for the building of a

socialist fatherland on Vietnamese soil—a fatherland that is strong and beautiful, independent and free, where democracy and happiness prevails, in fulfillment of the wishes of Uncle Ho and our entire people.

**PART THREE**

**THE PARTY:  
ORGANIZER OF ALL VICTORIES**



## CHAPTER 6

### THE CREATIVE APPLICATION OF MARXISM TO OUR COUNTRY

Forty years is but a very short period in our national history of more than 4,000 years. Yet, it is during these last 40 years that our people have recorded their greatest and proudest achievements. It is in this period that, having become integrated into the general stream of progressive mankind, they have surged forward, driven by the powerful vitality of the new era, the glorious traditions of their nation, and a full consciousness of their destiny and future.

Our country is neither very large nor greatly populated. Our feudal society had stagnated for a long time. Then, imperialist enslavement was imposed for nearly 100 years, in which even the name of Vietnam was erased from the map. Yet, within the span of a quarter century, our people have risen up and carried out an uninterrupted series of revolutionary activities: the August Revolution, the war of resistance against French colonialism, the socialist revolution in the North, and the resistance against American aggression for national salvation. By their nature and scope, and by their historical importance from both a national and international perspective, these revolutionary deeds have elevated our country and people to the level of the new era—an era which has witnessed the triumph of the lofty ideals of national independence, democracy, and socialism.

The founding of our Party and its leadership in the revolution were the primary and essential factors which

determined all these historic successes. *Our Party, a new-type proletarian party, holds firm the invincible banner of Marxism-Leninism. It is a proletarian party which faithfully and fully represents the vital interests and legitimate aspirations of the working class, the toiling people, and the entire nation. It is a Marxist-Leninist party with a close-knit organization, a tradition of unity and oneness of mind, and intimate ties with the masses.*

Armed with both Marxist-Leninist revolutionary science and over 100 years of valuable experience from the world proletarian movement, our Party has lead the Vietnamese revolution along the right path. It has thoroughly fulfilled the tasks of the people's national democratic revolution in the North, advancing it to the stage of socialist revolution, and has striven to complete the people's national democratic revolution throughout the entire country.

Our Party's glorious success in the people's national democratic revolution is the result of its creative and judicious solution of a series of very basic strategic and tactical problems:

—The establishment and continual consolidation of working class leadership, with *the Marxist-Leninist Party* as its vanguard.

—*A correct combination of two strategic tasks: the fight against imperialism and the struggle against feudalism, the latter being carried out step by step and in close coordination with the fight against imperialism, serving that fight effectively.*

—The mobilization of large forces of the peasantry for a firm and successful *worker-peasant* alliance, the mainstay of the revolution and the key guarantee that exclusive leadership is exercised by the party of the working class.

—The gathering of a broad *National United Front* on the basis of the worker-peasant alliance, bringing together all patriotic and progressive forces and directing the

thrust of the revolution against the common enemy of the nation.

—A skillful utilization of the enemy's internal contradictions, dividing his ranks, neutralizing all possible forces, isolating the most dangerous adversary, and creating more favorable conditions for the progress of the revolution.

—A flexible and accurate application of revolutionary methods, utilizing all forms of organization and struggle suited to each period, *taking as the fundamental task the building up of the political forces of the masses and, on that basis, establishing the revolutionary armed forces.* Whenever a revolutionary situation has prevailed, the Party has used both political and military forces, combined military with political struggle, attacked the enemy in both urban and rural areas, and advanced step by step to complete victory.

—The consolidation and strengthening of *the people's democratic power*, the great revolutionary achievement, using it as an effective instrument in pursuing the war of resistance and in building the new society.

—The strengthening of *international unity* on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

For more than ten years, we in the North have invested the people's democratic state with the historic role of the *dictatorship of the proletariat* while, at the same time, struggling side by side with our Southern countrymen to complete the national democratic revolution throughout the entire nation. The dictatorship of the proletariat brings about the transition to socialism in the North through the simultaneous accomplishment of a triple revolution: a revolution in the relations of production, a technical revolution, and an ideological and cultural revolution, with *the technical revolution as central*. Socialist revolution is still quite a novelty to us, but the facts of the last ten years allow us to affirm that the basic orienta-

tion for socialist construction in the North as advocated by our Party is entirely correct.

The extensive experience gained from 40 years of revolution in Vietnam is a consequence of the successful application of Marxism-Leninism to a colonial and semi-feudal country. Our Party history for that period points to the creative application of universal Marxist-Leninist principles to the concrete conditions of our country. Originating and developing in a society with a majority of peasants, our Party has drawn many members of the peasantry into its ranks. Yet, it has constantly and completely preserved its character as a revolutionary party of the working class, primarily because it is imbued with Marxist-Leninist ideology and is absolutely loyal to it, and because its political and organizational line is Marxist-Leninist, the line of the working class. Marxism-Leninism is the most radically revolutionary doctrine, the only one that is scientific. Like a beacon, it has shown our Party how to solve all problems of the Vietnamese revolution and work out correct revolutionary lines and methods. Thus, we were able to overcome bourgeois, as well as narrow nationalistic, reformism, and the petty bourgeois claim to "stand above classes." We could thwart the provocations and attempted sabotage of the Trotskyites and other counter-revolutionary elements. We overcame the political waverings and Right and "Left" deviations within the Party, and successfully performed all the revolutionary tasks of each period.

Our Party places great importance on the study of the revolutionary experience of fraternal countries and parties, as an absolute necessity for a proletarian party wishing to discharge its responsibilities. Nonetheless, the concrete practice of the Vietnamese revolution and the living realities of Vietnamese society with its distinctive features (historical, sociological, economic, national, traditional, and others) are the starting point for the Party



in the application of Marxist-Leninist principles, universal laws, and the lessons of fraternal nations with regard to the national democratic and socialist revolution. The tremendous victories of the Vietnamese revolution are due precisely to the independent and creative elaboration of the Party's line and method.

### *A. Strengthening of Party Leadership in the New Stage*

Compared with past revolutionary tasks, our present duties are heavier and more complex. On the one hand, the Party must exert great effort to complete the national democratic revolution in the entire nation. With many hardships and sacrifices ahead, it must lead the struggle of our entire people for total victory against American aggression. On the other hand, it must strongly promote socialist revolution and construction in the North, an almost completely new undertaking. For this tremendous work we can rely on fundamental advantages gained from our achievements over the past decade. Yet, this is only an initial step. A Communist always has a straightforward approach to reality, and he is capable of looking into the future. Obviously, handicraft labor presently makes up a major part of the social labor in the North. Thus, we are still a long way from our ideal and the people's aspirations for socialism. Our people and Party will have to exert the most extraordinary efforts and overcome countless difficulties to introduce modern industry and agriculture, and an advanced culture and science.

Since Party leadership is the factor which determines all successes, the pivotal question for the completion of our present revolutionary tasks revolves around the *effort to reinforce this leadership*.

Our Party is in power. The historical responsibility of

such a party, far from becoming any lighter, to the contrary grows all the heavier. As everybody knows, the fundamental problem of all revolutions is power. Viewed in its entirety, the conquest of power is not the final objective of revolutionary activity for the Party and the proletarian class struggle. The seizure of power is not the end of the revolution; it is only the beginning.

It is absolutely necessary for the proletariat to seize power, for without the overthrow of the ruling class and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, it will not be able to complete the class struggle. This completion demands the abolition of not only the exploiting classes but even the sources of exploitation, and not only class antagonisms but even class differences. It requires the eradication of the causes of poverty and destitution and the creation of a life of abundance and happiness for the people. In short, a whole new society must be built, a communist and classless society in which material welfare and a rich spiritual life are enjoyed by all.

The role of the Party assumes even greater importance throughout the period of profound and extensive social transformations and organized and planned changes that are in keeping with the law of objective historical development. The Party is the most active and best organized element in society; it is the most ideologically and politically conscious group. It has a clear view of the trend of the times and the prospects and objectives of the struggle. It alone can organize and arouse the masses, and can concentrate, coordinate and stimulate all activities and efforts of the component parts of the social apparatus for the completion of its historic task—the building of a new society.

*The Party must continue its comprehensive studies which will develop and perfect its political line, making it more concrete, to strengthen its leadership during the present stage. This political line, determined at the Third*

Party Congress and by subsequent Central Committee plenums, remains our fundamental orientation. Practice proves that our Party has followed the right course. However, dialectical materialism teaches us never to be content with our present grasp of things. Since society and life never stop changing and developing, especially now that we are in the initial stage of the transitional period, we must carry out continual and thorough investigations of the facts. Basing ourselves on actual socio-economic processes, the knowledge gained by the masses, and an examination of our own achievements and deficiencies, we must make far-reaching analyses, and sum up our experiences in theoretical generalizations which will continually supplement and develop the Party's line and policies to make them more concrete.

The objective laws of social development must always remain the starting point for the Party's line. Indeed, the Party's correct course in both the national democratic revolution and in war is due to its thorough grasp of the laws of revolution and people's war. It is even less permissible to ignore these objective laws during the socialist revolution and the construction of socialism. Engels' advice was: "constantly to keep in mind that socialism, having become a science, demands the same treatment as every other science—it must be studied."\* The dictatorship of the proletariat and the revolutionary enthusiasm of the people are extremely important motive forces without which any consideration of socialist construction is inconceivable. But, it would be a very serious mistake to think that they are sufficient for socialist construction without taking into account the objective laws and economic facts which are sometimes very "obstinate and intractable." Although Lenin emphatically stressed the role of subjective factors—man, the vanguard party, the

\*Frederick Engels, "Preface to the Second Edition," *The Peasant War in Germany*, International Publishers, N.Y., 1966, p. 29.

masses—he repeatedly reminded the Communist parties never to base their policies on wishful thinking or take their sentiments as the starting point for revolutionary strategy and tactics. Lenin's entire political activity is a clear example of this approach. It is well known that Lenin advocated a transition from war communism to the New Economic Policy. Throughout the elaboration and implementation of this policy, he went to great lengths to persuade Communists full of revolutionary zeal but ignorant of economic laws that this policy did not mean a restoration of capitalism, but was the only policy that would enable Russia to defeat capitalism and embark on the transitional stage to socialism.

Our Party has fully attained a mature comprehension of the laws of the national democratic revolution and the people's war, but it has only taken the initial steps in grasping the laws of socialist revolution and construction. It will only be able to fulfill its responsibilities as leader of society by exerting extraordinary effort and maturing with exceptional speed in this respect. The triumph of the revolution, as well as revolutionary creativity, always results from a judicious combination of the general and the particular in the application of objective laws. Since our country of predominantly small-scale production is advancing directly to socialism without passing through the stage of capitalist development, we are bound to face several entirely new problems. The basic orientation of socialist revolution and construction in our country consists of an adherence to the dictatorship of the proletariat and a closely coordinated implementation of the triple revolution, with the technical revolution as the central emphasis. But, the operation of the laws of socialist industrialization, the technical revolution, the revolution in the relations of production, and the ideological and cultural revolution, as well as the laws governing a whole series of economic relationships, pose problems in our

national conditions which must be carefully considered by the Party. We must make an even fuller and more thorough examination of the principles of scientific socialism, decisively grasp the realities of the Vietnamese revolution, and learn from the experience of the fraternal countries. In particular, we must sum up the experience of the years of socialist revolution and construction in order to raise the Party's theoretical level and to illuminate the practical problems. On that basis, we must further develop and perfect the Party's line and policies and make them even more effective by imparting to them an ever more scientific character.

*Increasing the effectiveness of the Party and state machinery in practical organization is presently a crucial and urgent problem in our endeavor to develop the Party's fighting capacity and strengthen its social leadership.* The planning of a correct course is of decisive importance, but it is not enough. We must also engage in vast organizational work for the mobilization and full utilization of all social forces, and all material and moral potentialities to fulfill our concrete tasks.

In the people's national democratic revolution, our Party has not only followed the right course, but has also demonstrated great organizational abilities. It has carried out scientifically valid organizational work during clandestine and legal action, armed and political struggle, normal situations and times of crises, and both before and after the appearance of revolutionary situations. It has mobilized, marshaled and activated all the latent potentialities of the masses and all principal and secondary revolutionary possibilities. It has devised and skillfully combined the most varied forms of propaganda, organization and struggle appropriate for the relation of forces between ourselves and the enemy in each period.

In the past decade, our people have had to concentrate on their duties to the great military front. In the last few

years, they also have had to deal with a savage war of destruction, which has to a certain extent upset our social life. Nonetheless, under the leadership of the Party, they have recorded important achievements in socialist construction, economic and cultural development, and the organization of daily life. This shows that our Party has not only followed a correct line, but in practical organization it has also begun to show its maturity in the new revolutionary stage. However, because of the demands of socialist construction, both our knowledge and organizational abilities are still inadequate and imperfect. Economic construction calls for diligence, accuracy, planning, coordination, synchronization, efficiency, and other abilities. Yet, there are signs of embarrassment, slackness, sluggishness, and inefficiency in many parts of our management apparatus which regulates the economy and production, and assures the people's needs. These signs reveal our weaknesses in practical organization.

A direct transition to socialism without passing through the stage of capitalist development means that we have not gone through the school of large-scale mechanized production. This situation accounts for the weaknesses shown by our Party and state in organization and management.

With its dispersed, scattered, diffuse, unpredictable and anarchistic character, small-scale production has left us nothing but harmful working styles and habits which clash with the organizational requirements of a system of large-scale socialist production. Since we are starting from small-scale production, we must choose not only between the capitalist or socialist line of economic development, but also between the handicraft or large-scale industrial method of organization. Any erroneous line would deflect our revolutionary orientation and lead to the abolition of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Nor could genuine socialism with a large-scale mechanized

system of production develop if we commit organizational and managerial mistakes and introduce the attitudes and methods of the small producer, to which we have been accustomed for many generations, into our organizational and managerial activities.

We possess fundamental advantages: a correct political line, the incisive power of the dictatorship of the proletariat, a firm worker-peasant alliance, a broad national union, the immense strength of the new relations of production, the people's revolutionary enthusiasm, abundant natural resources, and the devoted assistance of the fraternal countries. But, what we lack most is knowledge in economics, science, and techniques, as well as organizational and managerial abilities.

Throughout the national democratic revolution and in war, we have been schooled in courage, daring, perseverance and bravery. These qualities give us an immense advantage, a very precious asset. But they cannot compensate for our lack of organizational ability in the construction and expansion of the economy, cultural development, and the supply of services for improving the people's living conditions. These basic tasks are an obligation of the party in power, of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Many of our comrades on all levels, from the central administration down to the basic units (factories, state farms, cooperatives) and in both Party and state organs, are insufficiently aware of the importance of organization. They separate political and organizational work from organizational activities. They substitute political and ideological generalities, even "desk work" in the case of some comrades, for organization. Organization is arduous work which demands great effort, thorough study and investigation, and much thought and experimentation to uncover the right methods. This job requires getting down to brass tacks, closely watching over the execution of

assignments, remedying defects in time, and solving new problems arising from changes in the situation, and the like. In short, these tasks and activities are beset with hardships and difficulties.

Lenin stated: "We must *fully realize* that in order to administer successfully, *besides* being able to convince people, besides being able to win a civil war, we must be able to do *practical organizational work*. This is the most difficult task, because it is a matter of organizing in a new way the most deep-rooted, the economic foundations of life of scores of millions of people. And it is the most gratifying task, because only *after* it has been fulfilled (in the principle and main outlines) will it be possible to say that Russia *has become* not only a Soviet, but also a socialist, republic."\*

In the revolution led by the bourgeoisie the only task performed by the toiling masses was the overthrow of the feudal regime. The organization of the new society was in the hands of a minority of exploiters, the bourgeoisie. Indeed, this undertaking did not demand much effort on their part, for capitalist society and economy took shape in a spontaneous, disorderly, and anarchistic way at the cost of untold suffering for the laboring people.

On the other hand, in the socialist revolution that follows the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the conquest of power, the working class and the laboring people, led by the Party, face a gigantic creative task. They must organize and build a new society free from the exploitation of man by man which develops in a vigorous and balanced way all the aspects of economic and cultural life. Socialism and communism is a system of production and distribution which is extremely scientific, complex, elaborate, and progressively rational. It guarantees immense productive growth and labor productivity on the basis of

\*V. I. Lenin, "The Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government," in *Selected Works*, International Publishers, N.Y., Vol. II, p. 650.



a constant renovation of technique and a continuous improvement of the relations of production. It is the best organized society and the highest form of social organization in history. Thus, the triumph of our cause greatly depends on the organizational ability of the working class, represented by our Party, and on the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the primary instrument for the construction of a new society.

Both the resistance to American aggression for our national salvation and the socialist revolution have set many great and urgent tasks before our people and Party. Our entire Party must make rapid progress to overcome the contradiction which has arisen in our present advance: on the one hand, the necessity vigorously to pursue our revolutionary work and to carry out ever larger and more complex construction, and on the other hand, the as yet inadequate organizational ability of our Party and deficient management capacity of our state. It is about time for revolutionary change in our conception of the role of organization. The Party's organizational work and the state's managerial style in all branches, departments and levels need vigorous improvement.

The Party's leadership of the entire system of the dictatorship of the proletariat is a matter of principle which is decisively significant for the very future of this dictatorship. For this reason, we must strengthen the Party's leading role in all fields and improve the quality of its work of guidance. The Party provides leadership to the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat by working out a correct line in all fields and by furthering the role of state organs and mass organizations, along with control of their activities. It does so also by conducting political and ideological work within the Party and among the masses, by urging Party members to show exemplary zeal in implementing the Party's line and policies and in carrying out the decisions taken by the state and mass organizations.

The strengthening of the Party's leadership cannot be separated from the role and efficiency of the administration in managing the economy, the state, and all aspects of social life. The Party in power means it has become the *real leader of the entire society*. It has at its disposal the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, which is an extremely powerful instrument for the suppression of opposition from all hostile forces and, most importantly, for the mobilization and organization of the people for socialist construction and participation in the management of all spheres of social life. The Party cannot exercise its leadership of society without using the state machinery. Thus, there is no contradiction between the reinforcement of the Party's leadership and the improvement of the role and efficiency of the state apparatus. Indeed, the strength and fighting capacity of a party in power lies in the vigor and the efficiency of the state apparatus under its leadership. Since the Party provides theoretical guidance for the dictatorship of the proletariat, it cannot slacken its leadership over the government organs. But, neither can it itself take over government work. Any relaxation or downgrading of the Party's leadership will weaken the dictatorship of the proletariat. But burdening the Party with government jobs saddles it with work that is alien to its function. Far from strengthening its leadership, this will weaken it. Party leadership will be directly impaired if the functions of the various government departments are superceded and the departments are prevented from fulfilling their organizational and managerial roles. The growth of the Party's organizational ability rests primarily on its expanded capacity to lead and utilize the state machinery with all its specialized professional and technical agencies for directing economic and cultural development and satisfying the people's needs in conformity with the Party's line and policies.

Our rapid economic advancement from small to large-scale production requires that our leaders should have a thorough grasp of economic laws. They should also observe the various economic processes and detect any new developments in our economic life, thus permitting them to make all the necessary changes and improvements in organization and management which will achieve the maximum acceleration of economic expansion. The best organizer has mastered both the science and the art of organization. He is flexible in his organizational work and responds to new developments with appropriate changes in his own system of organization and mode of action.

The constant development of socialist democracy is the most important condition for the strengthening and consolidation of state power. Similarly, it is the most effective means for bringing the Party and the masses closer together when the Party is in power.

As a result of the Party's seizure of power, there has been a qualitative change in its relationship with the masses. The state, the people's organ of power, has now become the broadest mass organization through which the Party maintains direct and permanent contact with the people concerning the most fundamental tasks and important and vital aspects of their life (as Lenin said in regard to the Soviets). Revolution is always the work of the masses, whether it be the overthrow of the old regime or the construction of the new. Under Party leadership, the working class and the laboring people are the masters of society. They undertake the building of a new society by means of the dictatorship of the proletariat, of which the state is the most powerful and effective instrument. Thus, any minimalization of the role of the state will downgrade the role of the masses and encroach on their sovereignty. Support for the state's role actually exalts the part played by the masses in the management of the country and society, encouraging them to build a new

society in the best organized way and binding the Party and the masses together through the broadest organization. There must be no antagonism between the sovereignty of the masses and that of the organs of state power. The people—the toiling masses who include the working class, the collective peasantry and the socialist intelligentsia—are the only masters of society under the dictatorship of the proletariat. State power is the instrument and organization through which the people exercise their rights as master of society. The strength of the proletarian party in power—the dictatorship of the proletariat in both the repression of hostile forces and the construction of a new society—primarily depends on the close relationship of the Party and the state bodies to the masses in all facets of social life, the consequence of an ever fuller development of socialist democracy which insures the broadest participation of the masses in shaping the new society.

Regrettably, a number of comrades have not become fully aware of the true nature of the relations between the Party, the state and the masses. In some places, unwarranted actions have damaged relations between the Party and the masses, the state and the people, and the Party and the state. These shortcomings must be quickly and resolutely adjusted. The greatest dangers that a party in power must avoid are not only the adoption of an erroneous line, but also bureaucratic, directorial, and arbitrary indulgences. These practices separate the Party from the masses and weaken the dictatorship of the proletariat. Party strength lies in its close ties with the masses. State power is strong only because it truly belongs to the people and is exercised by and for the people. The stronger the state, the more laboring people it enlists in the management of the country, and the stronger the Party as a leader of society. Our socialist regime will stand firm and unshakable with a fully developed socialist democracy that

rests on a socialist economy having a solid material and technical basis. Such are the objectives and orientation of our Party.

### *B. Consolidation and Growth of the Party*

The growth of the Party's fighting capacity and the strengthening of its leadership in all fields of social activity demand *ceaseless consolidation and organization*. The Party must reach an even firmer understanding of its theoretical weapon, Marxism-Leninism, more thoroughly comprehend the law of development of socialist society, and more maturely apply this knowledge to reality in ways which will judiciously and imaginatively elaborate its line and policies. The Party must be strong throughout its entire structure, in its committees on every level and in all its specialized departments. Its entire organization must function vigorously, from the nerve center to the component cells. Only then will a thorough understanding of its line and policies be guaranteed at every level, both by the leading centers and the various branches, and by Party members, mass organizations, and the people in general. The entire Party, every cadre and member, must make the greatest efforts and utmost exertions to fulfill brilliantly the ever greater and more demanding tasks.

*The improvement of the quality of the cells and basic organizations* is particularly important work for strengthening and building the Party. The cell, the Party's basic organization, is its link to the masses by which its line and policies are implemented and its militants and cadres are trained. The bonds between Party life and social activities in all fields are more closely developed because of the presence of cells everywhere—in factories, construction sites, state farms, cooperatives, government

services, state stores, research institutes, schools and colleges, hospitals, army units, and other areas. The Party's continual growth keeps pace with the uninterrupted social development and the rising revolutionary enthusiasm of the masses. This growth is reflected in the cells and basic organizations. In their present social life, whenever a problem of some importance arises, the people always ask for the Party's advice and listen to its voice. The Party maintains direct and daily contact with the masses through its cells and basic organizations. It has become an indispensable factor not only in the people's revolutionary and creative work, but in their daily life as well. It is present in their thoughts, feeling and inviolable aspirations. The people's material and moral life is directly and immediately affected by whether a cell is strong or not, or by whether one particular action by a cell or one of its members is good or bad, right or wrong.

Therefore, in building the Party we must emphasize the consolidation of the cells and basic organizations which will reinforce their leading role and fighting capacity in all fields. In the last analysis, the entire fighting strength of the Party lies in the ability of the cells to transform its line and policies into mass action aimed at the successful fulfillment of practical revolutionary tasks. In the last few years, we have vigorously supported a movement to build "four-good"\* cells and basic organizations. This work is based on the political tasks and their execution in each period. A cell cannot receive a favorable rating if production is not expanding, labor productivity is not increasing, the people's democratic rights are restricted, state obligations are not fulfilled, and the people's life is not stabilized and gradually improved in every respect.

\* (1) Good completion of production tasks; (2) good implementation of the laws and political directives issued by the Party and the government; (3) good study of Marxism-Leninism, and (4) good mass work.

We must improve the cell's activities for a more effective leadership. Meetings should have a concrete and rich political meaning, with debates on the Party's line and policies, the tasks prescribed for its particular region or unit, the manner of accomplishing these tasks, the productive work and daily life of the people, the apportionment of work and responsibilities among the Party members and cadres, control over the execution of the cell's decisions including the role of each member, and other issues. A full utilization and development of the powers and capacities of the administrative and specialized bodies and mass organizations requires changes in the mode of activity of the cells and basic organizations, so that they can fulfill the concrete tasks in agreement with the Party's line and policies.

The Party and cell can only be strong if each member is a good Communist. The Party should be composed of the best and most enlightened elements of the working class, the collective peasantry, and the socialist intelligensia. These elements are representative of social development and progress, absolutely loyal to the cause of the working class and the Party and are closely bound to the masses. They are selfless, persevering and untiring fighters for the interests of the working class, the laboring people and the nation, as well as for the triumph of the socialist and communist ideal. Effective implementation of the Party's line, policies and resolutions, and exemplary action in combat and production should be the goals of every member. In carrying out the Party's policies and the cell's decisions, he must constantly temper his political stand, ideology, morals and style of life, and must diligently study to raise his technical and professional standards. He must provide for the people's material and moral well-being and respect their rights as collective rulers. He should not arrogate any privileges or prerogatives vis-à-vis the masses. President Ho Chi Minh recom-

mended that, as the leader and servant of the people, he should display complete selflessness and total devotion to the public interest.

By means of the mass movement, new forces must be discovered, educated, developed, and recruited for the Party, especially the best elements among the young people who are full of revolutionary enthusiasm, ready to devote themselves to the Party ideals, and capable of creative initiative. Because of its gratitude to the founder and great teacher of our Party, the Central Committee has decided that members admitted this year will be called "the Ho Chi Minh group." With the admission of young members alongside their experienced elders, the Party will continue as a symbol of our people's growing revolutionary enthusiasm. The strength of the cells, the bastions of the Party, will be equal to the new political tasks. The admission of new and truly excellent forces occurs along with the resolute expulsion of all regressive and degenerate elements, who are detested by the masses and unworthy of membership in a vanguard revolutionary party. Although there are not many of these elements, the Party's fighting capacity will be impaired and its relations with the masses damaged if they are not driven out.

The consolidation and strengthening of close links with the masses is a law governing the existence and development of a working class party. This law must be followed in the cells and basic organizations on a direct and daily basis. Each cell and all its members must remain in constant touch with the masses, thoroughly understand their thoughts, feelings and aspirations, provide for their education, unity and organization, and guide them to participate in the efforts to achieve the Party's objectives. The *trade unions* should be strengthened and consolidated to make them the true representatives of the wishes, fighting potential and creative power of the working masses, and effective participants in the management of the state,



the economy, and society. We must introduce advanced young workers of both sexes into the leading bodies of the trade unions. These unions must intensify their efforts to educate, mobilize and organize the working masses, and to vigorously promote the socialist emulation movement in order to boost labor productivity, heighten the workers' collective control over the management of their enterprises, and improve their material welfare.

The education of the young and the expansion and consolidation of the Ho Chi Minh Working Youth Union are extremely important tasks for the Party. As the worthy "right hand" of the Party, the Working Youth Union must constantly remain the inexhaustible source for augmenting the Party's ranks. It is the deserving successor to the revolutionary work of the people and Party.

In addition, the role and strength of the *women* is very important, for their contribution to the revolution and our present society has been truly immense. The Party, the cells and the basic organizations must make every effort to encourage their education, unity and full participation in political and social life, as well as in the construction of the new society.

If the Party and the masses are to be united together, it is important that the cells and basic organizations periodically hold suitable types of meetings. In the course of these meetings, the Party will criticize itself before the masses and listen to their criticisms and suggestions. Mass criticism of the cells is very necessary for the consolidation and building of the Party. Therefore, the cells and Party committees at all levels should encourage and guide the masses to express their candid opinions about the Party. We must consult the masses if we are to make thorough and well-founded decisions and choices on the admission of new members, the appointment of members to the Party committees at the level of the cells and basic organizations, and on other questions.

Once a correct line and judicious policies have been worked out, organizational work is the decisive factor for the triumph of the revolution. Thus, *the existence of a trustworthy and fully able army of cadres* to implement the line and policies is crucial.

Both the resistance to American aggression for our national salvation and the building of socialism confront us with continually greater and heavier tasks. Many good cadres must be at the disposal of the Party that are capable of representing its political line in the new stage and in sufficient numbers to meet both immediate and long-range needs. This force must include cadres in all branches and areas of specialization. Only then can the revolutionary requirements be satisfied in all fields.

The quality of the cadres is revealed by the results they achieve in the performance of Party tasks during any period of the revolution. Their quality and competence are measured by whether they have fulfilled their revolutionary duties and correctly and thoroughly implemented the Party's line and policies. Every cadre who wishes to carry out his responsibilities must have intense revolutionary spirit and adequate revolutionary knowledge. Since the cadre is a revolutionary fighter of the proletariat, he must be absolutely loyal to the Party and its revolutionary line, to the revolutionary cause of the class and nation, and to the communist ideal. Inspired by pure revolutionary fervor and a deep attachment to the masses, he must fear neither hardships nor sacrifices. He must courageously struggle to overcome all difficulties and complete all tasks. He cannot correctly understand Marxism-Leninism, comprehend the essence of the Party's line and policies, or creatively execute his revolutionary tasks without these revolutionary virtues. Our Party's army of cadres has formed and developed in the course of the people's protracted revolutionary struggle. Throughout the two great wars of resistance and the socialist revolu-

tion, this army has displayed fine revolutionary virtues. In the present revolutionary stage, our Party must continually encourage these fundamental qualities. All manifestations of degeneration and regression which might appear among cadres of the party in power must be combated and prevented.

A revolutionary spirit in itself is not enough to complete the revolutionary tasks. A revolution is based on conscious action and requires that the cadre should possess revolutionary knowledge, including an understanding of the objective laws of social development. Since the socialist revolution is the most radical revolution in the history of mankind, it does not confine itself to the destruction of the old social order, but projects the organization and construction of a new and complex society, especially its economic life. For a successful completion of their duties, the cadres of the Party should definitely have comprehensive proficiency in many fields of knowledge (politics, economics, culture, science and techniques) as well as organizational and managerial abilities. Otherwise, groping and improvising, they will be unable speedily and successfully to perform their tasks and avoid errors and shortcomings harmful to the revolutionary cause. Therefore, whatever his assignment, a cadre must be armed with the necessary knowledge. He must become proficient in his trade and attempt to learn science and technique. Only then can he execute his responsibilities as a proven leader of the masses and a vigorous proponent of revolutionary progress.

The Party's fundamental political task in the socialist revolution is the firm maintenance of the dictatorship of the proletariat, along with the implementation of the three revolutions (with the technical revolution as the central emphasis). The Party's fighting capacity and the fine qualities and competence of its members and cadres will be manifested through the successful accomplishment of

its duties. Its army of cadres should definitely include those capable of organizing and guiding the masses, and securing their participation in the daily and hourly struggle for the realization of socialist ideals. This work demands maximum determination, the greatest spirit of self-sacrifice, and all the necessary knowledge to complete their assignments.

Both the immediate and long-range needs of economic construction and cultural development can be met if the Party and state step up the training of large numbers of intellectuals in the social and natural sciences. These intellectuals must be motivated by an unquestioned loyalty to the Party's revolutionary cause. Indeed, our intelligentsia has undergone a fundamental change in its structure and nature. Our present socialist intellectuals are closely bound to the workers and peasants. The overwhelming majority come from worker and peasant families and have received their training under the socialist regime. The older intellectuals, educated by the Party and tempered by the long revolutionary process, have shown visible progress in their political and ideological stand and have rendered great services to the people. But all intellectuals, including those from the working class and peasantry, have weaknesses which they can overcome through their own efforts and through the education and assistance of the Party. Then, they can devote all their talents and energies to serving the people's revolutionary cause.

Since knowledge is an indispensable force and weapon of the working class and laboring people in their struggle for emancipation and for the construction of socialism and communism, our Party holds intellectuals in great esteem. The working class will most certainly develop many of its own intellectuals. The Party must assist the workers and peasants in a gradual acquisition of modern scientific and technical knowledge, which will boost pro-

duction, promote the technical revolution, and organize a civilized life. All biases toward intellectuals, culture, sciences, and technique must be discarded. Every cadre, Party member, youth and worker should study hard and raise his level of knowledge so that he can do his job well and continually develop. We must advance to the point at which certain criteria of competence in economic management, science and techniques, besides political criteria, will be set for members of Party committees at all levels. Party committees should have qualified staffs, including experts in the various branches and departments of economics, science and technique, for guidance in scientific and technical work. A reinforcement of Party committees and leading bodies in the various ministries, specialized agencies and research institutes is also necessary. The training of scientific and technical cadre should range from skilled workers to chief engineers to pure scientists.

The law governing the development of the revolution and the Party requires that the Party promote the cooperation of veteran and youthful cadres. Their good qualities should complement each other, and their weaknesses should be better overcome through mutual assistance. After all, each type of cadre has its own strong and weak points. Our Party must be solicitous toward its veteran cadres while stimulating, training and boldly promoting large numbers of young people with high revolutionary qualities, great capacities, and potential energies, who have proven their worth in various revolutionary movements.

The strength of a Marxist-Leninist party lies in its unity and identity of purpose—*its ideological and organizational unity*. This is the finest tradition of our Party. This unfailing unity and cohesion is the reason that our Party successfully confronted all the difficulties of each period and carried the revolution to its present triumph.

Lenin said that without organization, the proletariat has nothing. With organization and unity, it has everything. This unity is all the more important after the Party has seized power. The defense of the revolutionary achievements is impossible without unity of will, mind and action within the Party ranks. After all, the Party is the leading force for total social progress. The construction of an entirely new society, a socialist society, is the most arduous and grandiose historical project ever undertaken. It can never be accomplished without Party unity.

The tradition of unity and identity of purpose was forged through 40 years of hard struggle and continuous success. We must extend this tradition and scrupulously act upon President Ho Chi Minh's inviolable Testament, "preserve the unity of the Party as we would the apple of our eye." The Party will never tolerate any manifestations of factionalism; the gravest crime against the revolution. As the vanguard of the working class and the most active social force, the Party has only one single will.

Party unity is based on Marxist-Leninist ideology, the purity of which must be constantly preserved, on its correct political line, which is transformed daily into conscious action by the masses, and on the enlightenment of all its members concerning its ideals, aims and tasks. Its ideological unity is firmly insured through its basic organizational principle of democratic centralism. However, since the Party is a revolutionary fighting army, ideological unity by itself is insufficient. "Ideology by itself can realize nothing." The transformation of ideology into action must necessarily be done through organization. Ideological unity could not exist or persist without organizational unity. This does not mean that there is no freedom of thought within the Party. On the contrary, democratic centralism demands and insures the right of every member to discuss and decide all Party affairs and propose ideas on every problem concerning the revolution

within the Party organization. Within a framework of the Program and Rules worked out by the entire Party, the full exercise of democratic rights by all members, as well as their complete intellectual development, is one of the most important guarantees of the Party's vitality. The suppression of ideas is totally alien to a proletariat party and to Marxist-Leninist ideology. However, freedom of thought absolutely does not mean turning the Party into a debating club. The Party is an army which must act as one man in the battlefield. Fundamental principles of democratic centralism require the minority to submit to the majority, a lower level to a superior authority, a part to the whole, and every Party member to the Central Committee (the highest organ of leadership functioning between Party congresses). Violation of these principles will impair the Party's iron discipline and sabotage its unity. Lenin stated: "Whoever weakens ever so little the iron discipline of the party of the proletariat (especially during the time of its dictatorship) actually aids the bourgeoisie against the proletariat."\*

The Party's leadership is constantly based on *the principle of collective leadership*. Personal arbitrariness is totally alien to its nature. No individual, even if endowed with exceptional gifts, can ever understand and comprehend all things and events in their every aspect and ceaseless variations. A collective intellect is necessary, for only collective decisions taken on the strength of this intellect can avoid subjectivism, which leads to errors often with dangerous consequences. Indeed, collective leadership is the highest principle of Party leadership. Yet, this principle by no means lessens the personal responsibility of the leaders. Presently, some comrades in a number of leading organs are not observing this principle. Certain other comrades rely on the "collective"

\*V. I. Lenin, "*Left-Wing*" Communism, an Infantile Disorder, International Publishers, N.Y., 1940, p. 29.

to look after everything and put the blame on the "collective" for every one of their own errors and failures without admitting their individual responsibility. We must put an end to this state of affairs.

Unity and identity of purpose within the Party do not only depend on these fundamental ideological and organizational principles. They are also achieved through the manner in which comrades treat each other and how they settle their differences of opinion. Since Communists pursue the same ideals and aims, for which they are engaged in mortal battle and together have confronted countless hardships and shared suffering and triumph, they feel boundless mutual love and affection. No feeling can be more sacred than the comradely attachment which binds Communists together in this common struggle. There can be no concessions on matters of principle. But, in the solution of complex problems, while not tolerating any violation of principles, they should behave toward each other reasonably and sensitively. When their opinions differ, they must, if need be, wait for each other to come around. These practices are necessary, for they contribute to unity and cohesion within the Party. We have gained valuable experience in these matters, experience which we should continually draw upon. *Self criticism and criticism* is a fundamental method for strengthening the unity and cohesion of the Party, and a law governing its development and progress.

The development of society, socialist society included, is an intricate process full of contradictions. A persistent struggle unfolds between the old and the new, between progress and backwardness. New tasks confront the Party as the situation evolves. New ways are needed to deal with problems, new approaches in organizational, political and ideological work. The Party is an ideologically and politically unified whole, but its cadres and members do not have a uniform grasp of events. In the face of any



shift in situation or tasks, some comrades quickly perceive the evolution of events and decide on the proper action. Others take longer to understand, or come to an imperfect judgement. Still others are truly sluggish; they fail to grasp the new situation and confront the new tasks. They refuse to leave the beaten track. Besides, many Party members are still under the influence of non-proletarian ideologies, on account of several complicated factors. Therefore, it is only natural that a struggle between the old and the new, between progress and backwardness, should continuously take place within the Party itself. The basic method for the resolution of these contradictions and the strengthening of Party unity is self-criticism and criticism, along with efforts to raise the intellectual level of Party cadres and members. This method also encourages the education of cadres and militants by developing their good qualities and compensating for their weak points. Lenin said that only a party courageous enough to practice self-criticism and publicly admit its errors and shortcomings, as well as discover the causes of these defects and resolutely alter them, deserves to be called a revolutionary party. Only such a party constantly remains in close touch with the masses, which is the position from which to secure victory for the revolution. President Ho Chi Minh urged us to engage in self-criticism and criticism, especially criticism from below, which results in an increasingly vigorous Party and continued progress for its cadres and members.

All cadres and militants should ceaselessly *reinforce their proletarian standpoint and elevate their revolutionary morals* to shoulder the more difficult revolutionary tasks of the new stage. The life and work of President Ho Chi Minh provide a shining example of communist ethics that all of us are determined to follow in order to temper ourselves. Also, the exemplary behavior of the selfless, perservering, and courageous comrades who

fought to their last breath for the communist ideal (Comrades Tran Phu, Ngo Gia Tu, Le Hong Phong, Nguyen Van Cu, Phan Dang Luu, Hoang Van Thu, Vo Van Tan, Nguyen Thi Minh Khai and many others) serves as a lesson which helps us to cultivate our revolutionary virtues.

Our Party is the vanguard of the working class. It represents the most dynamic element of developing society. Therefore, it can have only one ideology—the proletarian ideology of Marxism-Leninism. By strengthening our proletariat ideology, we are *determined to combat petty-bourgeois ideology*, the most common manifestations of which in the political field are rightist and especially “leftist” deviations, essentially the former. In the ideological field, there are numerous manifestations of individualism. Subjectivism and one-sidedness are its manifestations in the field of methodology. While it is essential to overcome petty-bourgeois ideology, we must also encourage a *determined opposition to all bourgeois ideological influences which may infiltrate the Party, and sweep away all vestiges of other non-proletarian ideologies*. Since all manifestations of non-proletarian ideologies are alien to our Party’s ideology, we must firmly eliminate them as we would microbes seeking to invade a healthy organism.

The strength of our Party is evident in all fields. The Party must maintain a strong line and a strong implementation of this line. It must have political, ideological, and organizational strength. It must remain strong in the formation of the state apparatus and the competent organs of economic management, in the maintenance of close ties with the masses, the ceaseless consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the broadening of socialist democracy. It must be strong in the thorough understanding and firm grasp of the law of social development, as well as in achieving continuous success for

the revolutionary cause of the class and nation, of which the Party is the organizer and leader. The source of its strength is its unity and identity of purpose, which is based on Marxist-Leninist ideology and on the organizational principles of a new-type proletarian party.

We are determined to build and strengthen the Party so that it can successfully fulfill the historic mission entrusted to it by the class and the nation.

## CHAPTER 7

# THE STRENGTHENING OF INTERNATIONAL UNITY AND THE STRUGGLE FOR PEACE, NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE, DEMOCRACY, AND SOCIALISM

We are observing the 40th anniversary of our Party at a time of the powerful ascent of the world revolution, when it faces prospects of even greater victories.

After the Second World War, socialism expanded beyond the boundaries of one country and became a world system. Because of the great success it has achieved, the socialist camp, as the citadel of the revolution and the pillar of world peace, has continuously and fully been the decisive factor in social evolution. The powerful upsurge of national liberation movements in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America has brought about the nearly complete collapse of the system of colonial enslavement. These movements are fighting to break the hold of old and new colonialism, delivering the decisive blows to the rear base of imperialism. With the main thrust directed against the reactionary rule and warlike policy of the state monopoly capitalists, the unprecedented and powerful struggle of many millions of workers and toiling people in the imperialist countries is a huge force battering at the very foundations of imperialism.

These three great revolutionary forces, together with the broadly based world peace movement, are engaging in repeated attacks against imperialism on many fronts.

The balance has fundamentally shifted in favor of peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

Moreover, on the strength of these allied forces, the world's peoples are fully in position to halt the hostile designs and bellicose ventures of the belligerent imperialists under the leadership of the United States.

The period following the Second World War has also witnessed the sweeping advance of socialist revolution. It is the most seething epoch in the history of world revolution. There are over one billion people in the socialist camp who, starting from different socio-economic conditions, are making great strides in socialist construction. They are transforming formerly backward countries into nations with fine political regimes, modern industry and agriculture, advanced culture and science, and powerful national defenses. With independence and the people's happiness guaranteed, these countries are shining examples and sources of hope for humanity.

Under the influence of socialism, the national liberation movement has undergone an immense expansion and has taken on a new quality. Its outstanding feature is that the struggle for the elimination of old and new colonialism and all reactionary forces serving imperialism is organically linked with the effort to transform society in the direction of a non-capitalist development. In many newly liberated countries, the national democratic revolution can shift to a socialist revolution through different modes of transition which bypass capitalist development. This transition is possible through the leadership of a truly revolutionary party, a correct line and appropriate revolutionary methods, firm support from the workers, peasants and other progressive strata of the population, and the active assistance of the socialist countries.

Social contradictions in present-day imperialist countries have become more exacerbated due to the rapid transformation of capitalism into state monopoly capital-

ism and the intensified exploitation and oppression of the working class and laboring people. These contradictions make possible a reinforcement of working class unity of will and action and, on that basis, the organization of broad masses of laboring people and other democratic sectors into a united front. This front opposes the rule of state monopoly capitalism and the hegemony of the American imperialists, and pursues democracy, social progress, peace, and national sovereignty. The conditions are thus created for a revolutionary tide which will result in victory for the socialist revolution.

These three great streams will merge into the tidal wave of socialist revolution in our era and carry mankind into the orbit of socialism. The world's people will complete the transition from capitalism to socialism on an international scale.

Over the past 25 years, desperate in face of the growing success of socialism, the imperialists, under American leadership, have attempted to oppose the increasingly vigorous struggle of the working class and oppressed peoples. Resorting to terror and demagoguery at home, they have mounted an exhaustive effort to counterattack the world revolutionary movement. They have built up their armed forces, launched the arms race, revived West German and Japanese militarism, made frantic preparations for a new world war, and engaged in threats, sabotage and encirclement of the socialist countries. At the same time, they have plotted in every way to divide the socialist camp and the world revolutionary forces. They have shifted to a new colonialism in the dependent and colonial countries, provoking many "special wars" and "limited wars" in the hope of suppressing the national liberation movement.

But the time is past when the imperialists ruled unchallenged. All their frenzied counter-revolutionary actions cannot prevent their collapse. Suffering numerous

setbacks at the hands of the world revolutionary forces, the imperialists have been forced to withdraw from one position to another. The American imperialists, now acting as world gendarme, have fared the worst. There is no doubt that the world revolution now maintains an offensive position which grows steadily stronger. With an offensive strategy, the forces of socialism, national liberation, democracy, and peace are capable of obstructing every belligerent policy and defeating all imperialist wars in any region. Eventually, they will defeat the entire bellicose plan. They will repel the imperialists step by step, smash the various imperialist sectors, and accelerate its total collapse, thereby securing lasting peace in the world and growing victory for national independence and socialism.

It is necessary to establish a united front of the world's peoples against American imperialism to stamp out the wars it kindles, to thwart the plan for a new world war concocted by the imperialist warmongers, and to win even greater success for peace, national independence, democracy, and social progress. The socialist countries, the international communist and workers' movement, and the national liberation movement should constitute the core of the front. The front should also attract all forces of peace and justice and mobilize all the capacities of the world's peoples for one common aim. This common aim should emphasize the isolation of the American imperialists (as well as their allies and servants, the war maniacs), the frustration and destruction of all their aggressive schemes and activities, the defense of peace, and the continuation of the world revolution in an uninterrupted and victorious advance.

The fierce and arduous class struggle occurring throughout the world urgently demands a restoration and consolidation of unity within the socialist camp and the international communist and workers' movement on the basis

of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. Only then is it possible to unify the world revolutionary forces against imperialism, to obstruct all the plans for military aggression—including all the divisive maneuvers against the socialist countries—and to impede their attempts at suppression and sabotage of the international communist and workers' movement.

The war of aggression against Vietnam is an important part of the global strategy pursued by the American imperialists, who are the most belligerent of all. By means of this war, they hope to perpetuate the division of our country and turn the South into an American neo-colonial and military base. They wish to impede a socialist advance, as well as use Vietnam as a testing-ground for strategy, tactics and new weapons to quell the revolutionary movements and prepare a world war. Throughout the criminal war in Vietnam, the American imperialists have shown their true nature as extremely barbarous neo-fascists. However, they are bogged down in a quagmire and have suffered pitiful failures. They are severely condemned throughout the world, and in the United States itself. Their dominant position in the capitalist world has grown more wobbly and is visibly on the wane. The Vietnamese people's resistance to American aggression for their national salvation is the crest of the wave of the peoples' struggle the world over against imperialism headed by U. S. imperialism. This resistance is an important contribution to the solution of the fundamental international contradictions of this era and for the defense of socialism, national independence and peace. It greatly encourages the struggle of the world's peoples for freedom, justice, human dignity, and man's right to existence.

Our people are infinitely proud to stand in the forefront of the revolutionary battle fought by the world's peoples against imperialism, mankind's most dangerous enemy. We resolutely pledge to defeat the imperialist aggression



of the United States and its agents, and to achieve victory in our patriotic war of resistance. Then, we will have fulfilled our inviolable national duty and our lofty international responsibilities. We will be worthy of the confidence of our brothers and friends the world over.

Ever since our Party's foundation, solidarity with the international proletariat and with the revolution in the colonial and semi-colonial countries has been a most important obligation and a basic principle for our Party. This solidarity has been one of the decisive factors in the victory of our own revolution. Our Party has consistently followed this correct revolutionary line throughout the entire course of the revolution. Thus, we have won greater support and assistance from the world revolutionary movement, our people have acquired the noble sentiments of proletarian internationalism, and have guarded themselves from bourgeois and petty-bourgeois nationalism. They have frustrated the perfidious and divisive maneuvers of the imperialists and their lackeys. In addition, our internationalist line has encouraged our people to contribute actively to the revolutionary struggles of the world's peoples.

On the basis of President Ho Chi Minh's last Testament, our Party will work as energetically as it has in the past to restore and safeguard unity and cohesion within the socialist camp and among the fraternal parties on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. We will continue to consolidate and tighten the unbreakable bonds of friendship between our country and the nations of the socialist camp, especially the Soviet Union and China. Cooperation and mutual assistance with the fraternal countries will be strengthened in all fields.

We energetically support the struggle of the proletariat and laboring people in the capitalist countries for peace, national independence, democracy and social progress.

We resolutely uphold the fight of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin-America against old and new colonialism for their national independence. We will continue to promote friendly relations with the nationalist countries.

We devote our greatest efforts to strengthening fraternal solidarity among the peoples of Indochina in their struggle against the common enemy, American imperialism. The reinforcement of the solid friendship between our nation and the Kingdom of Cambodia and the establishment of neighborly relations with the Kingdom of Laos will proceed on the basis of respect for each other's independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity.

We are determined to fight together with the fraternal nations and the progressive peoples throughout the world against the aggressive and belligerent policy of the imperialist warmongers under the leadership of the U. S. imperialists, and to take an active part in the common struggle for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

We stand ready to establish equal and mutually beneficial relations with all countries which respect our sovereignty and independence.

Every historic stage of the Vietnamese revolution for the past 40 years, particularly the period from the August Revolution to the present war of resistance against American aggression for our national salvation, has been closely associated with the active support and whole-hearted assistance of the fraternal socialist countries, the international communist and workers' movement, the national liberation movement, and the people who love peace and justice throughout the world.

Our people are eternally grateful to the fraternal socialist countries, especially the Soviet Union and China, for their immense and invaluable help, a noble example of proletarian internationalism. We also extend our heartfelt appreciation to the other fraternal parties for their

solidarity with our people and their active assistance in our protracted struggle. We sincerely thank the international proletariat, the nationalist countries, and the progressive peoples throughout the world, including the United States, for their unfailing sympathy and support in our just cause.

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