

Le Duan

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

FOREIGN LANGUAGES PRESS
PEKING

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(A Speech Delivered on March 13, 1963 in Commemoration of the 80th Anniversary of the Death of Karl Marx)

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Comrades:

Today we Communists and all people of Viet Nam, together with progressive mankind, devoutly commemorate the 80th anniversary of the death of Karl Marx, the founder of scientific communism, the greatest teacher and leader of the working class and working people of the entire world. In all history there is no genius who can parallel Marx, no doctrine such as Marx's which has so deeply influenced the course of human society's development.

The great Lenin developed the teachings of Marx in the era of imperialism. Thirty-four years after Marx's death, Marxism-Leninism, convincingly tested by practice, triumphed over one-sixth of the globe. Today, eighty years after his death, Marxism-Leninism has won still more brilliant victories in the wide territories of the socialist camp. It has become the ideology of thousands of millions of people, guiding them in their day-to-day anti-imperialist struggle which is in the interest of peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

I. GRASP THE MARXIST THEORY OF THE CLASS STRUGGLE AND THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT

The great power of Marxism lies in the combination of its revolutionary thoroughness with its scientific exactitude. Lenin said:

The Marxian doctrine is omnipotent because it is true. It . . . provides men with an integral world conception which is irreconcilable with any form of superstition, reaction or defence of bourgeois oppression.¹

Therefore, it becomes an invincible material force as soon as it has gripped the working class and working people.

The essence of Marxism is its creativeness. Marx said that his theory is not a dogma but a guide to action. Through practice this theory has been continuously enriched.

Marxism is the apex of human thought. As Lenin said, ". . . the genius of Marx consists precisely in the fact that he furnished answers to questions the foremost minds of mankind had already raised."²

Marxism is an integral system. Marx summed up the knowledge acquired by mankind. In particular, he critically accepted and remoulded the three most advanced ideological currents of the 19th century — classical German philosophy, English political economy and French socialism. He profoundly studied different social systems in history, especially the capitalist mode of production. Consequently he carried out a revolution in the history of human thought. He established dialectical materialism and historical materialism, the scientific world outlook and scientific method of knowing and transforming the world. He discovered the laws of the development of human society, particularly the laws of the rise, growth and fall of capitalism. From this he

¹ V. I. Lenin, "The Three Sources and Three Component Parts of Marxism", *Marx, Engels, Marxism*, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1951, p. 78.

² *Ibid.*, p. 77.

pointed out to the working class and toiling masses throughout the world the correct road of uprooting the system of exploitation of man by man and establishing a communist system. In this way he turned the fight for communism from an action based on subjective wish into a true science.

Today I shall not discuss all problems of Marxism. I shall only dwell upon the questions concerning Marx's theory of the class struggle and the dictatorship of the proletariat. What is the position of this theory in all Marxist doctrine? We know that Marx is not only a theoretician of genius; he is also a great revolutionary. He took part in the revolutionary movements in Germany, France, Belgium and Britain. He was the founder of the First International, the first international organization of the world's working class. He laid great emphasis on the study of the questions of strategy and tactics in the struggle of the working class for its own liberation. The most important characteristic of Marxism is the unity of theory and practice, and Marx was himself an example of such unity. He said that the task of the philosophers is not only to interpret the world but to change it. Capitalist society must be first changed in order that the world may be changed. In this sense, it may be said that all Marx's theoretical and practical activities have only one final aim, which is to abolish the capitalist system and establish a communist system. Scientific communism is the science of the struggle to accomplish this aim. **The theory of the class struggle and the dictatorship of the proletariat** is a red thread which runs through scientific communism.

Marx was not the first to discover the class struggle in society, but he was the first to discover that the class

struggle is the law of development of society where antagonistic classes exist and to approach the study of modern society and the entire scope of theoretical and practical activities concerning the transformation of capitalist society from the viewpoint of class struggle. He said:

. . . And now as to myself, no credit is due to me for discovering the existence of classes in modern society, nor yet the struggle between them. . . . What I did that was new was to prove: 1) that *the existence of classes* is only bound up with *particular historical phases in the development of production*; 2) that the class struggle necessarily leads to the *dictatorship of the proletariat*; 3) that this dictatorship itself only constitutes the transition to the *abolition of all classes* and to a *classless society*. . . .¹

Before Marx some bourgeois sociologists held that society was a conglomeration of accidents, that social phenomena appeared haphazardly without being governed by any law, and that they were often the outcome of the subjective wish of certain "outstanding individuals". "Marxism provided the clue which enables us to discover the laws governing this seeming labyrinth and chaos, namely, the theory of the class struggle."²

We know that one of the greatest discoveries of Marxism is that of historical materialism. Marx proved that the mode of production of material values necessary for human existence determines all aspects of political and

intellectual life of society. The ultimate cause of all changes in the life of society is change in productive forces. In production men enter into definite relations of production with one another, which correspond to the level of the development of the productive forces. The changes in the productive forces bring about changes in the relations of production, and in consequence the political and intellectual life of society also changes. This does not mean that human history is the result of the natural development of the productive forces and the natural changes in the relations of production. On the contrary, history is made by man, because man himself develops productive forces and man himself changes one kind of relations of production into another. Man differs from an animal because he has consciousness; he is conscious and purposeful in his actions. In the last analysis this consciousness and purpose is determined by economic causes; and in class society it is determined by the economic interests of classes. Marx proved that in human society there was a classless period; only after the disintegration of the primitive communal system did a society with antagonistic classes evolve. Because of conflicting economic interests, these classes ceaselessly struggle against each other. The struggle between classes with conflicting interests, between the exploiting and exploited classes, is an irreconcilable struggle. **The class struggle is the driving force in all societies where class antagonisms exist.** The history of human society since the breakdown of the primitive communal system has been the history of class struggles. ". . . oppressor and oppressed, stood in constant opposition to one another, carried on an uninterrupted, now hidden, now open fight, a fight that each

¹ "Marx to J. Weydemeyer", *Selected Works of Marx and Engels*, FLPH, Moscow, 1955, Vol. II, p. 452.

² V.I. Lenin, "Karl Marx", *Marx, Engels, Marxism*, FLPH, Moscow, 1951, p. 29.

time ended, either in a revolutionary re-constitution of society at large, or in the common ruin of the contending classes.”¹ Only when antagonistic classes no longer exist in human society — in other words, only when socialism has achieved world-wide victory — will the class struggle die down.

Having studied capitalist society, Marx drew the conclusion that under this social system, class structure became highly simplified and society more and more split into two main great classes: the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, engaging in a life-and-death struggle. **Owing to its economic status, the proletariat is a social force with a historical mission and able to overthrow the rule of the bourgeoisie, abolish the capitalist mode of production and establish a new society — socialist society.** The state of capitalist society is an organized instrument of violence with which the bourgeoisie suppresses the resistance of the proletariat. In essence this state is the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. In order to liberate itself as well as other working people from the oppression and exploitation of the bourgeoisie, the proletariat must make revolution, smash the state machine of the bourgeoisie with revolutionary violence and set up its own state machine — **the dictatorship of the proletariat** — and use it as an instrument to realize the transition from capitalism to communism.

The attitude towards the theory of the class struggle and the dictatorship of the proletariat is the criterion by which a Communist’s loyalty to Marxism is to be measured. In attacking Marxism, the imperialists and

¹ Marx and Engels, “Manifesto of the Communist Party”, *Selected Works*, FLPH, Moscow, 1951, Vol. I, p. 33.

their lackeys often direct their blows at this theory. In the international communist movement, Right opportunism, revisionism, “Left” opportunism, dogmatism, etc., always arise around the question of the class struggle and the dictatorship of the proletariat. In any circumstance, therefore, the most important thing for every Marxist-Leninist still is resolutely to uphold the Marxist viewpoint of the class struggle and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The Marxist viewpoint of the class struggle requires that the Communists, in working out strategy and tactics of struggle, must firmly uphold the fundamental interests of the proletariat and at the same time make a thorough analysis of all relations among the classes in society and take into full account changes in these relations at different times. They must draw clear lines of distinction between themselves, their allies and their enemies, and resolutely direct the spearhead of the struggle against class enemies. They must fully combine revolutionary zeal with the scientific knowledge of revolution and must combine strict adherence to principle with tactical flexibility. Having once grasped the Marxist viewpoint of the class struggle, the Communists can find a correct path, in any confused and complicated circumstance, to lead the cause of the liberation of the proletariat and all mankind from victory to victory.

We Communists and working people of Viet Nam will for ever be grateful to Marx. Thanks to Marxism-Leninism, our Party came into being. It is because our Party creatively applies Marxism-Leninism to the guidance of the Vietnamese revolution that we have succeeded in our August Revolution of 1945, won the patriotic resistance war, and made tremendous achievements in the socialist

construction of the northern part of Viet Nam and in the struggle for the peaceful unification of our motherland. However, it was not fortuitous that in a colonial country which had only a backward agricultural economy and in which the peasants constituted the vast majority of the population, the working class, small in size and young in experience, was able to accept Marxism-Leninism at an early date and become the leading class in the revolution, and having obtained the position of leadership, held it absolutely and for decades no other political force was able to assail or divide it. This was primarily due to the fact that in Viet Nam the position of the proletariat was different from that of the bourgeoisie. But the decisive subjective factor was the efforts exerted by the Marxists and Marxist-Leninist party of Viet Nam themselves. After World War I, the French colonialists carried out their policy of developing Indo-China, completely subordinating the economy of the countries in this area to the French economy. The economic conditions of Viet Nam at that time could only produce a bourgeoisie which was economically weak and, politically, compromised with imperialism and followed a policy of reformism. The Vietnamese bourgeoisie was, therefore, unable to lead the national-democratic revolution. The 1930 Yen Bai uprising merely reflected an illusion about the new economy of the national bourgeoisie which was nipped in the bud, and the petty-bourgeois intellectuals who led this revolution also finally took the road of compromise. On the other hand, the Vietnamese proletariat was born earlier than the bourgeoisie because it was a product of the colonial policy of French imperialism; it came upon the political stage before the bourgeoisie. Despite its

infancy and small size, the Vietnamese proletariat was imbued with a high revolutionary spirit. This was because it was linked with the most advanced form of economy and suffered from the triple oppression and exploitation of imperialism, feudalism and domestic bourgeoisie. In the process of revolution only the proletariat could put forth the slogan of "national independence and land to the tillers" to win the broad masses of the peasantry to its side. It had just come from among the peasants and therefore fully understood them. It maintained multifarious ties with the peasantry and easily made an alliance with it. The Vietnamese proletariat was a nationally united class while the bourgeoisie, split by the ruling policy of the French colonialists, disintegrated. The Vietnamese proletariat came upon the political scene at the time when the victory of the Russian October Revolution opened a new era — when the world proletariat was in fact standing up to write a new history for mankind and world capitalism was on the decline. This was a time when the proletariat of China, Viet Nam's neighbour, was raising high the banner of national-democratic revolution while the Chinese bourgeoisie had already surrendered to imperialism and betrayed the revolution (1927). This domestic and international situation created a favourable position for the Vietnamese proletariat and provided it with a weapon of advanced revolutionary theory. This proletariat, therefore, became the true vanguard which is able to lead the revolutionary cause of the class and the nation to victory.

In the 1920s, carrying forward the traditions of the anti-aggression struggles which were practically uninter-

rupted after French imperialism had invaded our country, and coming under the influence of the Russian October Revolution and the Chinese revolution, the patriotic and national movements in Viet Nam developed vigorously and extensively. Different classes vied with one another in making known their political stand. A great Vietnamese patriot — our beloved Comrade Ho Chi Minh — accepted Marxism and spread it in Viet Nam. Vietnamese Marxist revolutionary organizations appeared. The French imperialists immediately realized with great alarm that Marxism was the greatest threat to their colonial rule. They resorted to a dangerous political scheme to keep out Marxist influence: to deflect the national movement in the direction of bourgeois national reformism. In such circumstances, the Vietnamese Marxists in the organizations which were the predecessors of our Party and then the recently established Party itself clearly saw that the proletariat assuming the leadership of the Vietnamese revolution was the decisive condition for its victory. To do this, it was necessary to firmly uphold the revolutionary viewpoint, firmly uphold the Marxist viewpoint of the class struggle and resolutely oppose national reformism and the bourgeoisie's tendency to compromise with imperialism. At the same time our Party combated the petty-bourgeois revolutionaries' tendencies towards narrow nationalism, adventurism, and contempt for the masses. It pointed out that the Vietnamese revolution must be led by the working class and that the twin task of opposing imperialism and feudalism must be co-ordinated, instead of being separated. It pointed out that workers and peasants constituted the main force of the revolution and

that we must rely on them to unite the other patriotic and democratic classes and forces. It formulated correct policies, particularly the land policy, with which to arouse the workers and peasants to struggle and to form a worker-peasant alliance. Because of this, our Party has since its birth been able to launch powerful workers' and peasants' movements resulting in fundamental and qualitative changes in the national movement and effecting a Party-led worker-peasant alliance, thus ensuring the Party's absolute leadership of the Vietnamese revolution.

During the national and people's democratic revolution which followed, our Party, grasping the Marxist-Leninist science of revolution, persisted in creatively applying the Marxist theory of the class struggle and the proletarian dictatorship to the conditions of our country and combated incorrect tendencies in the national movement and the Right and "Left" deviations in the Party.

In the early period of its establishment our Party also criticized the wrong tendencies of certain comrades. These tendencies were: obscuring the class nature of the Party as the vanguard of the proletariat, neglecting political struggles, divorcing the consolidation of the Party organization from the struggle against the enemy, and maintaining that the former should precede the latter.

During the period of the Democratic Front between 1936 and 1939 our Party carried out necessary inner-Party struggles against the Right deviation of compromising with imperialism and its lackeys, against bringing all the Party's activities into the open — Right opportunism — and at the same time against the tendency to

wards sectarianism. The Party also smashed the provocative arguments and actions of the Trotskyite saboteurs. These struggles enabled the Party to arouse widespread mass movements for democratic reform, infuse the masses with a profound revolutionary education, and foster a great revolutionary force which later became the basis of the national-democratic movement. During World War II, inspired by the Party, the people's spirit of patriotism and hatred against the aggressors attained new heights and the broad Viet-Minh National Salvation Front was formed. The Party lost no opportunity in adopting suitable forms of struggle and in quickly changing from one form to another — guerrilla warfare in limited areas, uprisings in cities and countryside, etc., and consequently won the victory of the August Revolution.

In the war of resistance against aggression our Party put forward the correct resistance line: unity of all the people, protracted resistance, regeneration through our own efforts, and destruction of the enemy to save the country. Our Party laid great stress on the formation of a people's armed force, led solely by the Party and with the workers and peasants — mainly the peasants — as the backbone. The Party criticized incorrect tendencies in the work of the national united front, the government administration and the building of the army, such as one-sidedly stressing unity in relations with people of the upper strata, neglecting training of the peasants and the consolidation of the worker-peasant alliance. The Party also criticized the feeling of pessimism and defeatism as expressed in the lack of confidence in the revolutionary strength of the masses, impatience as expressed

in advocating a war of quick decision, and the tendency to depend on foreign aid.

The process of the national movement and the process of the inner-Party struggle against various mistakes is also a process of the growth of the Party.

After the complete liberation of the northern part of Viet Nam, the Vietnamese revolution entered a new phase. The Party's Third National Congress brought forward the general task of the Vietnamese revolution in this phase as follows:

To strengthen the solidarity of the entire people, to struggle resolutely for the maintenance of peace, to promote energetically the socialist revolution in the north and at the same time the national people's democratic revolution in the south, to achieve national reunification on the basis of independence and democracy, to build a peaceful, unified, independent, democratic, prosperous and strong Viet Nam, and to contribute effectively to the strengthening of the socialist camp and to the defence of peace in Southeast Asia and the world.

The revolutionary cause of our people is part of the struggle of the world's working class and people against imperialism and for peace, national liberation, democracy and socialism. International events invariably influence the revolutionary struggles of our people. We must, therefore, study the basic questions of the current international situation so as to deepen our understanding of the question of the class struggle and the dictatorship of the proletariat and satisfactorily fulfil our revolutionary task in this new phase.

II. WE ARE NOW IN AN ERA OF SERIOUS AND SHARP CLASS STRUGGLES

WE MUST SEE MORE CLEARLY CERTAIN IMPORTANT CHARACTERISTICS OF THE CURRENT INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

Mankind is now in an era of the most profound and tremendous change in its history, the era of the transition from capitalism to socialism on a world scale. The great historic significance of the Russian October Revolution lies in that it ushered in this new era. It created the great Soviet Union, the first socialist country in human history. With the emergence of the Soviet Union a new contradiction arose, the contradiction between the socialist system which is in the ascent and the capitalist system which is struggling on its death-bed. This contradiction becomes the basic contradiction of our time. It increasingly sharpens the contradictions inherent in imperialism — the contradictions between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, between imperialism and the colonies, and between the imperialist countries. For a few decades, taking full advantage of these contradictions, the Soviet Union continued to exist amidst imperialist encirclement and grew strong. The imperialist blocs started World War II, hoping that they would thus resolve the contradiction in the capitalist system and the contradiction between capitalism and socialism and destroy the Soviet Union. Under the leadership of the glorious Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Soviet people and Soviet armed forces defeated the German and Italian fascists and the Japanese militarists, victoriously concluded World War II and opened a new phase of development in human history.

The main characteristics of this historical period since the end of World War II are:

(1) **Socialism** has spread beyond the scope of one country and **formed a world system**. The formation of the socialist system is the fruit of the historic victory won by the Soviet people and army in World War II as well as the result of widespread national-liberation movements, the most important of which is the founding of the great People's Republic of China whose population constitutes one-quarter of mankind. The victory of the Chinese revolution is an event of the greatest significance next to the Russian October Revolution. "The people's revolution in China dealt a crushing blow at the positions of imperialism in Asia and contributed in great measure to the balance of the world forces changing in favour of socialism. By giving a further powerful impetus to the national-liberation movement, it exerted tremendous influence on the peoples, especially those of Asia, Africa and Latin America."¹

With its ever increasing achievements in socialist and communist construction, the socialist camp has become a powerful international force. It has a total population of a thousand million with high revolutionary spirit, a strong sense of organization, great economic strength, and invincible national defence, and it occupies a leading position in the world's key branches of science and technology. This ensures the socialist camp's effective promotion of the development of human society. The rise and growth of the socialist camp has a great impact not only on the direction of the development of the con-

¹ Statement of the Moscow Meeting of Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties, November 1960.

traditions in the world but also on the methods of resolving those contradictions. It presents a practical possibility for preventing a new world war. It provides favourable conditions for the revolutionary movements of different peoples striving for national independence, democracy and socialism. Thus, the 1960 Moscow Statement of the Meeting of Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties says, **"It is the principal characteristic of our time that the world socialist system is becoming the decisive factor in the development of society."**

(2) The second important characteristic on the international scene since World War II is **the irrepressible rise of the thousand million people in the colonies and dependent countries.** With revolutionary verve which has the force of a thunderbolt they wage their struggle against imperialism and colonialism. The colonies and dependent countries have become the focus of the various types of contradictions and the weakest link in the imperialist chain. The multifarious savage oppression and exploitation of the colonial peoples by imperialism, feudalism and capitalism created a tremendous revolutionary force. This force was awakened by the Russian October Revolution. The defeat of imperialism and fascism by the Soviet Union in World War II and the victory of the Chinese revolution gave a further impetus to the people of the colonies and dependent countries and provided them with more favourable conditions in the struggle for their own liberation. The greater part of these areas have in different degrees freed themselves from colonial slavery.

The victory of the national-liberation movement has brought about the rapid disintegration of the colonial system. As we all know, the colonial system is the

rear and base of imperialism and one of the basic conditions on which imperialism depends for its existence. The collapse of the colonial system causes the marked decline of imperialism and deepens the contradictions which lead to its extinction and consequently provides favourable conditions for the development of revolutionary movements in imperialist countries. At the same time it presents more obstacles to the imperialists in their scheme for a new world war. The broad masses in the colonies and dependent countries, who used to be the reserve force of imperialism, have now become an active force opposing imperialism and taking part in international political life and social transformation. The time when they were excluded from history is gone for ever. ". . . the time has now come when, heads held high, these peoples enter the international arena."¹ This great revolutionary force integrating with the working-class movement in the capitalist countries is, together with the world socialist system, greatly contributing to the main content, the main trend and the main features which determine the historical development of human society.

(3) A number of **nationalist states** have emerged as a result of national-liberation movements. In the wake of the appearance of this "Third World" new political and economic relationships arise. The nationalist states are now in the process of continuous change. They are becoming an important arena where struggles are waged between the different colonialist forces, and between the reactionary and progressive forces of the world as well as those of each of these states. The complicated strug-

¹ Ho Chi Minh, *Selected Works*, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Hanoi, 1962, Vol. IV, p. 275.

gles in the nationalist states find concentrated expression in increasingly sharp contradictions between two paths — capitalism and socialism — in the course of their advance. The outcome of these struggles will have a tremendous impact on the new balance of international forces and on the prospect of the struggles for peace, national liberation, democracy and socialism.

(4) Another important characteristic in the international situation since World War II is that the world capitalist system has entered a new phase — the third phase of its general crisis. It is split with sharp contradictions and it is undergoing inevitable decay and decline despite all the imperialists' efforts to the contrary.

As the 1960 Moscow Statement points out, monopoly capitalism is turning into state-monopoly capitalism. In Western Europe it is developing into state-monopoly capitalism embracing many countries in order to put into effect the so-called European "integration". Monopoly capitalist organizations are using every means to apply the achievements of modern science and technology in their intensified exploitation of the working class and other strata of the working people in order to make high profits. Contrary to the desire of the monopoly capital, the change-over of monopoly capitalism to state-monopoly capitalism further sharpens the contradictions between capitalist productive forces and relations of production. The market problem becomes more and more acute. In many capitalist countries economic instability is increasing. These conditions foreshadow imminent great upheavals in the world capitalist economic system.

The uneven development of imperialism has not only remained unchanged but has become increasingly aggravated. It has also upset the balance of forces be-

tween the imperialist countries. Those countries which were defeated or suffered great destruction during World War II, such as Germany, France, Japan and Italy, have recovered their economic strength, made rapid progress and became rivals of U.S. imperialism. The contradictions between the imperialist countries and blocs on the questions of market and spheres of influence have greatly sharpened.

Realities of life have increasingly rejected the deceptive arguments of imperialism and its lackeys about the "essential changes" in capitalism, "people's capitalism", "the welfare state", "the era of mass consumption", etc. State-monopoly capitalism is a form of brutal rule of monopoly capital. Under this rule, the working class is subjected to ever more serious exploitation; the peasants, small producers, and even the middle bourgeoisie are heading for bankruptcy in growing numbers. Freedom and democratic rights of the people are restricted or denied. The bourgeois state machine has become a complete bureaucracy and fully militarized. All this further sharpens the contradictions between the working class and the intermediate strata on the one hand and the monopoly-capitalist blocs on the other. This situation helps to break the tendencies towards class compromise and reformism spread among a part of the workers by the imperialists and Right-wing leaders of the Social Democratic parties; it propels the progress of the working-class movement and provides favourable conditions for the formation of a broad united front against the rule of monopoly capital. Never before in the history of capitalist countries have there been such extensive movements with tens of millions of workers taking part in struggle and such mass movements against

war and for peace in which tens of millions of people of all strata participate. These forces are dealing direct blows at imperialism's foundations.

After World War II the centre of world reaction shifted to the United States. The 1960 Moscow Statement points out: U.S. imperialism is the biggest international exploiter, the chief bulwark of world reaction, an international gendarme, the main force of aggression and war, and the sworn enemy of the peoples of the whole world.

(5) To save the capitalist system, avoid a crisis which could lead to its downfall, and maintain its rule, the imperialist bloc headed by U.S. imperialism is executing a basic policy — one of war and aggression. It is stepping up preparations for a new world war and is **going full speed ahead in the arms race**. The economy of imperialist countries now is a fully militarized one. Never before have capitalist countries incurred such enormous peacetime military expenditures as they are doing now. Mankind's great scientific and technological inventions have all been made to serve war purposes. The imperialists have stockpiled a large amount of highly destructive weapons and are daily increasing such weapons; they have formed aggressive military blocs, and established military bases in different areas, which are directed against the socialist camp and the peoples of many countries. U.S. imperialism has fostered the West German revanchists in an attempt to use this gang as its vanguard in the new world war it is plotting. Taking advantage of the contradictions between the imperialist countries and between the imperialist camp and the socialist camp, these revanchists quickly rose and armed themselves more and more strongly. Now they are working together with the French imperialists and turning West

Germany into a dangerous hotbed of war. The imperialist arms race has brought mankind face to face with the grave crisis of a new, thermonuclear world war. This situation poses an urgent task to the peoples of the world: to wage an untiring struggle against the imperialist bellicose elements headed by the United States in order to prevent the outbreak of a new, thermonuclear world war and defend and consolidate world peace. At the same time this situation helps to turn the slogan of opposing aggressive wars and defending peace into an extremely important militant slogan of the working class and people in the imperialist countries in their revolutionary struggle for the overthrow of the rule of monopoly capital and achievement of democracy and socialism.

**THE PRESENT PERIOD IS ONE IN WHICH THE PEOPLE OF
THE WORLD ARE LAUNCHING CONTINUOUS
ATTACKS ON IMPERIALISM**

The development of the international situation since World War II show clearly that a widespread and sharp class struggle without parallel in history is going on in the world, one in which the imperialists and other reactionary forces headed by the United States are pitted against the socialist camp, the international working class, and the oppressed nations and all peoples of the world who are striving for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism. The 1960 Moscow Statement says:

Our time, whose main content is the transition from capitalism to socialism initiated by the Great October Socialist Revolution, is a time of struggle between the

two opposing social systems, a time of socialist revolutions and national-liberation revolutions, a time of the breakdown of imperialism, of the abolition of the colonial system, a time of transition of more peoples to the socialist path, of the triumph of socialism and communism on a world-wide scale.

The epoch of the transition from capitalism to socialism is, as Lenin said, one of life-and-death struggle between moribund capitalism and triumphant socialism; it is an epoch when all anti-imperialist forces rise in revolution so as to destroy imperialism and enable socialism to achieve victory first in one country or several countries and then extend it to other countries until imperialism is completely liquidated and socialism wins world-wide victory. Up to the present this epoch has undergone two phases with different characteristics. The first phase — from the Russian October Revolution to World War II — is marked by a revolutionary upsurge immediately followed by this movement turning to the defensive. There are two reasons for this assertion. First, after defeating the armed intervention by fourteen countries, the Soviet Union was still weak compared with the imperialist countries and was encircled by them. The major problem facing the Soviet Union and world revolution was to strive for the required conditions to enable the Soviet Union — the bulwark of world revolution — to devote all its efforts to build socialism speedily and then to cope successfully with the imperialists in a hardly avoidable war. In order to survive, the Soviet Union had to, first of all, rely on its own strength. But this was not enough. It also had to rely on the support of the working class of the capitalist countries and the oppressed nations of imperialism's colonies and to take full advan-

tage of the contradictions between imperialist countries. Secondly, the struggle of the working class and the oppressed nations was on the ebb after an upsurge. The second phase — from the end of World War II to the present — is entirely different. The forces of the socialist camp and the people of all countries have surpassed that of imperialism and other reactionary forces. Today the socialist camp alone is powerful enough to cope successfully with the imperialist camp. "Today the restoration of capitalism has been made socially and economically impossible not only in the Soviet Union, but in the other socialist countries as well. The combined forces of the socialist camp reliably safeguard every socialist country against encroachments by imperialist reaction."¹ Anti-imperialist revolutions, particularly the revolutions of the oppressed nations, rising in one upsurge after another, have become the day-to-day activities of millions of people. There has never been a time in history such as today when the people of all countries, with high consciousness, magnificent determination, spirit and organization, form a powerful anti-imperialist revolutionary current which is backed up by the mighty socialist camp, and which is under a staunch leadership with forty-two million members of Communist and Workers' Parties as its core. The present phase is clearly one in which revolutionary forces are launching **continuous strategic attacks** on imperialism on a world scale. And clearly this is not a time between two revolutionary upsurges when capitalism enjoys a temporary stability, nor a time when the anti-imperialist revolutionary forces are preparing their strength and waiting for an oppor-

¹ The 1960 Moscow Statement.

tunity. No, this is a time when the people of the world are stepping up their attacks on imperialism, foiling its plots for war and aggression, and compelling it to give up its positions one by one, directly destroying it at first piecemeal and then completely.

It is **entirely possible** for the people of the world to **defeat imperialism** in the course of the prevailing worldwide class struggles. The relationship between the people and imperialism is exactly like that between revolutionary and counter-revolutionary forces at all times. At the beginning the people hold an unfavourable position. However, inherent in this relationship is the practical possibility of turning this position into a favourable one, and reversing imperialism's position. This possibility arises from the internal contradictions of imperialism. It exists objectively, independent of the will of man. The conversion of this possibility into reality is the inevitable outcome of the development of the various contradictions, and such development is inseparable from the conscious activities of the revolutionary people. Strategy and tactics in revolutionary struggles aim precisely at converting this objective possibility into reality — the realization of the process of changing the enemy from strong to weak and ourselves from weak to strong. Marxists, therefore, are confident that eventually imperialism will be abolished and the people will triumph. With the changed balance of world forces, people all over the world have more favourable conditions than ever to carry their struggle to complete victory.

Experience shows that the intensity of every class struggle in history is determined by the following factors: the irreconcilable contradiction of interests, the balance of forces of the two parties in the struggle, and

the will to win of each party over the other. The most important factor in the present international situation is the fact that the forces of socialism, national independence, democracy and peace have surpassed those of imperialism and other reactionary forces. The time when imperialism could do as it wished is gone. On the other hand, however, the nature of imperialism has not changed, and the existence and might of the socialist camp has made the existence of the whole imperialist system a serious question. Imperialism is, therefore, keeping up the arms race, vainly hoping to destroy the socialist camp, suppress the national-liberation movements, undermine working-class movements, "block communism", recover its lost positions, and is attempting by every means to realize its wild dreams. Hence, the struggle of imperialism and other reactionary forces against the socialist camp and the people of all countries is an extremely **ruthless and intense** struggle which we must recognize clearly. At the same time we must see that it is possible for the world's people to defeat imperialism, and thereby adopt correct policies and measures to enable us to win victory in our struggle.

THE CLOSE CONNECTION BETWEEN THE STRUGGLE IN DEFENCE OF WORLD PEACE AND THE REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE TO OVERTHROW IMPERIALISM

The ultimate aim of the world people's revolutionary struggle is to eradicate imperialism, abolish the capitalist system which is the source of oppression, exploitation and war, and to realize communism and lasting peace throughout the world. To achieve this the people of the world must now **wage a two-pronged anti-imperialist**

class struggle: energetically to oppose warlike and aggressive imperialism and defend world peace, and at the same time to wage a determined revolutionary struggle to overthrow imperialism and strive for national liberation, democracy and socialism. The 1960 Moscow Statement says:

This situation [of imperialist war-preparation] demands ever closer joint efforts and resolute actions on the part of the socialist countries, the international working class, the national anti-imperialist movement, all peace-loving countries and all peace champions to prevent war and assure a peaceful life for people. It demands the further consolidation of all revolutionary forces in the fight against imperialism, for national independence, and for socialism.

The policies of war and aggression of imperialism, headed by U.S. imperialism, have confronted mankind with a grave danger of a new world war in which nuclear weapons will be used. Therefore, peace has become the urgent demand of millions. The **urgent task** of the people of all countries at present is to defend world peace. Moreover, since a practical possibility of preventing imperialism from launching a new world war has now appeared, people all over the world must energetically carry on the struggle and exert every effort to make this possibility a reality. The 1960 Moscow Statement points out, "The Communist Parties regard the fight for peace as their prime task."

While we must perceive that there is a practical possibility of preventing a world war, we must also see that only through the persistent struggles of all peace forces against bellicose imperialism can this possibility be turn-

ed into a reality. On the other hand, while we must be fully aware of the grave danger resulting from imperialism's intensified preparations for a world war, we must also fully see that there are powerful forces for preventing war so that we may steadfastly develop and consolidate these forces and not weaken the fighting will of the masses. Only when we clearly and correctly realize both aspects and make the people of all countries realize them likewise, will we be able to arouse them to oppose all imperialist plots of war and aggression and defend and consolidate world peace with full confidence, determination and courage.

If the struggle against belligerent imperialism in the interest of world peace is an urgent task of the world's people, then the revolutionary struggle which aims at uprooting imperialism and striving for national liberation, democracy and socialism is also an **immediate, urgent task** of all peoples. These two struggles are closely related and strengthen each other. To conduct a revolution to overthrow imperialism is to weaken it step by step and to make it increasingly difficult for imperialism to carry out its plots for a world war. In this way the revolutionary movements in countries under the capitalist system, especially the sweeping national-liberation movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America, are making positive contributions to the defence of world peace. President Ho Chi Minh said:

Peoples of colonial and semi-colonial countries are waging liberation wars and those who have just freed themselves from colonialist rule are taking action to safeguard their sovereignty and territorial integrity. They are people who are directly weakening imperialism and colonialism. This is a big force in the defence

of world peace. Therefore, the peace movement must be closely bound to the movement for national independence.¹

The revolutionary struggle to overthrow imperialism is tied up not only with the struggle to preserve and consolidate peace and democracy today but also with the fight for lasting peace. The source of war is imperialism. So long as imperialism exists, there exists the danger of war. And the danger of war can be finally removed and everlasting peace on earth realized only by carrying on revolution to destroy imperialism, at first piecemeal, then completely. Therefore, whether from an immediate or long-term point of view, the revolutionary struggle, instead of being opposed to the fight in defence of world peace, strongly promotes it. In turn, the fight for world peace will augment the forces against imperialism and multiply its difficulties, thus creating favourable conditions for the triumph of the revolutionary struggle aiming at wiping out imperialism.

With the two systems of socialism and capitalism existing at the same time, **peaceful co-existence** between countries with different social systems is an objective necessity. Peaceful co-existence is a form of class struggle between socialism and capitalism and is part of the struggle against the imperialist warmongers and for the defence of world peace. Peaceful co-existence conforms with the fundamental interests of the socialist camp, all nations and the whole of progressive mankind. The conditions created by peaceful co-existence will enable the socialist system to demonstrate its superiority more and more in the economic, political, cultural, scientific and

¹ Ho Chi Minh, *op. cit.*, p. 320.

technological fields, rapidly enhance its prestige and international influence and make it more and more attractive to working people throughout the world. The realization of peaceful co-existence between countries with different social systems will deepen the contradictions of imperialism, thus creating favourable conditions for spreading the class struggle in the capitalist countries and speeding up the struggle for national liberation in the colonies and dependent countries. In turn, victory in the revolutionary class struggle and national-liberation struggle will greatly contribute to the realization and consolidation of peaceful co-existence. The struggle for peaceful co-existence between countries of the two systems, the development of the revolutionary movements in capitalist countries and the development of the national-independence movements are closely interrelated and reinforce rather than conflict with one another.

CLASS STRUGGLES MEAN POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLES

Marxism points out that in the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the proletariat must carry it out in the economic, political and ideological fields. At the same time, it points out, "Every class struggle is a political struggle."¹ The object of the class struggle of the proletariat is to free itself and all other working people from bourgeois oppression and exploitation. To achieve this, the proletariat must first over-

¹ Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, "Manifesto of the Communist Party", *Selected Works*, FLPH, Moscow, 1951, Vol. I, p. 41.

throw the rule of the bourgeoisie and establish its own political power. The political struggle, therefore, is essential and decisive. Economic and ideological struggles must serve the purpose of bringing about victory in the political struggle.

Today because of the emergence of a new factor — the existence of the socialist camp and nationalist states — **economic struggle** including economic competition between the two systems has become particularly important in the realm of the class struggle. Lenin pointed out that in any socialist revolution the proletariat must complete two tasks: first, to overthrow the bourgeois state power, take power into its own hands, smash the resistance of the exploiting classes and their plots for restoration of power, abolish the system of exploitation of man by man, safeguard the fruits of revolution and oppose external imperialist intervention; and secondly, to build a new economy as the foundation of a new society. It is the second task that distinguishes the socialist revolution from all previous revolutions in history. After basically fulfilling the first task, the most important work of the proletariat is to build a new economic relationship and perfect it, promote the development of productive forces and create a labour productivity higher than that of capitalism. Following Lenin's teachings, the Communist and Workers' Parties in the socialist countries, having in the main abolished the exploiting classes, regard the task of leading the working people in building a new economy, socialism, and then communism as their primary domestic task. They regard it as the principal sphere of struggle to ensure the complete victory of socialism within the country.

At the same time, the Communist and Workers' Parties of the socialist countries also regard economic struggle as an important realm to wage the class struggle on a world scale. The socialist countries carry out economic construction to ensure economic independence, strengthen national defence, and oppose imperialist intervention. They struggle against the imperialists' hostile economic measures, such as the economic blockade and trade embargo. With their own economic achievements they exert influence on and help the revolutionary struggles of the countries in the capitalist world. The more advanced the economic construction of the socialist camp, the more effectively can the superiority of socialism and communism over capitalism be demonstrated. This will increasingly convince the people of the capitalist world and inspire them to carry out active struggles to overthrow monopoly capitalism and colonialism and build a new life on socialist principles. With its great economic power, the socialist camp also helps the underdeveloped countries build their own economy and throw off the imperialist yoke.

The people of the nationalist states also regard economic struggle, the building of their own economy and opposition to imperialist measures of economic oppression as an important field of struggle against imperialism.

We Communists, however, maintain that economic struggle is only one aspect of the international class struggle at present, which remains primarily a political struggle. The reason is obvious. The struggle carried on by imperialism headed by the United States against the socialist camp and the people of all countries is primarily a political struggle. Imperialism concentrates its main efforts on all kinds of political means — prepara-

tions for world war, provoking local wars, waging "special warfare", engaging in subversive activities, mass suppression, and so on — with the political objective of eradicating the socialist countries, undermining national-liberation movements, stamping out the struggles in the capitalist countries and maintaining and strengthening capitalist rule. The imperialists make economic and ideological struggles serve this political struggle. In order to oppose the plots of imperialism and other reactionary forces, the socialist camp and the people of all countries must wage political, economic and ideological struggles, but the main struggle must be political. They must constantly rely on the strength of the people and must make both economic and ideological struggles serve the needs of the political struggle. The revolutionary struggle in the countries of the capitalist system for national liberation, democracy and socialism is a struggle of the broad masses, its chief aim being to solve the question of state power. The struggle to defend peace is in essence also a class struggle. War is not a natural calamity which strikes mankind like a bolt from the blue. Contrary to the Yugoslav revisionists' claim that the danger of war comes from imperialism and also from socialism, the source of war in fact lies in imperialism, in the policies of imperialism headed by the United States — the policies of war and aggression which aim at the maintenance of the system of exploitation and oppression. President Ho Chi Minh said, ". . . to maintain peace, it is necessary to oppose imperialism."¹ He also said, "To defend peace is to oppose war. Everyone knows that it is aggressive imperialism and colonialism with

¹ Ho Chi Minh, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 225.

U.S. imperialism at the head that provokes war. Hence imperialism headed by the U.S. must be opposed if war is to be prevented and peace safeguarded."¹ Consequently, the struggle for peace means to fully expose imperialism, first of all, the policies of war and aggression of U.S. imperialism. In other words, the people's forces throughout the world must be mobilized for a resolute struggle against imperialism, particularly the U.S. imperialist policy of war. As the 1960 Moscow Statement points out, peace can be safeguarded and world war prevented only by the joint efforts of the world socialist camp, the international working class, the national-liberation movement, all the countries opposing war and all peace-loving forces.

III. SOME QUESTIONS CONCERNING THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT

THE MEANS BY WHICH THE WORKING CLASS SEIZES STATE POWER

The anti-imperialist revolutionary struggle for self-liberation has become the day-to-day direct action of millions of people throughout the world. Marxism-Leninism teaches that the fundamental question of every revolution is that of state power, and that the fundamental question of socialist revolution is that of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

¹ *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 320.

The question of the dictatorship of the proletariat is the basic question in Marxism, as well as the basic content of Leninism. Lenin said, "Those who recognize *only* the class struggle are not yet Marxists. . . . Only he is a Marxist who *extends* the recognition of the class struggle to the recognition of the *dictatorship of the proletariat*."¹ Marx set forth not only the theory of the proletarian dictatorship but also many ideas on the strategy and tactics to guide the working class in its struggle for the proletarian dictatorship. Lenin developed Marx's idea on the proletarian dictatorship and made it a complete theoretical system. He advanced a series of strategic and tactical principles — those concerning the formation of the vanguard of the proletariat, the worker-peasant alliance, the relation between democratic revolution and socialist revolution, and the united front of the working class in imperialist countries with oppressed nations in the colonies and dependent countries. The theory of the worker-peasant alliance is a great contribution of Lenin's. Thanks to this contribution, the working class of Russia which constituted a minority was able to build up a strong force capable of overthrowing the power of the tsar, the landlords and the bourgeoisie, smashing the armed intervention of fourteen capitalist countries and completing the building of socialism.

An important question in the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat is the means used in seizing the state power. Basing himself on the theory of the class struggle and the state and on revolutionary practice in Europe, particularly in the Paris Commune, Marx concluded that

¹ Lenin, "The State and Revolution", *Selected Works*, FLPH, Moscow, 1952, Vol. II, Part 1, p. 233.

the bourgeois state is an organized apparatus of violence in the hands of the bourgeoisie in its irreconcilable class struggle against the proletariat for the suppression of the latter and the preservation of the capitalist system. Striving for its own emancipation, the proletariat has no alternative but to use violence to destroy the bourgeois state apparatus and to establish one of its own, the dictatorship of the proletariat. By means of this dictatorship it smashes the resistance of the exploiting classes and transforms society according to socialist principles. Marx expressed regret over the failure of the Paris Commune for using too little violence against the bourgeoisie. However, he also conceived of a situation in which the proletariat might overthrow bourgeois rule by peaceful means, such as in England in the 1870s, "a purely capitalist country, but without a militarist clique and, to a considerable degree, without a bureaucracy".¹

Lenin developed the idea of carrying out proletarian revolution by violence where imperialism existed. In discussing democracy under bourgeois rule, Lenin pointed out that the bourgeoisie would only allow a democracy, which it worked out for the working class or conceded to the workers within a certain limit, without detriment to its rule. Should the working class go beyond this limit, the bourgeoisie would suppress it with open violence. Therefore, counter-revolutionary violence can only be smashed with revolutionary violence. Lenin also clearly pointed out that imperialism, by virtue of its fundamental **economic** traits, is distinguished by a minimum fondness for peace and freedom, and by a maximum and universal development of militarism.

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 237.

In discussing the extent to which a peaceful or violent revolution is typical or probable, a Marxist must not fail to notice this point.¹

While stressing the violent method of proletarian revolution, Lenin, like Marx, was much concerned about the possibility of the working class peacefully seizing power. He considered such a possibility extremely rare and extremely valuable as this would be the most advantageous and least painful course for the people. Therefore, rare as it might be, Communists should do everything to strive for it as long as a real possibility existed, even though the chance was one in a hundred. The possibility of peaceful revolution could arise when the bourgeoisie, for certain reasons, possessed no apparatus of violence or could not employ the existing apparatus of violence to counteract the will of the workers, and were prepared to accept compromises. Such an eventuality had appeared in Russia between February and July 1917. At that time a peculiar situation existed in which there was the dual power of the bourgeoisie and the workers and peasants. It was characterized by a maximum of legally recognized rights² when arms were in the hands of the people and no coercion was exercised on the people from without. In Lenin's words: "The *essence* of the matter was that the arms were in the hands of the people, and that no coercion from without was exercised in regard to the people. That is what

¹ Cf. Lenin, "The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky", *Selected Works*, FLPH, Moscow, 1952, Vol. II, Part 2, p. 45.

² Cf. Lenin, "On the Tasks of the Proletariat in the Present Revolution", *Selected Works*, FLPH, Moscow, 1952, Vol. II, Part 1, p. 14.

opened up and ensured a peaceful path for the progress of the revolution."¹ This peculiar situation was created as a result of the fact that after the workers and peasants had carried out the February Revolution they transferred the power to the bourgeoisie.² Therefore, Lenin proposed the tactics of striving for a peaceful development of the revolution. But when the conditions had changed after July and there was no longer the peaceful possibility, Lenin changed his tactics and prepared for armed uprising. The October Revolution was a revolution to overthrow the bourgeois rule with violence.

The socialist revolutions which have taken place since then have made the fundamental ideas of Marx and Lenin stand out ever more brilliantly. Let us study some typical revolutions.

The great **Russian October Revolution**, as we have just said, was a violent revolution which first seized the political power in the cities by armed uprising and then spread to the countryside. After securing political power the revolution had to safeguard this power by waging a civil war and a bitter war against armed intervention by capitalist countries.

In **China**, the working class seized power during a democratic revolution. The most important characteristic and great development of the Chinese revolution was that it had the peasantry as the main force and the proletariat as the leadership. In China the way of seizing power was first to occupy the villages in a protracted

¹ Lenin, "On Slogans", *Selected Works*, FLPH, Moscow, 1952, Vol. II, Part 1, p. 88.

² Cf. Lenin, "The Tasks of the Proletariat in Our Revolution", *Selected Works*, FLPH, Moscow, 1952, Vol. II, Part 1, p. 28.

revolutionary war, to rely on the villages and use the villages to encircle and finally seize the cities.

In our **Viet Nam**, the working class seized power also by means of a national-democratic revolution. Viet Nam is a small country where development was slow, and the vast majority of the population were peasants who constituted the most powerful revolutionary force. The August Revolution was the result of a long revolutionary struggle in which political and armed struggles were combined; the waging of local guerrilla wars and establishment of bases in rural areas went along with the mobilization of the political forces of the revolutionary masses both in the cities and villages to seize power by armed uprisings when the opportunity was ripe. The August Revolution was a violent revolution which closely integrated political and military forces. After seizing power, the revolution had to safeguard it by waging a protracted war to resist external aggression.

In **Cuba**, the revolution was similar to the August Revolution of Viet Nam in many respects. It began with guerrilla wars in the countryside, which created a revolutionary situation throughout the country. Seizing this opportunity, the working class and the urban people launched uprisings in co-ordination with the rural guerrilla wars and seized political power. This was also a violent revolution in which political force co-ordinated with military force, rural guerrilla wars with urban uprisings; and, as Comrade Fidel Castro said, armed struggle played a decisive role.

In present circumstances, the question of what means the proletariat should use to seize power is one with which every Marxist-Leninist party is deeply concerned. The 1957 Moscow Declaration and the 1960 Moscow

Statement clearly point out that the actual possibility of the one or the other way of transition to socialism in each individual country depends on concrete historical conditions. These documents also say that the working class and its vanguard — the Marxist-Leninist party — seek to achieve the revolution by peaceful means, and that under present circumstances in a number of capitalist countries the working class has the opportunity to create the necessary conditions for peaceful realization of the socialist revolution. On the other hand, the Declaration and the Statement say that in the event the exploiting classes resort to violence against the people, the possibility of non-peaceful transition to socialism should be borne in mind.

An important characteristic of the situation today is that the socialist ideal is exerting greater far-reaching influence than ever. The working class and the peasant masses have a high level of political consciousness and a high sense of discipline and militancy; the united front against monopoly capital and imperialism is expanding every day; the socialist camp is strong enough to check effectively any intervention by imperialist groups in regions where the working class has risen to seize state power. This has created new, favourable conditions for the working class to seize state power by various means. Another important characteristic of the present situation, however, is that imperialism is distinguished by a maximum and universal development of bureaucracy and militarism. Never before have the exploiting classes wielded such a gigantic apparatus of violence as they do today. In the capitalist countries, some nationalist countries included, there is a growing political tendency towards fascism, towards curbing and

abolishing democratic freedoms, and towards military dictatorship. When one speaks of the possibility of the bourgeoisie using violence against the working class, one should always remember that never for a moment is the bourgeoisie not using violence in its most naked and brutal forms. Under such conditions, it would be impossible for the working class to seize state power without smashing the apparatus of violence of the bourgeoisie. The only way to destroy this apparatus is for the masses to use revolutionary violence. It should be easy to comprehend that the apparatus of violence of the ruling classes cannot be destroyed unless the revolutionary violence of the masses prevails over the counter-revolutionary violence. That is why the working class and the Marxist-Leninist parties, while seeking to make revolution by peaceful means which is the least painful course, must nevertheless make earnest preparation for **the seizure of power by violence.**

What is the form of revolutionary violence? It may be armed force or political force (in a narrow sense), or a combination of the two. As to what is the most suitable form of violence to be adopted for each country, this question has to be decided by the working class and its vanguard of that country. Whether political or armed force or a combination of the two is used, such forces can be created only when there is a dynamic, surging mass movement on the broadest scale and when the vanguard itself is fully determined, and see to it that the masses — including the middle-of-the-roaders as well as the progressives — have full confidence in defeating the enemy, fear no sacrifices, and are always prepared to use whatever form of struggle is necessary to defeat the enemy.

The experience of the revolutionary struggle in the last two decades has proved that unarmed revolutionary masses can create a force greater than the enemy — imperialist and other reactionary cliques — and can destroy its counter-revolutionary violence. As to what will evolve in the forward process and what is the suitable form of struggle, the correct answer to every situation can be found only in actual struggles. The working class and its vanguard of every country can certainly find the answer if they have the full determination to defeat the enemy, if they take the initiative in creating the opportunity instead of passively waiting for it.

While making intensive preparation for violent revolution, it is necessary to actively strive, in the spirit of Lenin's teachings, for **the possibility of peaceful revolution** even when there is one chance in a hundred, regardless of whenever or wherever it may appear.

THE FUTURE OF THE NATIONALIST STATES

Which road to take — this is also a question confronting the people of the nationalist states at present. This question concerns not only the destinies of the people of these countries but also the common struggle of the people throughout the world against imperialism and for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

The people of the nationalist states are a mighty revolutionary force which has fought and is fighting vigorously against imperialism. Since these countries are at different levels of development, their paths of advance are bound to have widely diverging characteristics. But practically all of them have a common problem, namely, that imperialist blocs in varying degrees retain their

colonial interests, especially economic interests, and do their utmost to seize more privileges in these countries, either by old-colonialist methods or by devious, new-colonialist devices. These include economic and military "aid", military alliances, political pressure, and even subversive activities. The nationalist states are the fields of struggle between the different old and new colonialist groups led by U.S. imperialism. The urgent task confronting the people there is to rid themselves completely of imperialist enslavement. For this purpose the nationalist states have to choose between two roads of development: the capitalist or the non-capitalist.

Which path to take is an internal question of these countries to be decided upon by their own people. Evidently in many of these countries the bourgeois ruling class is actively guiding the state along the capitalist path. In a number of these countries where the right-wing of the bourgeoisie dominates, the rulers are carrying out many reactionary policies. Internally, they intensify their exploitation of the workers and peasants and maintain the feudal system of land ownership, or conduct superficial "land reform", tighten monopoly control over the economy, enforce anti-democratic political measures — restricting democratic rights and freedom, frantically suppressing Communists, banning communist and patriotic activities, suppressing democratic and progressive movements, etc. Externally, they more and more move over to the side of, and rely on, imperialism, accept its economic and military "aid", join the aggressive military bloc rigged up by imperialism, follow in the wake of the imperialist countries on certain questions of foreign policy, hamper national-independence movements and develop expansionism. Obviously

this capitalist road of development is in the interest of a handful of people and does not meet the basic demands of the masses in the national-democratic revolution. For this reason, the working class, the broad peasant masses, other working people as well as people of the intermediate strata who desire genuine independence and democracy do not wish to take this road. On the contrary, they are choosing the non-capitalist road of development — the path of carrying the national-democratic revolution to the end and creating conditions for advancing to socialism. This certainly is not to the liking of imperialism which, therefore, is stepping up its collusion with the reactionary forces of these nationalist states to put up resistance.

The present situation in the nationalist states is one of continued revolutionary development. The people of these countries, who rose to oppose imperialism and other reactionary forces, are now actively taking part in political life. They are a young and buoyant revolutionary force. The revolution in these countries, therefore, will definitely not be a half-way affair but a continuous forward process.

Experience has proved that the primary internal condition for a nationalist country to advance along the non-capitalist path is a strong Marxist-Leninist party, and its ability to unite with and lead the broad masses of the peasantry, the largest revolutionary force, to form a solid worker-peasant alliance, and to unite with and lead other patriotic and democratic forces.

Experience has also proved that support and assistance from the socialist camp is an indispensable external condition for the advance of the nationalist countries along the non-capitalist road.

It is a lofty international duty of the socialist countries to support and assist the revolutionary movements of the people of the colonies, dependent countries and all nationalist states.

Socialist countries consistently and strictly adhere to the policy of peaceful co-existence in their relations with the nationalist countries. They resolutely refute the imperialist slanders about the "export of revolution" and at the same time they expose and resolutely oppose imperialist intervention in the internal affairs of the nationalist states and expose all plots of the old and new colonialists.

The Yugoslav revisionists seek in every way to serve U.S. imperialism and to undermine the revolution of the peoples of the nationalist countries. Exploiting the urgent desire of these peoples to realize socialism, they are advocating a "new" road, the "Yugoslav road to socialism", that is, a road of class compromise and the abolition of the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is clear to all that in order to seize state power and build socialism, the proletariat and the impoverished peasants must win over the intermediate strata, make them see the road of the class struggle and the proletarian dictatorship and isolate the lackeys of imperialism — the bourgeois reactionaries. However, both the theory and practice of world revolution have proved that the intermediate strata are by nature vacillating and tend to compromise. While they may dislike capitalism and favour socialism at present, they dread the class struggle and the dictatorship of the proletariat. The vicious aims of the Yugoslav revisionists are to dangle as bait a so-called socialism without the class struggle and the proletarian dictatorship, to prevent the Marxist-

Leninist parties from rallying their forces, to lead the intermediate strata away from the struggle for genuine socialism and to induce them to follow the bourgeois reactionaries. Herein lies the greatest danger which the Yugoslav revisionists are creating in the people's revolutionary movements in the nationalist countries. If it is the task of all Communist and Workers' Parties to oppose the Yugoslav revisionists resolutely for the defence of the purity of Marxism-Leninism, for the defence of the 1957 Moscow Declaration and the 1960 Moscow Statement, for a vigorous struggle against imperialism, and for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism, then a thorough exposure of the Yugoslav revisionists is essential to the smooth progress of the people's revolutionary cause in the nationalist countries.

IV. HOLD HIGH THE REVOLUTIONARY BANNER OF MARXISM AND PERFORM OUR PRESENT TASKS SUCCESSFULLY

ADVANCE THE SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION IN NORTH VIET NAM

After the restoration of peace north Viet Nam entered upon a new period — that of socialist revolution — and the people's democratic regime began to assume the historic task of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Our Party applied the Marxist-Leninist fundamental principles concerning socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat and the rich experience of fraternal countries to the specific conditions of the northern part

of our country and put forward the line and policy of building socialism in the north rapidly, vigorously and steadily.

Our Party has pointed out that the process of attaining socialism in the north involves three interrelated revolutions — in production relations, in technology, and in ideology and culture. It is a process of revolutionary change, a process of the realization of socialist transformation and socialist construction. Today socialist transformation has achieved a decisive victory and the exploiting classes have been in the main abolished. The revolution has entered a new phase centred on socialist construction and the realization of socialist industrialization while completing socialist transformation.

This does not mean, however, that the class struggle in the north has died down. It must continue on the ideological and cultural fronts so as to remould thoroughly the exploiting classes and wipe out their influence on the thought, habits and way of life of the working people. Economic construction for the realization of socialist industrialization is also a form of class struggle that is being waged to make socialism achieve complete success in the north. This is because in the north although the relations of production are socialist in nature, the material and technological foundations of socialism are still very weak and therefore the new relations of production are not yet consolidated. Only when such foundations are built up will there be a full guarantee that capitalism will have no soil on which to emerge and develop.

We must also wage the class struggle against imperialism, chiefly U.S. imperialism, and its lackeys. They have

been trying by every means to undermine the socialist construction of our north from the southern part of our country and elsewhere. We must be ever-vigilant against the plots of U.S. imperialism, the Ngo Dinh Diem clique and other counter-revolutionary elements, pay great attention to public security work and strengthen our national defence. We cannot separate the socialist construction in north Viet Nam from the struggle against warlike and aggressive imperialism headed by the United States and for the defence of world peace, from the efforts to support actively the national-liberation movements, support the struggle of the working class and the working people in the capitalist countries and strengthen friendly relations with people of all countries, particularly with the people of our two neighbouring countries, Cambodia and Laos.

To attain the all-round success of the socialist revolution in the north, we must grasp the central task of our whole Party and people, that is, vigorously to advance socialist industrialization and build the material and technological foundations of socialism.

To realize socialist industrialization and build the material and technological foundations of socialism also means further to consolidate and perfect the established socialist relations of production.

We started building socialism on the basis of a very backward economy characterized by small production mainly relying on manual labour. Our most important question is, therefore, the development of productive forces and the raising of labour productivity. Lenin said, "In the last analysis, productivity of labour is the most important, the principal thing for the victory of

the new social system.”¹ Lenin’s teaching has a deep theoretical and practical significance for us today. Industrialization means, in essence, to carry out a technological revolution, to equip the different branches of the national economy with new machinery and techniques, to transform hand-operated small production into mechanized large-scale production, and to replace manual labour with low productivity by machinery with high productivity, thereby providing conditions for the improvement of the people’s living standards. The line of socialist industrialization in north Viet Nam is: to give priority to the development of heavy industry in a rational manner and at the same time energetically to develop agriculture and light industry. We must devote great efforts to developing agriculture which should be the basis for developing industry; simultaneously industry should gradually be made to promote agricultural development. We must make further efforts to bring into play the leading role of industry, mainly heavy industry, in the national economy and the role of agriculture as the basis for developing industry. At all times we must pay close attention to the relationship between industry and agriculture.

In mapping out the task and line of socialist industrialization our Party proceeded from the fundamental law of social development discovered by Marx, that is, **the law that the relations of production should correspond to the character of the productive forces.** At the same time, our Party proceeded from the view that the northern part of our country should be treated as a

¹ Lenin, “The Great Beginning”, *Selected Works*, FLPH, Moscow, 1952, Vol. II, Part 2, p. 231.

single economic unit at present and all of Viet Nam should be treated as a **single economic unit** when the country is reunified. It is therefore necessary to establish an independent economy which must have heavy industry as the base. Lenin taught us, “A large-scale machine industry that is capable of reorganizing agriculture is the only material basis that is possible for Socialism.”¹ Only when we have established such an independent economy will we be able to practise the most rational division of labour and make the most rational use of our resources and labour power so that we may best realize the division of labour and co-operation with other fraternal socialist countries and make positive contributions to strengthening the socialist camp.

A question of decisive significance in socialist industrialization is that of the accumulation of funds. The relationship between accumulation and consumption must be properly resolved. On the one hand, efforts must be made to raise the standard of living gradually; on the other hand, appropriate proportion of accumulation must be assured to build up the material and technological base of socialism. Only in this way can we lay a sound foundation for the uninterrupted raising of our standard of living and in the not too distant future enable our people to shake off poverty and backwardness once and for all and live a truly happy and prosperous life. If we are short-sighted and only look to our immediate interests while failing to allocate adequate funds for building up the material and technological base of

¹ Lenin, “Theses of Report on the Tactics of the Russian Communist Party to the Third Congress of the Communist International (Preliminary Draft)”, *Selected Works*, FLPH, Moscow, 1952, Vol. II, Part 2, p. 576.

socialism, we shall ultimately be unable to raise our living standards. There is a full possibility for us to solve the question of fund accumulation in a proper manner while at the same time raising the living standards of the people step by step. If we can do this, we shall have a practical means of proving Lenin's proposition to be correct — that in the present era it is possible for a backward country which was once an imperialist colony to skip over the stage of capitalist development and directly pass to socialism. We should cherish and make good use of the assistance which we receive from fraternal countries, first of all, the tremendous assistance from the Soviet Union and China. We should, however, realize that the essential source of accumulation is within our own country — the accumulation from the labour of our own people. The basic measure for enlarging accumulation is to practise strict economy in production and consumption while raising labour productivity. The assistance from fraternal countries is an important source of accumulation but it is only through the work of our own people that such assistance can be turned to good account. In the final analysis, therefore, the conscious efforts of our people is the decisive factor. Our whole Party and people must make great efforts in developing the traditions of self-reliance and resolutely carrying out President Ho Chi Minh's instruction: increase production and practise strict economy.

Like the revolution in the relations of production, and the technological revolution, so, too, is the revolution in the ideological and cultural fields a part of the socialist revolution in north Viet Nam. It aims at making Marxist-Leninist ideology absolutely dominant in the intellectual life of our people and helps to build an advanced

culture and science. At present the ideological and cultural revolution must be centred on serving the technological revolution. Our ideological work must bring home to our people that socialist industrialization is a glorious task never before undertaken by them but, like other revolutions, it is a long arduous struggle, particularly since we began building socialism with a poor and backward economy. Because it is a revolutionary struggle, our entire Party and people must display a revolutionary spirit of not fearing sacrifice, and make tireless efforts to achieve victory.

We must continuously instil in the minds of our people socialist ideas, patriotism, and determination to fight for national reunification and become our own masters. We must oppose all manifestations of bourgeois ideas, criticize petty-bourgeois ideas and continue to clean up the survivals of feudal and other non-proletarian ideas. The most urgent problem today is to uphold the dictatorship of the proletariat more firmly, unequivocally establish the viewpoint of the proletarian leadership and the viewpoint of the worker-peasant alliance in the socialist revolution. We must constantly foster and enhance the class concept and the spirit of unity, class comradeship, the feeling of being our own masters, as well as the sense of organization and discipline. We should overcome individualism and all wrong tendencies which depart from the Party's revolutionary line for the period of socialist industrialization.

For the happiness of the people of north Viet Nam and for the cause of peaceful reunification of the motherland, we must work hard to overcome every obstacle and difficulty in the implementation of the resolutions of the Party's Third National Congress and the resolutions of

the meetings of the Central Committee of the Party so as to advance the cause of socialist industrialization. We should now carry out successfully the two great movements sponsored by the Political Bureau: the movement to improve the management of the agricultural co-operatives and improve the technique for the all-round development of agricultural production vigorously and steadily; and the movement to heighten our sense of responsibility, strengthen the financial and economic administration, and oppose corruption, waste and bureaucracy. The success of these two movements will help us achieve decisive victory in the next few years on the agricultural and industrial fronts.

THE REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE OF OUR SOUTHERN COMPATRIOTS WILL BE VICTORIOUS

While the people in the north are carrying on socialist construction, our southern compatriots are continuing the national and democratic revolution; they are opposing the policies of war and aggression of U.S. imperialism and its lackeys in order to create conditions for peaceful reunification of our country. The people in the two areas are simultaneously fulfilling two different revolutionary tasks which influence each other and are closely related to the common revolutionary cause for the country as a whole.

North Viet Nam, liberated and marching towards socialism, is the fruit of the revolutionary struggle of the people of the entire country. The north is the common base of the nation-wide revolution. The continuous growth of the north will intensify and inspire the revolutionary confidence and initiative of the southern com-

patriots and create favourable conditions for the vigorous development and final victory of south Viet Nam's revolution. Moreover, the socialist revolution in the north will not only bring a free and happy life to the people there, but also lay a foundation for this new life for the entire nation and prepare it for future developments. The more powerfully the north is built up, the greater its strength to foil the schemes for war and aggression by imperialism and its lackeys, to maintain and consolidate peace in Indo-China and the world, and to make positive contributions to supporting the revolutionary movements of the people of different countries and strengthening the socialist camp. Our Party, therefore, holds that to carry on socialist revolution in the north is a task of the most decisive significance to the revolution of Viet Nam as a whole and to the cause of our national reunification.

For nine years our southern compatriots have lived in an abyss of suffering. It is the urgent demand of the 14 million of our flesh and blood in the south to get rid of the brutal rule of U.S. imperialism and its lackeys. They have no alternative but to continue the revolution to liberate the south. The peaceful reunification of the motherland can be realized only when the south is liberated. U.S. imperialism and its stooges are the most dangerous and vicious enemies of our people and the chief obstacle to the peaceful reunification of our country. It is clear that the revolutionary struggle of our southern compatriots plays a direct and decisive role in the liberation of the south, the attainment of peaceful national reunification and the completion of the national-democratic revolution in Viet Nam. At the same time, this revolutionary struggle deals a direct blow to the plot

of U.S. imperialism and its lackeys to launch aggression against the north and creates favourable conditions for the north to build socialism in a peaceful environment.

The wild scheme of U.S. imperialism to turn the south into a military base is part of the general plan of the imperialist bloc headed by the United States to make war and undermine world revolution. In the last two years U.S. imperialism has carried out an undeclared war in the south; its purpose is not only to stamp out the revolutionary movement of the south Vietnamese people but also to experiment in a kind of "special warfare" in order to obtain some experience to oppose the vigorously rising national-liberation movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America. The revolutionary struggle of our southern compatriots is therefore directly contributing to the cause of the world's people in striving for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism. This point alone explains why this struggle is winning the deep sympathy and increasing effective support of people throughout the world.

The revolutionary struggle of our southern compatriots is sharp, arduous and complicated. U.S. imperialism and its lackeys have no hesitations in resorting to every savage method in a vain attempt to wipe out the revolutionary force and suppress the patriotic movement of our compatriots. But our compatriots rallying ever more closely round the daily expanding National Liberation Front of the south will never retreat. They will boldly smash the enemies' schemes, overthrow the U.S.-Dien regime and liberate the south.

Our southern compatriots are strong enough to defeat U.S. imperialism and its lackeys and carry the revolution to complete victory. The tremendous successes

in their heroic patriotic struggle throughout the last nine years, especially the successes in political struggle and armed struggle for self-defence in the past few years, prove that the possibility for final victory is growing. Contrary to the wishes of U.S. imperialism and the Ngo Dinh Diem clique, the revolutionary movement in south Viet Nam, instead of being crushed, is surging forward like a flood overflowing the dykes; the revolutionary force, instead of being liquidated, is consolidating and developing day by day. U.S. imperialism launched its "special warfare" in the vain hope of defeating the revolution in the south. Obviously, it is not the southern people, but U.S. imperialism and its lackeys, who are being defeated.

The experience of the revolutionary struggle of our compatriots in the south shows that once the people rise and wage a determined life-and-death struggle against the enemy, and if they follow a correct line of struggle no reactionary force on earth, not even U.S. imperialism, the most ferocious and dangerous imperialist chieftain, can halt their advance. The same experience also shows that when the leadership and the masses have a strong revolutionary will and refuse to retreat before the enemy, they will be able, in spite of all difficulties, to discover the suitable form of struggle, to preserve and gradually develop the revolutionary forces, to defeat the enemy step by step, and to win one victory after another until the revolution finally triumphs.

Our beloved southern compatriots shun no sacrifice in taking up their heavy and glorious historic task. We should all fully appreciate the great significance of their patriotic struggle, have confidence in the ultimate victory of this struggle and give them powerful support.

Time and again President Ho has said, "So long as our south is not liberated and our motherland is not reunified, we shall not be able to eat and sleep easily." In sympathy with the suffering of our southern compatriots, and with common hatred against the enemy, we shall devote all our strength and wisdom to the task of building socialism in the north rapidly, vigorously and steadily and make positive contributions to the peaceful reunification of our motherland.

* * *

Comrades,

We are now living in the most glorious age of human history and the most glorious period unparalleled in the history of our country. The earth-shaking changes that have taken place and are taking place in human society and in our country all prove the complete correctness of the ingenious revolutionary theory of Marx. Our entire Party and people must raise high the invincible revolutionary banner of creative Marxism, closely rally round the Party's Central Committee headed by our beloved President Ho, march forward courageously and fight persistently for the cause of socialist construction, for the reunification of our motherland, for world peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

黎 笋
高举创造性的马克思主义革命旗帜，
引导我们的革命事业走向全胜！

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