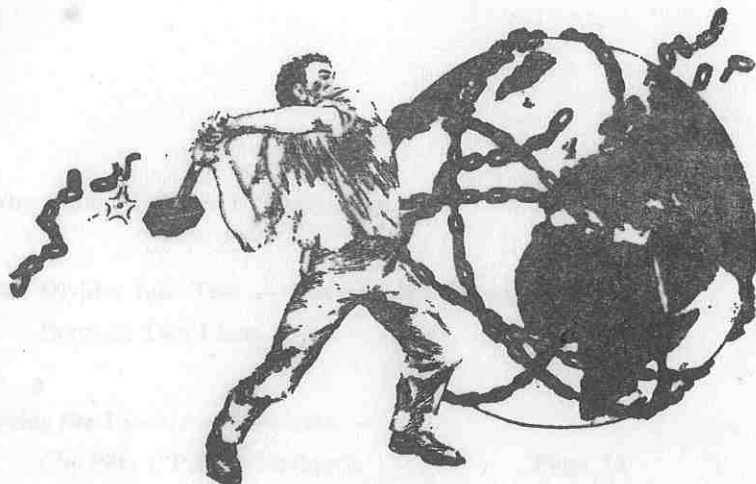


N.Z. COMMUNIST REVIEW

8



WHY CHINA CELEBRATES ARMY DAY
ONE DIVIDES INTO TWO
SEEING THE ESSENCE OF PROBLEMS
BOURGEOIS AND PROLETARIANS
PEOPLE'S WAR (GENERAL GIAP)

AUGUST, 1973—20c



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Why China Celebrates Army Day

In the People's Republic of China, August 1st is celebrated as Army Day. On that day in 1927, the Nanchang Uprising fired the first salvo against the Kuomintang reactionaries who, under the leadership of Chiang Kai-shek, had betrayed the revolution and launched a campaign of systematic armed suppression against the Communists and revolutionary workers, peasants and intellectuals.

The Autumn Harvest uprising that year brought into being the workers' and peasants' armed forces which marched into the Chinggang Mountains where they set up the first revolutionary base area. Thus a people's army of a completely new type emerged in China and kindled the flames of revolutionary armed struggle.

The history of the following twenty-two years is an epic of the struggle to ensure that correct Marxist-Leninist ideas would triumph in the Communist Party and the army under its leadership over incorrect bourgeois ideas. When the Party slipped into right opportunist or left sectarian deviations the revolutionary forces suffered heavy losses and defeats. But when, through examination of their experience, the Chinese comrades corrected their ideas and their practices, the revolution forged ahead again.

After twenty-two years of fierce ideological and military struggles against internal and external enemies, under the guidance of the great Marxist-Leninist leader, Mao Tsetung, the revolution triumphed with the proclamation of the Chinese Republic on October 1, 1949.

MIGHTY WEAPON OF THE PEOPLE

A new epoch was opened to the great Chinese people who constitute about one third of all mankind, the era of the struggle to build a new socialist society. The Chinese People's Liberation Army is a mighty weapon in the hands of the working people of China in guarding the fruits of their revolutionary struggles and a major force in developing the construction of their socialist society.

Quite the reverse of the imperialist armies in the capitalist countries, the Chinese People's Liberation Army is guided by the proletarian ideology, Marxism-Leninism and proletarian politics. Thus it is closely linked with the people and serves the people. It is not a parasite army, lording it over the people and living on the fruits of the labour of the toiling masses screwed out of them with taxes. Conscious of their role as servants of the people, the members of the Chinese armed forces strive to be as self-sufficient as possible, growing their own food, building their own barracks, making their own armaments, so as to minimise the economic burden of main-

taining an army. They play a vital role in assisting the Chinese people to solve the economic and political problems which arise in the course of the struggle for the construction of socialist society. The army helps in the arming and training of the people's militia.

Thus the army and the people are one. The army has the main role in the people's defence and plays a subsidiary role in the struggle for production, while the people play the main role in production and a subsidiary role in defence. They cannot be divided.

After the revolutionary armed struggle had ended with the victory of the Chinese people over the reactionary forces of Chiang Kai-shek and his imperialist allies and the establishment of the People's Republic, Mao Tsetung made the following summing up:

"A well-disciplined Party armed with the theory of Marxism-Leninism, using the method of self-criticism and linked with the masses of the people; an army under the leadership of such a Party; a united front of all revolutionary classes and all revolutionary groups under the leadership of such a Party — these are the three main weapons with which we have defeated the enemy."

The Chinese people celebrate the anniversary of the foundation of the People's Liberation Army because it is the glorious weapon with which they smashed the armed forces of Chiang Kai-shek-imperialist reaction that formerly oppressed them, and the front line defence force guarding the victories of the new socialist society they are building against the greedy desires of the main enemies of revolution today, U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism.

One Divides Into Two —

MORE ON THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN TWO LINES

There are two contradictory aspects in everything, a unity of opposites. This simultaneous unity and struggle is what impels things to move and change. When Marxist-Leninists examine any given phenomenon or thing they look for the two aspects, their method of examination is to start from the concept that "one divides into two". That is the concise term used by Mao Tsetung to describe what Lenin called "the splitting into two of a single whole".

Two contradictory aspects exist in the Communist Party of New Zealand just as surely as they exist in all Marxist-Leninist parties — proletarian ideology and bourgeois ideology. The struggle between these two contradictory aspects determines the effective unity of the Party in struggle. Locally and internationally it is a struggle between two lines — the Marxist-Leninist line of revolution and the opportunist revisionist line of counter-revolution.

"If there were no contradictions in the Party and no ideological struggles to resolve them, the Party's life would come to an end", said Mao Tsetung in his essay "On Contradiction", pointing out that the clash of ideas inside the Party is a reflection of the contradictions between classes and between the new and old in society.

STRUGGLE OF IDEAS

This does not mean that the Party divides its members into two camps, with "goodies" on one side and "baddies" on the other. The inner-Party struggle is between ideas and the proper application of "One divides into two" means that a sharp line is drawn between proletarian ideas and bourgeois ideas, not between persons. Only when members become dominated by bourgeois ideas to the stage where they take material form—in organisational factions, in defiance of the Party's organisational principle of democratic-centralism—is it necessary to do battle in organisational material terms. Even then great pains must be taken to get the person to stop the material disruption of Party unity. If the person proves incorrigible in this material disruption then a material division into two (with the offender outside the Party) becomes inevitable. The aim is effective unity at a higher level as the result of struggle against any bourgeois ideas carried inside the Party by any member. Through the strong bourgeois influence in our material environment, such ideological contamination is inevitable and continuous. Nevertheless, it must always be regarded as a contamination, as a sickness, and the treatment must be aimed at removing the disease not the patient.

The method of approaching inner-Party struggle, therefore, is not to divide the sum total of members into two but to divide the two contradictory sets of ideas into two, to draw a sharp line between proletarian ideology and bourgeois ideology, between the Marxist-Leninist line and the opportunist and revisionist line, between the positive and the negative, between the new and the old, between the successes and mistakes.

Unfortunately some people do not use the method of "one divides into two" in a Marxist-Leninist manner. Such people regard it as a mathematical formula for continually dividing everything in half. This springs from a subjective conceit that, if allowed to persist to its logical conclusion, would have the Party continually dividing into half until only one conceited member is left.

This may seem so absurd as to be impossible but it is precisely what happens to such hide-bound opportunists as the late Sid Scott who ended up "expelling" the whole Party from himself.

TWO OPPOSITE WORLD OUTLOOKS

This mechanical application of "one divides into two" is a product of bourgeois ideology itself. In his essay "On Contradiction" Mao Tsetung quotes Lenin as follows:—

"The two basic conceptions of development (evolution) are: de-

velopment as decrease and increase, as repetition, and development as a unity of opposites (the division of a unity into mutually exclusive opposites and their reciprocal relation)".

Lenin was referring to the two different world outlooks, the metaphysical conception of the world and the dialectical conception. Note that the mathematical conception of development as "decrease or increase" is rejected as the metaphysical or vulgar evolutionist outlook. It sees things as isolated, static and one-sided. It sees change as only increase or decrease in quantity or change of place — "one divides in half" or "one and one make two" or "one shifts its position".

This metaphysical, mechanical approach is not the only wrong method of tackling inner-Party (and other) problems. In the May issue of the "Communist Review", the National Secretariat of the Communist Party pointed out that subjectivism, sectarianism and stereotypism were also obstacles to correct work. The same issue contained Mao Tsetung's "Rectify the Party's Style of Work" which deal with the same mistakes in greater detail as they applied to the Chinese Party.

SUBJECTIVIST WEAKNESSES

Subjectivism is the method of seeing only a part and not the whole and assuming that the part is the decisive truth. This can express itself in dogmatically asserting that one's own ideas or book knowledge are the complete answer, or empirically asserting that one's own narrow experience is the solution. It is hostile to anyone else's theory and practice. It separates theory from practice and practice from theory. It does not believe that correct ideas come from practice and must be tested in practice. It results in blind practice or impotent theory. In neither case does it examine the realities of "one divides into two".

Likewise sectarianism, by not looking at the two aspects objectively, overestimates the merits and strengths of the individual or group in relation to the whole. It results in disruption and anti-democratic centralism, in selfish departmentalism. It is a product of subjectivism.

Stereotypism shows a mechanical approach to problems because it concerns itself with outward appearances without any inner sincerity, with barren sloganising and quotations, with form without content, with a ritualistic approach to serious problems, with yesterday's solution to today's changing situation. It is a technique often used by subjectivists whether of the sectarian, dogmatic, empiricist or metaphysical variety. All these errors arise from and are nurtured by bourgeois ideological weaknesses. In turn they help spread individualist bourgeois ideology within the Party. They shun collective proletarian ideology.

HOW IDEOLOGY IS FORMED

One's ideology is the general outlook based on a class that determines one's actions. Ideology expressed in a programme for action constitutes a political line for the advancement of those class interests, particularly on the question of state power. The organisation is determined by the nature of the ideology and politics—both in the relationship of the members among themselves and towards the class it serves.

It is most important to recall once again that ideology (and therefore, the politics and organisation), is not inborn or acquired from a book. It is moulded in the course of daily life in class society.

The Marxist-Leninist ideology is developed and steered in the course of struggle for proletarian state power. Man's subjective world is remoulded in the process of transforming the objective world. Marxist-Leninist ideology is based on dialectical materialism. The opposing ideology is based on idealism.

Just as proletarian Marxist-Leninist ideology is formed in political struggle, so is it tested in political struggle. The struggle of two lines boils down to the question of who is practising Marxism-Leninism and who is practising revisionism. These are the two aspects in the Party. This is the struggle that gives it movement forward. It stands to reason, therefore, that any refusal to face up to this struggle reveals a liberal, frivolous or jaded attitude towards the revolutionary goal.

This paves the way for opportunists and revisionists to push the line that "two combines into one" (two aspects combine into one aspect) — unprincipled unity with the class enemy and its agents, numerical unity replacing unity in common cause against a common enemy, subordinating the new principal aspect to the old, striving for equilibrium between aspects.

The Marxist-Leninist line, (reflecting the objective law that the people make history and that the working class will make revolution) is considerate of people, is striving for unity and is honest. Wherever there is lack of consideration for people, splitting tactics, dishonesty and intrigue, then there is also the opportunist line. Running counter to the objective laws of development, this revisionist line cannot avoid these anti-people methods.

PARTY UNITY AND PARTY BUILDING

Party unity and Party building is always closely linked with the correct handling of the objective law, as expressed in the United Front against imperialism (currently against U.S. and Soviet imperialism) and against capitalism (developing the forces capable of smashing capitalist state power). This Party-people progress is aptly summarised in Mao Tsetung's words that **"Once the correct ideas characteristic of the advanced class are grasped by the masses, these**

ideas turn into a material force which changes society and changes the world”.

Correct inner-Party examination strengthens the Party organisation, unity and fighting capacity because it fearlessly examines the two aspects within the single whole. It seeks objective truth through examination and self-examination of practice (criticism and self-criticism do not mean personal attack and self-abasement), because how else can one's ideology be gauged correct or incorrect unless examined in the political practice of working towards the Party's revolutionary goal? Proletarian ideology is not inborn. It is developed, tested and steeled in the course of struggle.. It proves its worth in struggle. Verbal agreement does not necessarily prove ideological unity. Indeed it could merely be a form of stereotypism covering up an opportunist yes-man.

Only the test of practice will show who is following the Marxist-Leninist line towards revolution and who is following the opportunist, revisionist line towards keeping the status quo.

“One divides into two” is the Marxist-Leninist method of starting to examine any matter or person, because it takes account of the fundamental law of the universe, the unity of opposites.

Having made this start it is then necessary to work out the essential and main aspects of any contradiction, in any “division into two”. And that is what the following article on “Seeing the Essence of Problems” deals with.



Seeing the Essence of Problems

— Chi Ping ("Peking Review").

Chairman Mao has always taught us to try to find the essential or main aspects of a problem. We must learn to use this scientific approach in sizing up a situation, analysing a problem or discussing our work.

Criticising people who go against this approach, Chairman Mao pointed out in July 1955: **"The way these comrades look at problems is wrong. They do not look at the essential or main aspects but emphasize the non-essential or minor ones. It should be pointed out that these non-essential or minor aspects must not be overlooked and must be dealt with one by one. But they should not be taken as the essential or main aspects, or we will lose our bearings"**. ("On the Question of Agricultural Co-operation").

In estimating a situation, we must try to grasp its essence and mainstream before we can size it up correctly. We must, as Chairman Mao has said: **"apply the Marxist-Leninist method in analysing a political situation and appraising the class forces, instead of making a subjective analysis and appraisal"**. (On Correcting Mistaken Ideas in the Party). Only by correctly assessing the relative strength of the different classes in society and the trend of their development can the essence of a situation be ascertained in a maze of complicated phenomena.

During the various historical periods of the Chinese revolution, Chairman Mao always distinguished between the principal and the secondary contradictions of each period by scientifically analysing the balance of class forces and the trend of their development at the time. On this basis, he charted the correct strategy for struggle for the Party and steered the Chinese revolution ahead victoriously.

The same is true for all Communist Party members and revolutionaries. Only when we correctly assess a situation from its essence can we obtain a deep understanding of the Party's line, principles and policies and steadfastly carry them out; only in this way can we remain level-headed and retain a high revolutionary enthusiasm and persist in the correct political orientation.

To Marxists, all kinds of contradictions in the social life of a class society are, in the last analysis, class contradictions. Such contradictions and struggle motivate the advance of society. Chairman Mao has said: **"Classes struggle, some classes triumph, others are eliminated. Such is history, such is the history of civilisation for thousands of years"**. ("Cast Away Illusions, Prepare for Struggle"). Classes, class contradiction and class struggle continue in socialist

society, which moves forward in contradictory struggle.

Since China entered the period of socialist revolution, the principal contradiction has been that between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. The existence and development of this principal contradiction decides or influences the existence and development of other contradictions. Reflected in the Party, this contradiction is manifested in the struggle between a Marxist-Leninist line and an opportunist one. The reason why the Party's basic line is so important is that it scientifically analyses the principal contradiction in the stage of socialist revolution and points out the principles and methods for its solution.

"TWO CLASSES, TWO ROADS AND TWO LINES"

To view a situation correctly, we should analyse social phenomena in the basic context of the struggle between the two classes, two roads and two lines. This is our most fundamental starting point. In socialist society, the proletariat constantly gains in strength while the bourgeoisie weakens and the Marxist-Leninist line repeatedly repulses the revisionist line in the course of this struggle. Hence the advance of society and history. Therefore, we can see a situation clearly from its essence only by grasping this fundamental starting point.

The waxing and waning of the respective strength of the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and the latter's final extinction is the general trend of revolutionary development in the socialist period. However protracted the struggle and tortuous the road, this general trend will not change. The key here is that the proletariat must have a Marxist-Leninist line.

Chairman Mao has noted: **"The correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything"**. When the line is correct, the proletarian revolutionary cause will spurt forward. This has been amply proven by the 23-year history of the People's Republic of China. Guided by Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, we have experienced during this period a number of big struggles, including both class struggle in society and line struggle within the Party. Each struggle ended with the strength of the reactionary exploiting classes seriously weakened and the proletariat and revolutionary people growing stronger through the tempering they received. Thus the revolution goes forward. Such struggles carried out ceaselessly, will eventually enable us to accomplish our great historic task — that of finally eliminating the system of exploitation and the exploiting classes.

An entirely different situation has been known to appear in the international communist movement when the line is incorrect, as in the Soviet Union. There, the revisionist renegade clique has usurped Party leadership and state power, betrayed the revolutionary principles of Marxism-Leninism and followed a revisionist line. The result is that the dictatorship of the proletariat has been re-

placed by the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, socialism has been replaced by social-imperialism and fascism, revolution is undermined and history retrogresses. However, this is a temporary phenomenon. In the end, Marxism-Leninism will certainly defeat revisionism and the proletariat will defeat the bourgeoisie. This general trend of historical development can never be changed.

FOSTER THE GROWTH OF NEW THINGS

As the socialist revolution deepens in China, the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, initiated and led by Chairman Mao, is a great struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and between the Marxist-Leninist line and the revisionist line. Guided by Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, Party members, cadres and masses, after repeated and sharp struggles, uncovered the handful of renegades, special agents and diehard capitalist roaders in the Party headed by Liu Shao-chi. They went on to smash the plots of political swindlers like Liu Shao-chi to restore the fascist dictatorship of the landlords and comprador-bourgeoisie, destroyed their bourgeois headquarters and settled accounts with them for their counter-revolutionary crimes and revisionist line. All this has enormously strengthened China's proletarian dictatorship and the Chinese Communist Party. It was also a very severe blow to imperialism and social-imperialism, which schemed to subvert the socialist system in China through their agents. This tremendous victory has sparked vigorous development in all fields of socialist endeavour and is of extremely far-reaching significance.

The proletariat, through the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, has further enlarged its positions in the superstructure, including all spheres of culture, while the ideology of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes suffered harsh blows. In literature and art, education and other realms where the bourgeoisie had long been entrenched, a profound revolution has taken place, with the proletariat taking over these ideological positions.

As Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and principles and policies are carried out in all spheres of the superstructure, large numbers of socialist new things have emerged. These include the creation and popularisation of model revolutionary theatrical works, enrolment of worker-peasant-soldier students in universities and colleges, settling of educated city youth in the countryside, participation of cadres in productive labour, development of co-operative medical services and emergence of "barefoot doctors" in the rural areas, shifting of medical workers to the countryside. All these have a common class nature; they are all advantageous to the proletariat and detrimental to the bourgeoisie and benefit socialism while harming capitalism. Although some are still in an imperfect state, lack adequate experience or are passing or have yet to pass the test of various struggles, they possess, nonetheless, immense viability and have an illimitable future. They show the direction of our advance

and the rapid progress of the socialist revolution. As Chairman Mao has said: **"It is always so in the world, the new displacing the old, the old being superseded by the new, the old being eliminated to make way for the new and the new emerging out of the old"**, ("On Contradiction"). To actively protect new-emerging things, enthusiastically foster their growth and correctly sum up experience and lessons is to persist in revolution and in progress.

DISTINGUISHING BETWEEN PRINCIPAL AND SECONDARY ASPECTS

In class society, class struggle is **"always the great motive force of historical progress"**, (Engels: International Socialism and Italian Socialism.) Such noteworthy changes in favour of the proletariat in the balance of class forces have an important bearing on the overall situation of socialist revolution and socialist construction. Their powerful influence is felt in every field, on every front and by every part of the overall situation. Historical experience proves that a major class or line struggle never fails to bring a leap in the various fields of revolution and construction.

In the course of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, we have destroyed the bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shao-chi and other political swindlers and smashed their counter-revolutionary revisionist line; Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line has taken firm hold of people's hearts and the Party's principles and policies are implemented even better so that the socialist enthusiasm of the cadres and masses are further aroused. All this has enabled every field of work in China to advance triumphantly along the socialist road. Shortcomings and problems which appear during the rapid growth of the socialist cause are non-essential and minor things not difficult to overcome and certainly can be overcome once Chairman Mao's correct line is put into action. In viewing the situation on different fronts or in different fields or in considering a partial situation, the overall situation of the class struggle must not be forgotten, and neither should the essential and main aspects. Concrete analysis should also be made of the minor or secondary aspects. The principal and the secondary aspects form a unity of opposites. The secondary aspects reveal the new contradictions arising in the progress of things, and they will remind us to solve the problems and thus bring about sounder development of the main aspects.

As socialist revolution moves ahead, the victories we win by no means indicate the end of the struggle. These victories can be consolidated and developed only by persisting in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Chairman Mao has taught us **"We have won great victory, but the defeated class will still struggle. These people are still around and this class still exists. Therefore, we cannot speak of final victory. Not even for decades. We must not lose our vigilance"**. Historical

experience since the founding of New China proves that each major class struggle with its resultant changes evokes a different response from different classes, strata or social cliques.

The proletariat and the masses of labouring people are elated by their victories, while the reactionary exploiting classes lament their defeat. Liu Shao-chi and other political swindlers did everything in their power to nullify the great achievements of China's socialist revolution and construction and of the Great Cultural Revolution, slander the fruits of the revolutions in art and literature and in education and other fields of struggle-criticism-transformation and sling mud at the excellent revolutionary situation. They hoped by this to oppose Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and achieve their criminal aim of subverting the proletarian dictatorship and restoring capitalism.

ADHERE TO PROLETARIAN STAND

To be able to see the essential and main aspects of things correctly, we must firmly adhere to the proletarian stand. Chairman Mao has pointed out: **"Our stand is that of the proletariat and of the masses. For members of the Communist Party, this means keeping to the stand of the Party, keeping to Party spirit and Party policy"** ("Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art"). This is our fundamental point of departure in approaching all problems. Only in this way can we firmly keep in mind the great historic task of the proletariat, correctly recognise the objective laws of class struggle, grasp the trend of social development, observe at all times what conforms to the maximum interests of the masses and to the advance of society and vice versa, and thus analyse and judge the situation correctly.

Anyone who keeps to the stand of an individual or a small clique instead of that of the proletariat will see problems through prejudiced eyes; he will fail to correctly analyse class contradictions and class struggles and thus see the situation in an incorrect light. It is imperative, therefore, that we carry out Chairman Mao's instruction to **"read and study seriously and have a good grasp of Marxism"**. consciously remould our world outlook and keep firmly to the proletarian stand through constant tempering. — (Slightly abridged translation of an article from "Hongqi", No. 3, 1973).

Bourgeois and Proletarians

(From the "Manifesto of the Communist Party" by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels).

"A spectre is haunting Europe — the spectre of Communism". Thus begins the opening sentence of the famous "Manifesto of the Communist Party", drafted as a platform for the Communist League in 1848 by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels. The "Manifesto", the first great theoretical challenge to the rule of the bourgeoisie, has since become recognised as a basic Marxist, historical document and the common platform of the revolutionary working class all over the world.

While some points in the "Manifesto" have subsequently been improved or developed by Marx and Engels themselves and later Marxist-Leninists, the basic principles remain as true and valid today as when they were first written.

"Bourgeois and Proletarians" is Chapter 1 of the "Manifesto" (Footnotes one to four by Marx and Engels. No. 5 by editor).

BOURGEOIS AND PROLETARIANS (1)

The history of all hitherto existing society (2) is the history of class struggles.

Freeman and slave, patrician and plebian, lord and serf, guild-master (3) and journeyman, in a word, oppressor and oppressed, stood in constant opposition to one another, carried on an uninterrupted, now hidden, now open fight, a fight that each time ended, either in a revolutionary reconstitution of society at large, or in the common ruin of the contending classes.

In the earlier epochs of history, we find almost everywhere a complicated arrangement of society into various orders, a manifold gradation of social rank. In ancient Rome we have patricians, knights, plebians, slaves in the Middle Ages feudal lords, vassals guild-masters, journeymen, apprentices, serfs; in almost all of these classes, again, subordinate gradations.

The modern bourgeois society, that has sprouted from the ruins of feudal society, has not done away with class antagonisms. It has but established new classes, new conditions of oppression, new forms of struggle in place of the old ones.

Our epoch, the epoch of the bourgeoisie, possesses, however, this distinctive feature: it has simplified the class antagonisms. Society as a whole is more and more splitting up into two great hostile camps, into two great classes directly facing each other — bourgeoisie and proletariat.

From the serfs of the Middle Ages sprang the chartered burghers of the earliest towns. From these burgesses, the first elements of the bourgeoisie were developed.

The discovery of America, the rounding of the Cape, opened up fresh ground for the rising bourgeoisie. The East-Indian and

Chinese markets, the colonisation of America, trade with the colonies, the increase in the means of exchange and in commodities generally, gave to commerce, to navigation, to industry, an impulse never before known, and thereby, to the revolutionary element in the tottering feudal society, a rapid development.

The feudal system of industry, in which industrial production was monopolised by closed guilds, now no longer sufficed for the growing wants of the new markets. The manufacturing system took its place. The guild-masters were pushed aside by the manufacturing middle class; division of labour between the different corporate guilds vanished in the face of division of labour in each single workshop.

Meanwhile the markets kept ever growing, the demand ever rising. Even manufacture no longer sufficed. Thereupon, steam and machinery was taken by the giant, modern industry, the place of the industrial middle class, by industrial millionaires, the leaders of whole industrial armies, the modern bourgeois.

Modern industry has established the world market, for which the discovery of America paved the way. This market has given an immense development to commerce, to navigation, to communication by land. This development has in its turn, reacted on the extension of industry; and in proportion as industry, commerce, navigation, railways extended, in the same proportion the bourgeoisie developed, increased its capital, and pushed into the background every class handed down from the Middle Ages.

We see, therefore, how the modern bourgeoisie is itself the product of a long course of development, of a series of revolutions in the modes of production and of exchange.

Each step in the development of the bourgeoisie was accompanied by a corresponding political advance of that class. An oppressed class under the sway of the feudal nobility, an armed and self-governing association in the medieval commune (4) here independent urban republic (as in Italy and Germany), there taxable 'third estate' of the monarchy (as in France); afterwards, in the period of manufacture proper, serving either the semi-feudal or the absolute monarchy, as a counterpoise against the nobility, and, in fact, corner-stone of the great monarchies in general, the bourgeoisie has at last, since the establishment of Modern Industry and of the world market, conquered for itself, in the modern representative State, exclusive political sway. The executive of the modern State is but a committee for managing the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie.

The bourgeoisie, historically, has played a most revolutionary part.

The bourgeoisie, wherever it has got the upper hand, has put an end to all feudal, patriarchal, idyllic relations. It has pitilessly torn asunder the motley feudal ties that bound man to his "natural superiors", and has left no other nexus between man and man than

naked self-interest, than callous "cash payment". It has drowned the most heavenly ecstasies of religious fervour, of chivalrous enthusiasm, of philistine sentimentalism, in the icy water of egotistical calculation. It has resolved personal worth into exchange value, and in place of the numberless indefeasible chartered freedoms, has set up that single, unconscionable freedom — Free Trade. In one word, for exploitation, veiled by religious and political illusions, it has substituted naked, shameless, direct, brutal exploitation.

The bourgeoisie has stripped of its halo every occupation hitherto honoured and looked up to with reverent awe. It has converted the physician, the lawyer, the priest, the poet, the man of science, into its paid wage-labourers.

The bourgeoisie has torn away from the family its sentimental veil, and has reduced the family relation to a mere money relation.

The bourgeoisie has disclosed how it came to pass that the brutal display of vigour in the Middle Ages, which reactionaries so much admire, found its fitting complement in the most slothful indolence. It has been the first to show that man's activity can bring about. It has accomplished wonders far surpassing Egyptian pyramids, Roman aqueducts and Gothic cathedrals; it has conducted expeditions that put in the shade all former exoduses of nations and crusades.

The bourgeoisie cannot exist without constantly revolutionising the instruments of production, and thereby the relations of production, and with them the whole relations of society. Conservation of the old modes of production in unaltered form, was, on the contrary, the first condition of existence for all earlier industrial classes. Constant revolutionising of production, uninterrupted disturbance of all social conditions, everlasting uncertainty and agitation distinguish the bourgeois epoch from all earlier ones. All fixed, fast-frozen relations, with their train of ancient and venerable prejudices and opinions, are swept away, all new-formed ones become antiquated before they can ossify. All that is solid melts into air, all that is holy is profaned, and man is at last compelled to face with sober senses his real conditions of life and his relations with his kind.

The need of a constantly expanding market for its products chases the bourgeoisie over the whole surface of the globe. It must nestle everywhere, settle everywhere, establish connections everywhere.

The bourgeoisie has through its exploitation of the world market given a cosmopolitan character to production and consumption in every country. To the great chagrin of reactionaries, it has drawn from under the feet of industry the national ground on which it stood. All old-established national industries have been destroyed or are daily being destroyed. They are dislodged by new industries, whose introduction becomes a life and death question for all civilised nations, by industries that no longer work up indigenous raw material, but raw material drawn from the remotest zones; industries

whose products are consumed, not only at home, but in every quarter of the globe. In place of the old wants, satisfied by the production of the country, we find new wants, requiring for their satisfaction the products of distant lands and climes. In place of the old local and national seclusion and self-sufficiency, we have intercourse in every direction, universal inter-dependence of nations. And as in material, so also in intellectual production. The intellectual creations of individual nations become common property. National one-sidedness and narrow-mindedness become more and more impossible, and from the numerous national and local literatures there arises a world literature.

The bourgeoisie, by the rapid improvement of all instruments of production, by the immensely facilitated means of communication, draws all, even the most barbarian, nations into civilisation. The cheap prices of its commodities are the heavy artillery with which it batters down all Chinese walls, with which it forces the barbarians' intensely obstinate hatred of foreigners to capitulate. It compels all nations, on pain of extinction, to adopt the bourgeois mode of production; it compels them to introduce what it calls civilisation into their midst, i.e., to become bourgeois themselves. In one word, it creates a world after its own image.

The bourgeoisie has subjected the country to the rule of the towns. It has created enormous cities, has greatly increased the urban population as compared with the rural, and has thus rescued a considerable part of the population from the idiocy of rural life. Just as it has made the country dependent on the towns, so it has made barbarian and semi-barbarian countries dependent on the civilised ones, nations of peasants on nations of bourgeois, the East on the West.

The bourgeoisie keeps more and more doing away with the scattered state of the population, of the means of production, and of property. It has agglomerated population, centralised means of production, and has concentrated property in a few hands. The necessary consequence of this was political centralisation. Independent, or but loosely connected provinces, with separate interests, laws, governments and systems of taxation, became lumped together into one nation, with one government, one code of laws, one national class interest, one frontier and one customs tariff.

The bourgeoisie, during its rule of scarce one hundred years, has created more massive and more colossal productive forces than have all preceding generations together. Subjection of nature's forces to man, machinery, application of chemistry to industry and agriculture, steam-navigation, railways, electric telegraphs, clearing of whole continents for cultivation, canalisation of rivers, whole populations conjured out of the ground — what earlier century had even a presentiment that such productive forces slumbered in the lap of social labour?

We see then; the means of production and of exchange, on

whose foundation the bourgeois built itself up, were generated in feudal society. At a certain stage in the development of these means of production and of exchange, the conditions under which feudal society produced and exchanged, the feudal organisation of agriculture and manufacturing industry, in one word, the feudal relations of property became no longer compatible with the already developed productive forces; they became so many fetters. They had to be burst asunder; they were burst asunder.

Into their place stepped free competition, accompanied by a social and political constitution adapted to it, and by the economical and political sway of the bourgeois class.

A similar movement is going on before our own eyes. Modern bourgeois society with its relations of production, of exchange and of property, a society that has conjured up such gigantic means of production and of exchange, is like the sorcerer who is no longer able to control the powers of the nether world whom he has called up by his spells. For many a decade past the history of industry and commerce is but the history of the revolt of modern productive forces against modern conditions of production, against the property relations that are the conditions for the existence of the bourgeoisie and of its rule. It is enough to mention the commercial crises that by their periodical return put the existence of the entire bourgeois society on its trial each time more threateningly. In these crises a great part not only of the existing products, but also of the previously created productive forces, are periodically destroyed. In these crises there breaks out an epidemic that in all earlier epochs would have seemed an absurdity—the epidemic of over-production. Society suddenly finds itself put back into a state of momentary barbarism; it appears as if a famine, a universal war of devastation had cut off the supply of every means of subsistence; industry and commerce seem to be destroyed. And why? Because there is too much civilisation, too much means of subsistence, too much industry, too much commerce. The productive forces at the disposal of society no longer tend to further the development of the conditions of bourgeois property; on the contrary, they have become too powerful for these conditions, by which they are fettered, and so soon as they overcome these fetters, they bring disorder into the whole of bourgeois society, endanger the existence of bourgeois property. The conditions of bourgeois society are too narrow to comprise the wealth created by them. And how does the bourgeoisie get over these crises? On the one hand by enforced destruction of a mass of productive forces; on the other, by the conquest of new markets, and by the more thorough exploitation of the old ones. That is to say, by paving the way for more extensive and more destructive crises, and by diminishing the means whereby crises are prevented.

The weapons with which the bourgeoisie felled feudalism to the ground are now turned against the bourgeoisie itself.

But not only has the bourgeoisie forged the weapons that bring

death to itself; it has also called into existence the men who are to wield those weapons — the modern working class — the proletarians.

In proportion as the bourgeoisie, i.e., capital, is developed, in the same proportion is the proletariat, the modern working class, developed — a class of labourers, who live only so long as they find work, and who find work only so long as their labour increases capital. These labourers, who must sell themselves piecemeal, are a commodity, like every other article of commerce, and are consequently exposed to all the vicissitudes of competition, to all the fluctuations of the market.

Owing to the extensive use of machinery and to division of labour, the work of the proletarians has lost all individual character, and, consequently, all charm for the workman. He becomes an appendage of the machine, and it is only the most simple, most monotonous and most easily acquired knack, that is required of him. Hence, the cost of production of a workman is restricted, almost entirely, to the means of subsistence that he requires for his maintenance, and for the propagation of his race. But the price of a commodity, and therefore, also of labour, is equal to its cost of production. In proportion, therefore, as the repulsiveness of the work increases, the wage decreases. Nay more, in proportion as the use of machinery and division of labour increases, in the same proportion the burden of toil also increases, whether by prolongation of the working hours, by increase of the work exacted in a given time, or by increased speed of the machinery, etc.

Modern industry has converted the little workshop of the patriarchal master into the great factory of the industrial capitalist. Masses of labourers, crowded into the factory, are organised like soldiers. As privates of the industrial army they are placed under the command of a perfect hierarchy of officers and sergeants. Not only are they slaves of the bourgeois class, and of the bourgeois state; they are daily and hourly enslaved by the machine, by the overseer, and above all, by the individual bourgeois manufacturer himself. The more openly this despotism proclaims gain to be its end and aim, the more petty, the more hateful and the more embittering it is.

The less the skill and exertion of strength implied in manual labour, in other words the more modern industry becomes developed, the more is the labour of men superseded by that of women. Differences of age and sex have no longer any distinctive social validity for the working class. All are instruments of labour, more or less expensive to use, according to their age and sex.

No sooner is the exploitation of the labourer by the manufacturer, so far at an end, that he receives his wages in cash, than he is set upon by the other portions of the bourgeoisie, the landlord, the shopkeeper, the pawn-broker, etc.

The lower strata of the middle class — the small tradespeople,

shopkeepers, and retired tradesmen generally, the handicraftsmen and peasants — all these sink gradually into the proletariat, partly because their diminutive capital does not suffice for the scale on which modern industry is carried on, and is swamped in the competition with the large capitalists, partly because their specialised skill is rendered worthless by new methods of production. Thus the proletariat is recruited from all classes of the population.

The proletariat goes through various stages of development. With its birth begins its struggle with the bourgeoisie. At first the contest is carried on by individual labourers, then by the work people of a factory, then by the operatives of one trade, in one locality, against the individual bourgeois who directly exploits them. They direct their attacks not against the bourgeois conditions of production, but against the instruments of production themselves; they destroy imported wares that compete with their labour, they smash to pieces machinery, they set factories ablaze, they seek to restore by force the vanished status of the workman of the Middle Ages.

At this stage the labourers still form an incoherent mass scattered over the whole country and broken up by their mutual competition. If anywhere they unite to form more compact bodies, this is not yet the consequence of their own active union, but of the union of the bourgeoisie, which class, in order to attain its own political ends, is compelled to set the whole proletariat in motion, and is moreover yet, for a time, able to do so. At this stage, therefore, the proletarians do not fight their enemies, but the enemies of their enemies, the remnants of absolute monarchy, the landowners, the non-industrial bourgeois, the petty bourgeoisie. Thus the whole historical movement is concentrated in the hands of the bourgeoisie; every victory so obtained is a victory for the bourgeoisie.

But with the development of industry the proletariat not only increases in number; it becomes concentrated in greater masses, its strength grows and it feels that strength more. The various interests and conditions of life within the ranks of the proletariat are more and more equalised, in proportion as machinery obliterates all distinctions of labour, and nearly everywhere reduces wages to the same low level. The growing competition among the bourgeois, and the resulting commercial crises, make the wages of the workers ever more fluctuating. The unceasing improvement of machinery, ever more rapidly developing makes their livelihood more and more precarious; the collisions between individual workmen and individual bourgeois take more and more the character of collisions between two classes. Thereupon the workers begin to form combinations (trades' unions) against the bourgeois; they club together in order to keep up the rate of wages; they found permanent associations in order to make provision beforehand for these occasional revolts. Here and there the contest breaks out into riots.

Now and then the workers are victorious but only for a time. The real fruits of their battles lies, not in the immediate result, but

in the ever-expanding union of the workers. This union is helped on by the improved means of communication that are created by modern industry, and that place the workers of different localities in contact with one another. It was just this contact that was needed to centralise the numerous local struggles, all of the same character, into one national struggle between classes. But every class struggle is a political struggle. And that union, to attain which the burghers of the Middle Ages with their miserable highways, required centuries, the modern proletarians, thanks to railways, achieve in a few years.

This organisation of the proletarians into a class, and consequently into a political party, is continually being upset again by the competition between the workers themselves. But it ever rises up again, stronger, firmer, mightier. It compels legislative recognition of particular interests of the workers, by taking advantage of the divisions among the bourgeoisie itself. Thus the ten-hours' bill in England was carried.

Altogether, collisions between the classes of the old society further in many ways the course of development of the proletariat. The bourgeoisie finds itself involved in a constant battle. At first with the aristocracy; later on, with those portions of the bourgeoisie itself, whose interests have become antagonistic to the progress of industry; at all times with the bourgeoisie of foreign countries. In all these battles it sees itself compelled to appeal to the proletariat, to ask for its help, and thus, to drag it into the political arena. The bourgeoisie itself, therefore, supplies the proletariat with its own elements of political and general education, in other words, it furnishes the proletariat with weapons for fighting the bourgeoisie.

Further, as we have already seen, entire sections of the ruling classes are, by the advance of industry, precipitated into the proletariat, or are at least threatened in their conditions of existence. These also supply the proletariat with fresh elements of enlightenment and progress.

Finally, in times when the class struggle nears the decisive hour, the process of dissolution going on within the ruling class, in fact within the whole range of old society, assumes such a violent glaring character, that a small section of the ruling class cuts itself adrift, and joins the revolutionary class, the class that holds the future in its hands. Just as, therefore, in an earlier period, a section of the nobility went over to the bourgeoisie, so now a portion of the bourgeoisie goes over to the proletariat, and in particular, a portion of the bourgeois ideologists, who have raised themselves to the level of comprehending theoretically the historical movement as a whole.

Of all the classes that stand face to face with the bourgeoisie today, the proletariat alone is a really revolutionary class. The other classes decay and finally disappear in the face of modern industry; the proletariat is its special and essential product.

The lower middle class, the small manufacturer, the shop-keeper, the artisan, the peasant, all these fight against the bourgeoisie, to save from extinction their existence as factions of the middle class. They are therefore not revolutionary, but conservative. Nay more, they are reactionary, for they try to roll back the wheel of history. If by chance they are revolutionary, they are so only in view of their impending transfer into the proletariat; they thus defend not their present, but their future interests; they desert their own standpoint to place themselves at that of the proletariat.

The 'dangerous class', the social scum, that passively rotting mass thrown off by the lowest layers of old society, may, here and there, be swept into the movement by a proletarian revolution; its conditions of life, however, prepare it far more for the part of a bribed tool of reactionary intrigue.

In the conditions of the proletariat, those of old society at large are already virtually swamped. The proletariat is without property; his relation to his wife and children has no longer anything in common with the bourgeois family relations; modern industrial labour, modern subjection to capital, the same in England as in France, in America as in Germany, has stripped him of every trace of national character. Law, morality, religion, are to him so many bourgeois prejudices, behind which lurk in ambush, just as many bourgeois interests.

All the preceding classes that got the upper hand, sought to fortify, their already acquired status by subjecting society at large to their conditions of appropriation. The proletarians cannot become masters of the productive forces of society, except by abolishing their own previous mode of appropriation, and thereby also every other previous mode of appropriation. They have nothing of their own to secure and to fortify; their mission is to destroy all previous securities for, and insurances of, individual property. (5).

All previous historical movements were movements of minorities, or in the interest of minorities. The proletarian movement is the self-conscious, independent movement of the immense majority, in the interest of the immense majority. The proletariat, the lowest stratum of our present society, cannot stir, cannot raise itself up, without the whole superincumbent strata of official society being sprung into the air.

Though not in substance, yet in form, the struggle of the proletariat with the bourgeoisie is at first a national struggle. The proletariat of each country must, of course, first of all settle matters with its own bourgeoisie.

In depicting the most general phases of the development of the proletariat, we traced the more or less veiled civil war, raging within existing society, up to the point where that war breaks out into open revolution, and where the violent overthrow of the bourgeoisie lays the foundation for the sway of the proletariat.

Hitherto, every form of society has been based, as we have al-

ready seen, on the antagonism of oppressing and oppressed classes. But in order to oppress a class, certain conditions must be assured to it under which it can, at least, continue its slavish existence. The serf, in the period of serfdom, raised himself to membership in the commune, just as the petty bourgeois, under the yoke of feudal absolutism, managed to develop into a bourgeois. The modern labourer, on the contrary, instead of rising with the progress of industry, sinks deeper and deeper below the conditions of existence of his own class. He becomes a pauper, and pauperism develops more rapidly than population and wealth. And here it becomes evident, that the bourgeoisie is unfit any longer to be the ruling class in society, and to impose its conditions of existence upon society as an over-riding law. It is unfit to rule because it is incompetent to assure an existence to its slave within his slavery, because it cannot help letting him sink into such a state, that it has to feed him, instead of being fed by him. Society can no longer live under this bourgeoisie, in other words, its existence is no longer compatible with society.

The essential condition for the existence and for the sway of the bourgeois class, is the formation and augmentation of capital; the condition for capital is wage-labour. Wage-labour rests exclusively on competition between the labourers. The advance of industry, whose involuntary promoter is the bourgeoisie, replaces the isolation of the labourers, due to competition, by their revolutionary combination, due to association. The development of modern industry, therefore, cuts from under its feet the very foundation on which the bourgeoisie produces and appropriates products. What the bourgeoisie therefore produces, above all, are its own grave-diggers. Its fall and the victory of the proletariat are equally inevitable.

(1) By bourgeoisie is meant the class of modern capitalists, owners of the means of social production and employers of wage-labour. By proletariat, the class of modern wage-labourers who, having no means of production of their own, are reduced to selling their labour power in order to live.

(2) That is, all written history. In 1847, the pre-history of society, the social organisation existing previous to recorded history, was all but unknown. Since then Haxthausen (August von, 1792-1866) discovered common ownership of land in Russia, Maurer (Georg Ludwig von) proved it to be the social foundation from which all Teutonic races started in history, and, by and by, village communities were found to be, or to have been, the primitive form of society everywhere from India to Ireland. The inner organisation of primitive communistic society was laid bare in its typical form by Morgan's (Henry 1818-1881) discovery of the true nature of the gens and its relations to the tribe. With the dissolution of these primeval communities, society begins to be differentiated into separate and finally antagonistic classes. I have attempted to retrace this process of dissolution, in *Der Ursprung der Familie, des Privateigentums und des Staats*, 2nd Edition, Stuttgart, 1886. (The

Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State).

(3) Guild-master, that is a full member of a guild, a master within, not a head of a guild.

(4) "Commune" was the name taken, in France, by the nascent towns even before they had conquered from their feudal lords and masters, local self-government and political rights as "the Third Estate". Generally speaking, for the economical development of the bourgeoisie, England is here taken as the typical country, for its political development, France.

(5) Property in the sense of means of production. "Proletariat" is derived from "proletarii" who constituted the propertyless class of free citizens of ancient Rome. Hence, today, on the one hand, there exists the propertied class owning the means of production — the capitalist class and on the other, the propertyless class, free and yet compelled by necessity to sell its labour-power to the capitalists — the proletariat. (Editorial note).

People's War

(Part 5)

General Vo Nguyen Giap

(Excerpts from "Viet Nam Courier", August, 1972).

NORTH VIET NAM AN IRON WALL

The U.S. war of systematic destruction has put our socialist regime and its military organisation to a hard test. But the U.S. aggressors have been defeated. More than 3,000 modern aircraft (3,845 up to August 21, 1972) of more than 40 types, including the most recent ones used for the first time in Viet Nam, have been shot down. Many U.S.A.F. aces and outstanding pilots have been killed or captured.

Socialist north Viet Nam has stood firm, like an iron wall, and has kept on consolidating itself on both the economic and military planes, fully assuming its role as revolutionary base for the whole country and fulfilling its glorious duty to the great fighting front.

Our people at first rose up in struggle with only their bare hands. Thus in the beginning we had to arouse the masses' revolutionary consciousness and mobilise them into political forces, and on that basis, build up revolutionary armed forces, first of all, mass armed forces. From the latter there gradually emerged the revolutionary army. On the basis of successes achieved in insurrection and revolutionary war, we have little by little raised the level of the armed forces. Hence, the necessity for us to proceed from political struggle to armed struggle and combine them, and to advance from guerrilla to regular warfare and combine them.

In insurrection and liberation war, we have always closely allied political struggle with armed struggle, uprisings with military offensives, the destruction of the enemy with the winning of sovereignty for the people.

Thanks, to the existence of a regular and modern people's army and of widespread and powerful mass armed forces, right from the beginning, regular warfare and guerrilla warfare have been simultaneously fought in close co-ordination with each other. The war has shown the very important role of the people's army and of regular warfare. The expanded regional troops, with their new combat capabilities, have acted as the nucleus of people's war in their respective localities. The people's militia and self-defence forces have also played a most important role in the fighting, and also in maintaining communications and transport, protecting the population against enemy air raids and serving the front.

SOUTH VIET NAM

A revolutionary war has been waged by our people in south Viet Nam for more than ten years.

It is a war of liberation conducted against the U.S. imperialists' war of neo-colonialist aggression, with a view to liberating the south, fulfilling the tasks of the people's democratic national revolution, and advancing towards the country's peaceful reunification. The growth of the people's liberation armed forces in the south is closely bound to these characteristics of a revolutionary war: chain uprisings, peoples' war against "special war", "limited war" "Vietnamised war".

In the years 1959-1960, a people's insurrection took place with chain uprisings breaking out over vast rural areas. The forces, undertaking the uprisings were the masses' political army, supported by armed self-defence units, then still relatively unimportant. Set up by dint of patient efforts during the revolutionary movement on the eve of the 1945 general insurrection, this political army rapidly grew up in the course of the August Revolution and during the anti-French resistance. It was tempered in the hard struggle against the Ngo Dinh Diem administration and was accordingly possessed of high morale, great combativeness and rich experience.

Taking advantage of a moment when the puppet administration, rent by deep contradictions, was showing its weaknesses, the population valiantly rose up in various localities and launched partial insurrections by co-ordinating political and armed forces, the former assuming the main role.

While the Saigon central administration was still in possession of hundreds of thousands of troops and resorting to ferocious repression, the powerful strength of chain uprisings succeeded in sapping the puppet regime at its base in many localities. The classical means for domination used by neo-colonialism had failed.

When a special war was launched by U.S. imperialism in order to continue its aggression, the chain-uprising movement developed into a liberation war. Having mastered the laws governing revolution and revolutionary war in south Viet Nam, and those of the U.S. neo-colonialist aggressive war, the south Viet Nameese people, led by the N.F.L. strengthened the movement's offensive position, **brought into full play the global strength of political and armed forces, stepped up political struggle, simultaneously with armed struggle and attacked the enemy on the military, political and agitation planes in all three strategic zones: highlands, delta and cities.**

Local people's war developed vigorously in vast rural areas. The army and the people closely allied political and armed struggles, launched offensives and uprisings, stepped up guerrilla warfare and partial insurrections. They wore out and destroyed large forces of the puppet army, foiled the latter's "heliborne" and "armour-borne" tactics, won sovereignty at the grassroots level, destroyed two-thirds of the "strategic hamlet" system and badly impaired the puppet central administration.

Political struggle rose in the towns in co-ordination with the revolutionary movement in the countryside. The numerous political army and the large armed forces of the masses played a considerable role. The enemy himself had to admit that the "Viet Cong are past masters of guerilla warfare". When mobile regular units of the liberation army made their appearance in battles with big concentrations of troops, wiping out enemy regular units at Binh Gia, Dong Xoai, Ba Gai, a new development was recorded in peoples war. Revolutionary war was given new offensive power. A new situation developed due to the close co-ordination between political forces and armed forces, between the armed forces of the masses and the Liberation army: the whole structure of the puppet army and administration was threatened with complete collapse in spite of the large numbers of troops (550,000) and although the regular units of the Liberation army had not yet reached a considerable development both in number and concerning the magnitude of battles involving big concentrations of troops. This was due to the mighty power of the political forces and local armies, the great upsurge of the political movement and mass uprisings, and the vigorous growth of guerrilla warfare. Meanwhile, the regular troops which had recently appeared on the battlefields had won great prestige and a strong position as well as a great offensive power which enabled them to threaten, dominate over and wipe out the enemy, repeatedly attacking him and achieving successive victories.

In face of the failure of its "special war", U.S. imperialism was compelled to dispatch to South Viet Nam a big expeditionary corps to rescue the puppet troops.

Relying on their two strategic forces: the U.S. expeditionary corps and the puppet army, the former being the essential force, the American aggressors launched massive counter-offensives against the

revolutionary armed forces, particularly the Liberation Army's regular units, hoping to annihilate them. At the same time, a cruel "pacification programme" was prosecuted with the aim of enslaving and controlling the population. The Americans waged a so-called "war on two fronts: military and political," a total war combining brutal military practices with political and economic deceit and perfidious psywar tricks.

ENEMY'S COUNTER-OFFENSIVES SMASHED

Turning to account their position of victory and initiative, our compatriots and fighters in south Viet Nam kept on intensifying armed struggle and political struggle in order to foil the U.S. imperialists' manoeuvres and tricks. The people's liberation armed forces, in an increasing number of battles allying big concentrations of troops with guerrilla activities, attacked the U.S. troops as well as the puppet and satellite troops in both large scale battles and middle and small-sized engagements, put out of action large enemy forces and war material and ensured efficient support to the people's political struggle and uprisings. Although smaller in number and equipped with less sophisticated armaments than the enemy, the Liberation army, right from the start, dealt stunning blows at the U.S. expeditionary corps at Van Truong (Central Trung Bo), on the Highlands, in Eastern Nam Bo, in Tri Thien and elsewhere. In all theatres of operations, actions of ever larger scale were undertaken by the Liberation army's regular units, while successive guerrilla waves were stirred up by regional armed forces.

A powerful political movement broke out in towns especially Da Nang and Hue. Soon losing its initial aggressiveness, the U.S. expeditionary corps received unexpected blows and suffered repeated defeats. The counter-offensive launched by 200,000 GI's during the 1965-66 dry season was broken; the "search and destroy" strategy aimed at "breaking the Viet Cong's spine" failed, like the "pacification programme". The Liberation troops opened the Tri-Thien front while attacking in force in other theatres of operations. The counter-offensive by 400,000 G.I.s during the 1966-67 dry season was in its turn smashed; such strategic schemes as "two-pronged pincer attack," "search and destroy" and "pacification" operations, also failed.

At a time when U.S. escalation against both the north and the south of our country was brought to a climax and met with failure, the Spring 1968 General Offensive, launched by the liberation army and people broke out like a clap of thunder, shaking south Viet Nam and the U.S. itself. This strategic surprise attack launched in an original and creative way by the Liberation armed forces, in co-ordination with mass uprisings, dealt a decisive blow at the strategy of "limited war" and led to a historic turning-point in the war.

While waging a people's war against the U.S. "limited war",

the need to intensify the military struggle and to co-ordinate it with political struggle with a view to achieving a military victory over U.S. imperialism led to a new development of the people's liberation armed forces in both number and quality as well as in terms of organisation, equipment and combat technique.

GROWTH OF LIBERATION FORCES

The regular units of the liberation army were equipped with new weapons, and organised into more and more powerful mobile groups. The regional troops were expanded and strengthened. Guerrilla militia and self-defence units vigorously developed in all theatres of operations. Crack units came into being. Thanks to improved armaments and equipment, all three categories of troops were able to wipe out not only enemy infantry units, but also tanks and armoured vehicles, and even to down enemy planes.

In the whole territory of south Viet Nam as well as in each separate region, co-ordination was achieved between mobile forces and local forces disposed in an efficient strategic battle array, at once solid and mobile, especially in crucial sectors of all three strategic zones.

The local armed forces included regional, guerrilla militia and self-defence units leaning firmly upon the local political forces and closely co-operating with them in both mountainous and delta regions, in both countryside and towns. Their task was to disperse U.S. puppet and satellite troops to the utmost, pin them down in all theatres of operations, to encircle and attack them, wear them down and wipe them out and to destroy their war means. In the meantime, the mobile forces operating in greater and greater concentration in various war theatres, dealt crushing blows at the enemy and wiped out big chunks of his forces.

GREAT VICTORIES

People's war spread the enemy thin, encircled him, cut off his communications, harassed him without respite and wiped him out. The U.S. expeditionary corps, the puppet troops and the satellite mercenaries, numbering more than one million in all and boasting ultra-modern technical equipment, failed to produce the expected effect. The enemy found himself in a situation where in spite of his considerable numbers, he was short of troops and grew ever weaker. His blows hit a vacuum while he was daily attacked and worn down by the P.L.A.F. His troops were dispersed, his offensive capacity sank and he was gradually driven to the defensive.

While wanting a quick settlement of the war he was compelled to prolong it. The aggressive army, modern and numerous, was sinking more and more into passivity and suffered greater and greater losses, at last to be defeated by the revolutionary war carried to a high level of development.

Meanwhile, the enemy's ultra-modern aero-naval forces were

dealt stunning blows by the people's ground-against-air war carried out by the army and population of north Viet Nam. Confronted with the U.S. imperialists' huge military apparatus, we achieved great victories. The Americans' greatest aggressive "limited war" was defeated at the very time when their escalation had reached its peak in both zones of Viet Nam.

Since 1970, when Nixon ordered the invasion of Cambodia and Laos, the revolutionary armed forces of the three countries fighting side by side in all theatres of operations have launched many battles of annihilation and achieved great victories by fielding powerful regular units. Though enjoying powerful U.S. logistic and air support and being supplied with considerable new equipment, the puppet troops have suffered heavy and repeated defeats. Not only have the Vientiane and Phnompenh quisling troops been severely mauled, the Saigon army itself, the backbone of "Vietnamisation" and the spearhead of the Nixon doctrine in Indo-China, has also failed pitifully.

DEFEAT OF "PACIFICATION"

While great efforts are being deployed by the enemy to swell the reactionary troops and other coercive forces, set up a dense network of posts and strong points to put the population under control and implement his brutal "pacification" plan in the countryside, the role of **people's war on the regional level and that of the regional troops** becomes more and more important. In wide rural regions our southern compatriots and fighters have closely linked armed struggle to political struggle and combined the three spearheads (military action, political struggle and persuasion work among enemy troops), to defeat the "pacification plan". Fired by victories achieved by regular troops, guerrilla militia units, in concert with regional troops acting as the core, have acted upon the motto: "Let cadres cling to the population, the latter to the land and let guerrillas harrass the enemy", they have stepped up guerrilla warfare, which is people's war at the basic level, wiped out and decimated regional reactionary armed forces and stormed many posts.

People's war in the countryside has stopped and driven back the "pacification plan" of the enemy and inflicted on him an important initial setback.

FAILURE OF VIETNAMISATION

During the past three years, many great victories have been won by the liberation army and people. The year 1971, when the American imperialists and their stooges had hoped to complete in the main their "Vietnamisation" plan, and the Nixon administration deployed great efforts in many fields, witnessed their heaviest defeats. The "Vietnamisation" strategy suffered a serious setback. This situation proves that 'Vietnamisation' and the "Nixon doctrine" are fraught with insoluble contradictions and unsurmount-

able weaknesses.

In face of the heroic struggle of our people, a people possessed of a glorious tradition of indomitable struggle against foreign aggression, and now fighting from a position of strength, victory and initiative, the "Vietnamisation" strategy, the main test of the Nixon doctrine, is doomed to failure.

The U.S. defeat in Viet Nam and Indo-china is the most serious defeat ever recorded in the history of aggressive wars waged by U.S. imperialism. The great victory won by our people in their heroic struggle against the U.S. aggressors shows that in our time, a small nation can perfectly defeat the neo-colonialist aggressive war of imperialist powers, including the U.S. imperialists, by mobilising all its forces, closely co-ordinating the action of political forces and that of armed forces, the action of the revolutionary army and that of the armed forces of the masses and simultaneously conducting political struggle and armed struggle, armed insurrection and revolutionary war.

(Conclusion).