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27 April 1970

TRANSLATIONS ON NORTH VIETNAM

No. 712

Hoc TAP, No. 2, 1970



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Complete translation of the monthly theoretical and political journal of the Vietnam Lao Dong Party published in Hanoi.

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OUR PARTY MOVES STEADILY FORWARD ON THE ROAD TO VICTORY

[Editorial; Hanoi, Hoc Tap, Vietnamese, No 2, February 1970, pp 1-10]

On 3 February this year, our party will be 40.

Our people throughout the country are joyfully and enthusiastically celebrating the historical anniversary of the nation.

On this occasion, let us go over the roads our party has trodden, ponder over the lessons we have learned, do better what we have done, and embellish the glorious banner of the party.

Before the birth of the party, our nation was lost in the confines of colonialism and feudalism. The situation was so dark that there was no way of escape. The birth of the party ended that impasse and opened an entirely new road of struggle for our people, the road of proletarian revolution; it thus restored and strongly developed the invincible vitality of the nation as a whole. It was just like:

"In that spring the new swallow,
Enlivening the fifth-month rice field, flew high in the sky.
Our life was like a broken mirror that was made whole again,
A withered tree that again bore branches and blooming flowers."(1)

And since then our people have been steadily moving on the road to victory.

In the 15-year struggle against the ruthless rule of the French colonialists and feudal landlords, our party organized and led two big mass demonstrations: the revolutionary movement in 1930-31, the climax of which was the Nghe-Tinh Soviet, and the democratic campaign in 1936-39, followed by the rising movement for national salvation against the French and the Japanese, which led to the victorious August Revolution and the birth of the DRV and paved the way for the great leap in the history of our nation's development. With that victory, "Not only the worker class and people of

Vietnam but also the worker classes and oppressed peoples elsewhere can be proud that, for the first time in the history of revolution of colonial and semicolonial nations, a 15-year old party has successfully led the revolution and seized power in the entire country."(2)

After the August (1945) Revolution, our people, under the party leadership, again defeated the French colonialists in their aggressive war, made an important contribution to the collapse of the colonial system of imperialism, and created new possibilities for the national liberation movement throughout the world. In the beginning, the French colonialists, assisted by the American interventionists, were much stronger than we were, and our country was surrounded on all four sides. But under the correct leadership of the party and President Ho, as we fought on, we became stronger everyday and finally defeated the French colonialists and ended our protracted and heroic war of resistance with the great victory at Dien Bien Phu. That was also "the first time in history that a small colonial country had defeated a strong colonialist country. That was the proud victory not only of the Vietnamese people, but also of the peace, democratic, and socialist forces in the world." (3)

For over 15 years, our party shouldered an extremely difficult task toward our nation and the progressive mankind: to lead our people toward defeating the American imperialists' neocolonialism in our land and defeating mankind's most ferocious enemy. The American imperialists have mobilized a giant war machinery, with the most modern means and weapons (except atomic bombs), the best-trained units, and the best high-ranking officers, and have applied the most savage war measures in hopes of smashing our nation's sacred war of resistance. But they have lost and are losing, and will surely face total defeat. Our people have won and are winning, and will surely gain total victory. Our friends in all the continents consider the victories our people have scored in the resistance against America for national salvation miracles in history. That is the source of pride for our people and progressive mankind.

Under the party leadership, the socialist revolution and socialist construction in the North have also scored very encouraging victories. In only a short time (1954-65), the North underwent big changes and a new form of social economy appeared: socialist production relationships were set up and occupied a ruling position; the material and technical base of socialism was built for the first time; the new superstructure was formed; in society in the North, political and moral solidarity was further consolidated and developed; life of the people of the North, though still difficult, was completely different from that in the past. Our people's age-old dream has come and is coming true. And in recent years, although the North served as a target for over 1 million tons of bombs and shells dropped by the American aggressors, although we had to shoulder many seemingly unbearable tasks, and had to fight the Americans' war of destruction while sending aids to the front line and fulfilling its international duty, we still maintained and continued the building of economy and development of culture.

The history of Vietnam's revolution in the past 40 years was that of the most glorious phase of our national construction and national salvation have lasted thousands of years, a phase in which our people defeated three big imperialists from three continents and entered a new era -- the era of independence, freedom, and socialism. Our party, headed by President Ho, was the organizer and leader of our people for achieving all the victories in that glorious historic phase.

*

The great victories of Vietnam's revolution in the last 40 years were first closely linked with the correct and creative line adopted by the party.

Right after its birth, in the light of Marxism-Leninism, our party clearly viewed the road our people should unavoidably take to regain independence, freedom, and happiness. That was the road of people's national democratic revolution leading to socialist revolution without going through the phase of capitalist development. By finding that revolutionary line, President Ho and our party brought a totally new quality to the Vietnamese people's revolutionary movement.

On the basis of a thorough analysis of our society, a colonial and semifeudal society having two basic contradictions -- contradiction between the Vietnamese nation and the imperialistic aggressors, and contradiction between our people, primarily farmers, and the class of feudal landlords -- our party suggested two basic tasks in the people's national democratic revolution: to overthrow French imperial rule and to wipe out the feudal system, and to carry out two great slogans -- national independence and land to the tillers. It correctly combined the anti-imperialistic and anti-feudal tasks; closely linked the two tasks together, for the purpose of wiping out the two major enemies of the revolution; and at the same time knew how to rely on the actual situation in each period to turn such basic tasks into appropriate goals, which always covered national and democratic contents, for the purpose of aiming the flame of revolutionary struggle at the most dangerous enemy. By correctly solving the relationship between the national and democratic matters, and by constantly raising high the national and democratic banner, our party succeeded in quickly attracting the masses to fight under its banner.

The hardcore force which carried out these strategic tasks was the worker-farmer alliance. Under conditions in our country, farmers made up the biggest revolutionary force in the national democratic revolution; the national matter was by nature the matter dealing with farmers; the national liberation revolution was by nature a farmers' revolution led by the worker class; and people's democratic power was by nature the worker-farmer power. Therefore, only by mobilizing the great farmers' force and building a strong worker-farmer alliance could the worker class seize and maintain revolutionary leadership, further develop the farmers' great

revolutionary potentiality, and have a foundation for further consolidation and expansion of the unified national front in the fight against imperialism and its lackeys. Vietnam's revolutionary reality proved that any revolutionary movement, would become an invincible movement capable of overcoming any difficulties, fulfilling any tasks, and defeating any enemy if it were placed under the correct and clear-sighted leadership of a Marxist-Leninist party and had a powerful army of the worker-farmer alliance.

Relying on the powerful worker-farmer alliance, our party was capable of developing to a high degree the patriotic spirit of the people of all walks of life and uniting all nationalities, religions, patriotic parties, and progressive notables in the United National Front. Always remembering President Ho's teaching, "Unity, unity, great unity; success, success, great success," it always tried to further consolidate and to expand the people's unity bloc and to make the latter bear blooming flowers and fruits. In the front, it firmly maintained its independent political and organizational line. The key to consolidation of party leadership role and strengthening of the United National Front was to continuously solidify the worker-farmer alliance. It fought against the tendency to lower its leadership role, to wipe out the dividing line between the party and the front, and to lower the worker-farmer role, and at the same time struggled against "rightist" separatists and the tendency to underestimate the usefulness of the front itself and of other forces beside the worker-farmer force in the front.

Going along with the front policy and relying on the people's great force, the party knew how to take advantage of localized contradictions in the enemy ranks to divide him, to neutralize any influence that could be neutralized, and to isolate to a high degree the principal enemy, for the purpose of further weakening the enemy force, and giving more strength to the revolution. In this regard, our party was greatly successful. The agreement of 6 March 1946 and a series of very wise and daring measures taken to deal with the French colonialists and Chiang Kai-shek's reactionary clique after the August Revolution were examples of the wise application of policy and use of enemy internal contradictions to our advantage.

To make sure the chosen goals would be achieved in the most convenient and fastest way, our party permanently learned from and summarized experiences in our own revolutionary struggle, accepted after carefully choosing the good experiences in world revolution, and created appropriate forms and methods of revolutionary struggle. It attached importance to all forms of struggle, skillfully combined different forms of struggle, and replaced in time one form by another when the situation had changed. It knew that the basic condition of decisive significance for seizure of power was to constantly educate, train, and organize the masses into a political army, and at a right moment to organize the people's armed forces to carry on a military struggle along with the political struggle. Through experiences in history and through its own experiences, it recognized these

facts: the exploiting classes would never voluntarily withdraw themselves from the political arena; to defeat such classes, our people must use revolutionary violence, the basic form of which was military struggle combined with political struggle. Through the August Revolution and the resistance against France and now against America, our method of revolutionary violence has been as follows: to combine military struggle with political struggle, to carry on a three-prong all-out attack (4), to build bases both in rural areas and in cities, to combine military attacks with local mass uprisings in both cities and rural areas, both the delta and the highlands, and to move toward totally defeating the enemy.

In regard to socialist revolution in the North, our party also took steps to perfect the line for the transition period preceding socialism.

On the basis that the North was characteristically backward agricultural economy moving straight to socialism without passing through the phase of capitalist development, our party considered the socialist revolutionary process as that of using people's democratic and dictatorial power to achieve democracy with the people and dictatorship with the people's enemy and simultaneously carrying out the three revolutions -- revolution of production relationships, technical revolution, and ideological and cultural revolution, the second being the key to the revolution.

The revolution of production relationships plays a very big and active role. It opens the way for the production forces to develop; it confirms socialist ownership of the major means of production, which consists of ownership and collective ownership; and eliminates man's exploitation of man, a social argument that helps consolidate the people's democratic dictatorship as it fulfills the historic task of proletarian dictatorship, and speeds the ideological and cultural revolution. The revolution of production relationships must be carried on in three ways: to build the working people's ownership right over the means of production, distribution, and management. It must be carried out continuously and is completed only after we have reached a high level of communism in our country.

The technical revolution holds the key position because it guarantees high output for socialism to defeat capitalism; it is the most basic factor to unite collective labor, to consolidate the new production relationships and the people's democratic dictatorship, to strengthen the leadership role of the working classes and the worker-farmer alliance, to continuously improve the people's living conditions, and to provide the material base for a basic reform of the old thinking pattern and psychology, and for building the new view of the world and the communist concept of life. The technical revolution in our country must fully utilize the present capabilities of handicraft production and gradually mechanize it, on the one hand, and take full advantage of technical and economic assistance from the socialist camp, international cooperation, and modern world technology to move straight from manual work to modern technology on the other.

In the progress of socialist revolution, although the creation of a new production formula is the determining factor, man's activity, however, plays a very big role, for under the socialist system the working people actually make history through self-awareness. It is the ideological and cultural revolution that makes man recognize his role as an owner of his collective and the master of society, nature, and himself. The ideological and cultural revolution, on the one hand, serves the revolution of production relationships and technical revolution, and on the other hand builds the new man, the man of fine revolutionary qualities, good productive capacity, sound scientific and technological knowledge, and a rich and healthy cultural life. In the process of carrying out the ideological and cultural revolution, we must continuously and patiently struggle to overcome any ideological remnants of the old society.

The course of carrying out the three revolutions is also that of consolidating and developing the ownership right of the people over their collective and dictatorship in regard to the elements that oppose the fatherland and socialism.

In short, the very essence of the class struggle, the struggle between two roads in the period of transition to socialism in the North is to strengthen the people's democratic dictatorship while carrying out the above three revolutions.

Trained in the storm of revolution and proud victories, our party has not ceased to grow. Its membership has increased from a few individuals in the beginning to over a million. Its primary-level organizations have taken root in and firmly attached to the masses. The ranks of party cadres have been growing, they cover many generations, they are closely united, and they reflect in a lively manner the entire proud history of the party. The party cadres are truly representatives of the movement, they were born and have grown up in the oven of revolution, they have absolute loyalty to the revolutionary work of the party and people, they correctly and creatively implement party line, they maintain an industrious and simple way of life, they have many experiences in revolutionary struggle, and they have for the first time gathered some experiences in economic building and cultural development. The party has a very strong staff that is the Central Committee, the Political Bureau being its hard core. The party includes those comrades who have made very big contributions to the revolution, who have gone through the most bitter and toughest challenges in all phases of the party's struggle, who have enthusiastic revolutionary feelings and rich revolutionary knowledge, who represent the fine traditions of party and nation unity, and who enjoy the confidence and affection of all the party, people, and army.

In the course of its continuous organizational and political growth, our party also has its weaknesses and shortcomings. At present, there are some below standard party members among the majority of good members. Many

cadres and party members have a poor understanding of the party line and policy, an insufficient knowledge of science and technology and economic management, and a meager organizing ability, which make them fail to satisfy the needs of their political task. Such phenomena is misuse of power, violation of public ownership rights, corruption, lack of concern for the people's life, etc. still exist among some cadres and party members. Many party committee echelons still show limited quality in economic leadership organization of life, and maintaining law and order. Ideological and organizational work also shows many shortcomings. The above-mentioned weaknesses and shortcomings have restricted the victory of revolution.

At present, the entire party and the people are waging and intensifying the resistance against America for national salvation until we score total victory, and at the same time we are speeding the socialist revolution and the building of socialism in the North. As an immediate job, the people in the North, carrying out President Ho's last will and testament, are doing their best to send more aid to the front line, to join their compatriots in the South to fight the American aggressors until victory, to remain vigilant, to stand ready to fight against any plot of the American imperialists and their lackeys, and to maintain order and security; taking steps to improve economic management, to continue socialist reforms, to strengthen socialist production relationships, to speed the technical revolution, to expand production, to create good changes in the economic field, and to successfully fulfil the 1970 state plan; and properly solving problems related to the people's living conditions, as well as strengthening their collective ownership right.

The key to successfully fulfilling the above political tasks is to heighten the party's fighting power.

To heighten our party's fighting power, we must do many things ranging from expanding the party to consolidating its primary level organizations, further training committee echelons, training and managing cadres, educating party members, etc. But we must do the following:

Heighten the quality of party members, who deserve being party members. They must actively try to carry out all party resolutions, set examples in production and regular work, give up indecision and irresponsible performance, do their best to care for the people, respect and protect state and collective properties, fight acts of corruption and backwardness, respect the right of mass collective ownership, overcome all misuse of authority, maintain party discipline, correctly enforce state laws, set examples in criticizing others and oneself, welcome criticisms against the party from the masses, and do their best to learn to improve their knowledge and organizing capacity, work efficiency, revolutionary morality, etc.

Being a very alive organization, the party must admit progressive people among workers and collectivized farmers, who are a part of the work force, as well as socialist intellectuals. Be very strict in admitting

new party members on the basis of need; always remember the good deeds of President Ho, who created, trained, and led our party; heighten our party's fighting power to successfully continue President Ho's glorious work; create a good foundation for future expansion of the party. Stick to the principle of attaching more importance to quality than quantity, and promoting development along with consolidation. Fully understand the standards for admitting and investigating new party members, which should be done in a strict manner, by correct procedures, with solemn organization, etc. Eliminate from the party any persons who do not deserve to be party members so as to make the party strong and clean.

Strongly improve ideological work, which must make cadres and party members have deep understanding of theoretical matters related to Vietnam's revolution and good cultural, scientific, and technological knowledge; heighten cadres' ability to review work; and try within a definite period to overcome any backward concepts of certain cadres and party members as compared with the task and need of revolution and with the rich experiences of our country's revolution.

Raise leadership quality of primary-level party organizations, which must serve as a true bridge linking the party and the masses, and where party line and policy are turned into mass revolutionary action and cadres and party members are trained. To do so, determine step by step the role and responsibility of each primary-level organization, improve activities of party chapters and their working methods, etc.

Strengthen in a systematic way supervisory work in the party to guarantee fulfilling, at any cost, political tasks in general and specific tasks in party-building work.

Struggle to overcome wrong views and old-fashioned and backward formulas in the building of the party.

Reviewing the past 40 years of our party's existence and being extremely encouraged by the big achievements it scored, we are more proud of our great party.

A party that has been struggling, in all its existence, for the interests of the class and nation, has seen hundreds of thousands of its members sacrifice themselves for their country and people in order to make "our land bear blossoms of independence and fruits of freedom."

A party that remains always loyal to Marxism-Leninism has never made any mistake about the line to adopt, nor has it been divided about organization, and has fine traditions of unity, very strong patriotic spirit, and very pure international proletarian spirit.

A party that has been trusted and assisted by friends everywhere enjoys the confidence and loyalty of the people throughout the country.

A party that was built, trained, and led by President Ho, who "made our nation, people, and land famous."

With that encouragement and pride, we are determined to overcome shortcomings and weaknesses, to move forward heroically, to permanently raise high the proud banner of the party, and to make the latter always "deserve being the leader, the truly loyal servant of the people," as President Ho had taught us to do before he bade farewell to us.

FOOTNOTES

- (1) To Huu: "In 30 Years of Our Life We Have the Party."
- (2) Ho Chi Minh: "Political Report" (read at the Second Congress of the Vietnam Lao Dong Party, February 1951), Selected Works, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1960, p 356.
- (3) Ho Chi Minh: "Thirty Years of Party Activities," Selected Works, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1960, p 771.
- (4) Three-prong attack: military attack, political attack, attack through proselyting work among enemy soldiers.

PHOTO CAPTIONS

Our party, created by President Ho, always stresses the principle of collective leadership. Through long and hard revolutionary struggle, our party has built a strong leadership collective.

Photos on the right: Members of the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee (after the Third Congress in 1960) led by President Ho. From left to right, from top to front row: members: Le Duan, Truong Chinh, Pham Van Dong, Pham Hung, Le Duc Tho, Vo Nguyen Giap, Nguyen Chi Thanh, Nguyen Duy Trinh, Le Thanh Nghi, Hoang Van Hoan; alternate members: Tran Quoc Hoan, Van Tien Dung.



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SPEECH BY LE DUAN IN MEETING COMMEMORATING THE 40TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE
FOUNDING OF THE PARTY

[Article; Hanoi, Hoc Tap, Vietnamese, No 2, February 1970, pp 11-26]

Comrades and friends, allow me, on behalf of the Central Committee of the Vietnam Lao Dong Party, to express my warm thanks to all the representatives of the people of various strata and fraternal nationalities throughout the country who are present at this grand ceremony to celebrate the 40th anniversary of our party.

Our meeting today is a bright image of the great national solidarity, of the unshakeable political and moral unity of the North Vietnamese people, and of the invincible strength of our entire people in the struggle for independence, freedom and socialism under the glorious banner of the party.

Throughout the past decades, we have been happy to celebrate the party anniversary in the presence of President Ho. How painful it is for us that he is no longer here. But, President Ho Chi Minh, the founder and leader of our party, the great leader of the whole nation, lives forever in our heart and in the revolution of the party and the people. On behalf of the entire party, the whole army and all of the people, we pledge our determination to carry out faithfully and thoroughly his sacred testament and the oath of honor we made on the day of his funeral, as we now look toward his portrait.

For several months now, from the towns to the countryside, from the plains to the mountain regions, from the rear base to the frontline, there has taken place a series of stirring and continual movement on "action in memory to President Ho Chi Minh" and to "score achievements as for the party." This is eloquent evidence of the blood-sealed ties between our entire people and their great leader and their vanguard party. The party Central Committee extends its congratulations and thanks to all the fellow countrymen and soldiers.

Our people with a 4,000-year history is a heroic people. Under the rule of the French colonialists, our fatherland was trampled underfoot, our country was in state of destitution and even the name Vietnam was crossed out from the world map. Our people were subject to untold hardships and humiliation. Not reconciling themselves to a life in slavery, our people unceasingly rose up to struggle for self-liberation. But, as President Ho Chi Minh said, "For decades prior to the founding of the party, the situation was dark with no end in sight."

Through many years of activity in far-flung corners of the world in quest of the way to save the country and the people, President Ho Chi Minh soon came to Marxism-Leninism, the great revolutionary truth of the new epoch. And from that first Vietnamese communist, "Marxism-Leninism came to our people as food to the hungry and water to the thirsty" (President Ho's words). Our party, founded by President Ho Chi Minh, was precisely the offspring of the combination of Marxism-Leninism with the struggle of the working class, the thoroughly revolutionary class, and the surging patriotic movement of our people in the late 20's of this century.

Through 40 years of struggle, sometimes clandestine sometimes overt, under extremely difficult and complex conditions, in armed struggle as well as in political struggle, from before as well as after the seizure of power, at any time and anywhere our party has always gained full confidence, love and protection from the people. At any time and anywhere our party has always proved worthy of being the vanguard of the revolution, and braving all dangers and hardships, heroically fulfilled the sacred mission entrusted it by history, the working class and the nation. Our people deeply realize that in their long and arduous revolutionary cause, they owe to the leadership of the party the success of the August Revolution, the birth of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the victory of the resistance war against the French colonialists, the coming into being of the socialist North, and the great struggle against U.S. aggression, for national salvation, a heroic cause that has earned acclaim from the peoples all over the world.

To have a homeland like Vietnam today, under the party's banner, so many cadres and party members and so many fellow countrymen and soldiers have valiantly sacrificed themselves, upholding the heroic spirit of the fatherland and the cause of liberation of the people. Our party and our people, our generation and the generations to come, will be forever grateful to the fallen heroes who with their flesh and blood have paved the way for the nation to advance toward independence and freedom, toward a happy life free from want and care, and toward the splendid future of socialism and communism.

Each success of the Vietnamese revolution in the past 40 years has been closely connected with the development of the world revolutionary movement, with the great assistance and heartfelt support from the other countries of the socialist camp, first of all the Soviet Union and China, from the international communist and workers movement, from the national liberation movement, and from all of progressive mankind. Our party and our people avail ourselves

of this opportunity to express once again our profound gratitude to all of our brothers and friends on five continents.

Comrades and friends, armed with the revolutionary science of Marxism-Leninism and with the legacy of valuable experiences collected by the world proletariat in more than a century past, our party has led the Vietnamese revolutionary movement along a correct line, i.e. to closely combine the task of resistance against imperialism and feudalism, to carry out a thoroughgoing national, democratic revolution, and to bring the country directly to socialism, bypassing the stage of capitalist development.

Right at its birth, with the two strategic slogans "independence to the nation" and "land to the tillers," our party succeeded in mobilizing broad sections of the peasantry -- the biggest force of the national, democratic revolution -- and the working class, in putting up a revolutionary high tide in 1930 and 1931, the crest of which was the Nghe Tinh Soviet. The 1930-31 revolutionary campaign substantiated the fact that in practice, the only able leader in the cause of national liberation is our party, the party of the working class. It proved the great role of the main forces of the revolution -- the working class and the peasantry -- and laid solid groundwork for the worker-peasant alliance as the base of the national united front. It was during the 1930-31 revolutionary campaign that our party took deep roots among the masses. As a result, it successfully rode out of the many fierce repressive campaigns by the enemy, matured fast politically and developed organizationally into an invincible force of the Vietnamese revolution.

In the period 1936-39, when in France the Popular Front came into power, our party launched a broad democratic movement against the reactionary colonialists and the king, the mandarins and the local despots. It demanded democratic freedoms and economic interests and, while engaging in united action with the French working class and people and cooperating with the international revolutionary movement to avoid the dangers of fascism and war. Skillfully making use of the favorable conditions at the time, the party made a timely decision to reorient the methods of activity, closely combining clandestine and illegal activities with semi-legal and legal activities even in the "National Chambers of People's Representatives" and "councils of representatives." The great success of the democratic front movement consisted in having drawn broad masses of the people into the stirring political life, rapidly raising the political consciousness of the masses, developing the revolutionary organizations, and creating the potential for a forceful national salvation campaign in the future.

When the Second World War broke out and the Japanese fascists invaded Indochina, the party decided that this was actually the time when oppression, exploitation and war had revolutionized the people, when the revolution to overthrow the imperialist yoke imposed on the Indochinese people would certainly break out. At the initiative of President Ho Chi Minh, the party founded the Viet Minh Front which broadly rallied all the national and

democratic forces under the banner of urgent struggle for national salvation. From the strong political forces of the masses, the party succeeded in building the first armed unity, launched the movement of fighting against the French and chasing the Japanese, set up revolutionary bases, expanded guerrilla warfare and carried out partial insurrections. When the Japanese ousted the French, the party seized the right moment to effect a prompt re-orientation of work, advancing to a high tide of resistance to the Japanese for national salvation, and adequately preparing necessary conditions for a general insurrection. When the Soviet Union defeated the Japanese fascists, the party quickly led all of the people to rise up and seize power throughout the country.

The August Revolution was brought to splendid success in 1945. The Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the first people's democratic state in Southeast Asia, was founded. The colonial regime was abolished and our nation entered the era of independence and freedom.

The August Revolution was the brilliant result of a process of staunch and persevering struggle by our people for nearly a century. It was the result of a firm, deep, and broad revolutionary movement fostered and prepared through many stages of struggle along the correct line of our party, headed by President Ho Chi Minh. It marked a major step in the growth of the party and its mastery of the science of revolution, especially the art of leading the insurrection to seize power.

Hardly had the revolution been brought to success when our party and people were confronted with most serious challenges. The embryonic revolutionary power immediately confronted a whole gang of perfidious and cruel foreign invaders and enemies in the country. On the heels of the British troops, the French aggressors provoked war in South Vietnam. Thus, as it was more than 80 years before, the heroic sons of the Fatherland in the South again assumed the mission of marching with arms in defense of national independence. Meanwhile, in the North, our party and people had to cope with hundreds of thousands of Chiang Kai-shek troops and their Vietnamese henchmen who resorted to arrogant counterrevolutionary measures of all kinds. In order to defend the revolutionary gains and the newly set up people's power, within only a few months, our party, firmly relying on the strength of the all-people solidarity bloc, advocated a temporary conciliation with the Chiang Kai-shek clique to have a free hand in coping with the French colonialists. It then decided to come to temporary peace terms with the French in order to speedily get all the Chiang Kai-shek troops out of the country and sweep away all their reactionary henchmen and gain time to consolidate our forces in preparation for the nationwide resistance against the French, which our party believed to be inevitable. With an extremely clear-sighted political line, maintaining firmness in principle and tactical flexibility, our party and President Ho Chi Minh skillfully steered the revolutionary boat out of the dangerous reefs which had seemed insurmountable.

In response to the President Ho Chi Minh's historic appeal that we rather sacrifice all than lose our country and live as slaves, our army and people, continuing the upsurge of the August Revolution, rose up as one man to wage the heroic resistance against the French colonialists and later also the U.S. interventionists. Guided by the line of all-people, all-around and protracted resistance and relying in the main on our own strength, the party led a people's war which grew broader and broader as the years went by, and, the more we fought, the stronger we became stronger and the bigger our victories. When the resistance entered a crucial stage, the party mobilized the masses to totally implement land-rent reduction and land reform. This movement played a decisive part in the great Dien Bien Phu victory.

This resounding exploit which brought the 9-year resistance against the French to a victorious conclusion has gone down in our nation's history like another Bach Dang, Chi Lang or Dong Da of the 20th century and in world history as a shining exploit which breached the fortress of the colonialist slave system of imperialism.

No sooner had the French failed than the U.S. jumped in to take their place, scheming to turn the southern part of our country into a new-type colony and a military base in the hope of attacking the North and blocking the national liberation movement which was surging everywhere, mainly in Southeast Asia. Thus, the heroic sons and daughters of our Fatherland in the South who were the first to set out, will be the last to return.

President Ho Chi Minh has said: "Our country is one, our nation is one. Rivers may dry up and mountains wear out, but this truth will never change." It is precisely for that reason that the 20 million people in the North, with heavy burdens on their shoulders, are determined to join efforts with their countrymen in the South to struggle for the liberation of the South, and the defense of the North with a view to the reunification of the country.

For the survival of our nation and because of our sacred duty toward the nations struggling against the U.S., our people in the South have fought with peerless courage all along the past 16 years, incessantly holding high the national democratic banner of struggle against neo-colonialism. They have been unremittingly attacking the U.S. imperialists and steadily marching toward complete victory. Under the clearsighted leadership of the National Front for Liberation, the South Vietnamese people and armed forces, with their heroism, intelligence and military skill, have applied and developed to a high level all the rich revolutionary experiences accumulated since the founding of the part, especially the experiences of the August Revolution and of the war of resistance against French aggression. To use revolutionary violence of the masses to carry out partial insurrections in the countryside, build and develop the revolutionary forces in both country and town, use the combined political and military forces, maintain and unceasingly develop the strategy of offensive, attacking the enemy by military and political means as well as political agitation among enemy troops, combine military and political struggles in all the three regions -- mountain, rural and urban -- combine the popular uprisings with revolutionary war growing from a low to high

level, etc., with all these original and creative methods, the South Vietnam revolution has unceasingly advanced, and smashed one by one all the military and political plans of the U.S. and its puppets.

The Ngo Dinh Diem regime having collapsed, followed by the ignominious bankruptcy of the "special war," the U.S. imperialists hastily sent hundreds of thousands of U.S. troops and troops of its satellites into South Vietnam, starting a local war and escalating it from one rung to another. In the light of the revolutionary military science, the South Vietnamese people have conducted a legendary people's war, winning one victory after another over the colossal aggressor army of the U.S. and satellites equipped with all kinds of modern weapons. Bugged down to its neck on the South Vietnam battlefield, the imperialist U.S. frantically mobilized its air and naval forces to attack the North in an attempt to dampen the will and determination of our people to resist the U.S. aggression. Responding to the sacred appeal of President Ho Chi Minh, who proclaimed that "nothing is more precious than independence and freedom," the North Vietnamese armed forces and people, fired by matchless revolutionary heroism and vigorously supported by the socialist camp and the people all over the world, have gloriously defeated a war of destruction carried out on the largest scale ever known in history. With the more than one million tons of bombs and shells showered on the North, the U.S. imperialists have been unable to dampen, instead have further enhanced, the determination to fight and to win of our people in both zones. The North continues proudly to perform its task as the great rear area of the great frontline, while going ahead with new successes on the path of socialism. In the end, the extremely barbarous and atrocious war of destruction unleashed by the U.S. imperialists has been completely defeated by our army and people.

With the extremely vigorous general offensive and widespread uprisings of early spring 1968, and the repeated victories won ever since, the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam was founded. The revolution of South Vietnam has developed to a new stage, the stage of winning greater and greater successes on the way to complete victory. The complete failure of U.S. imperialism is inevitable, whatever effort it may deploy to obstinately prolong the war.

The brilliant victories of our armed forces and people in both the South and the North have smashed the prestige of the imperialist ringleader, the most cruel enemy of all nations and the whole of mankind. They have beset U.S. imperialism with a series of difficulties right in the United States and in the world. They have demonstrated to the whole world that U.S. imperialism, for all its cruel forces, could be completely defeated if it lays hold of the sacred right to live of a heroic nation determined to fight to the end for the independence and freedom of the Fatherland.

Comrades and friends, while standing shoulder to shoulder with our countrymen in the South to carry on the struggle to complete the national and democratic revolution, our people in the North, under the party's leadership, turned to the socialist revolution after the victory of the war of resistance against the French aggressors. This is a correct implementation of the first

political program of the party, which is in conformity with the logical trend of development of the national liberation movement in the present era, the era when the national and democratic revolution is developing along the socialist path, without going through the stage of capitalist development, which path having been the only one to ensure the thorough success of the national liberation cause. That is the path to ensure genuine national independence, the continual progress and prosperity of the nations which formerly lived under colonial domination and were held in backwardness by the yoke of imperialism.

Proceeding from the specific conditions in the North and learning from the experiences of the fraternal countries, our party has laid down a correct line for the socialist revolution in the light of Marxism-Leninism. President Ho Chi Minh said, "The North must advance to socialism, and the most salient feature in the transition period in our country is to advance from a backward agricultural country directly to socialism without going through a stage of capitalist development." Therefore, in order to win successes for socialism in the struggle between the two paths, socialist and capitalist, the third national congress of our party pointed out: The socialist revolution in the North must be a process of using the proletarian dictatorship to conduct socialist transformation in all fields with a view to taking the North from an economy mainly based on the private ownership of production means to a socialist economy based on the all-people and collective ownership of production means, from a small production system to a large-scale socialist production system, and from a scattered and backward economy to a balanced and modern economy, in order to make the North progress quickly and become a firm base for the struggle for national reunification. This process of revolutionary transformation is the process of a close combination of socialist transformation with socialist construction and a close combination of economic transformation and construction with cultural reform and development. To carry out socialist industrialization is the central task throughout the transitional period.

In other words, the socialist revolution in the North is a process in which our party and people firmly grasp and make use of the proletarian dictatorship to carry out three revolutions at the same time the revolution of the production relations, the technical revolution and the ideological and cultural revolution, in which the technical revolution holds the key position and is aimed at providing the North with a modern industry and modern agriculture and an advanced culture and science, and making of it a firm basis for the struggle to complete the national liberation and national reunification. That is a creative application of the universal laws of socialist revolution and socialist construction to actual conditions in North Vietnam.

In implementation of this correct line of our party, our people have won tremendous successes, have brought and are bringing radical changes to the face of the North in all domains -- political, economic, social and cultural. The biggest success of the socialist revolution in the North consists in having eliminated exploitation and the exploiting classes and transformed

the private and scattered economy of the peasants and handicraftsmen into a collective, socialist economy. For the first time in our nation's history, the working people have taken into their hands the right to be the master of society in half of the country. On the basis of the new economic structure existing in two forms of ownership, all-people and collective, the working class and collective peasantry and the socialist intelligentsia closely linked with these two classes, form the social basis of the political regime in the North. This political and moral unity of mind has thus become the fundamental aspect of society. All the above-mentioned changes are actually the sources of the great strength of the North which helped defeat the war of destruction conducted by the U.S. imperialists, fulfill the task of the great rear area toward the great frontline, repress all the reactionary forces, and carry out economic and cultural development.

Under the party's leadership, the collective peasantry has made great efforts to expand agricultural production. Agricultural output in 1964 increased by more than 60 percent compared to 1954. In the years that followed, despite the U.S. imperialists' showering more than 1 million tons of bombs and shells on dikes, bridges, ricefields and villages, our agriculture on the whole remained stable and continued to develop in some aspects. With an average of 4 tons per hectare for all of North Vietnam's two-crop ricefields and with typical records of 5 to 6 tons on hundreds of thousands of hectares, the present-day rice output has doubled that under French rule. With the initial development of animal husbandry and industrial crops, collective agriculture has pushed one step back the mono-agriculture practiced for thousands of years. One of the salient images of the industry-agriculture alliance is that thousands of small machinery stations, tens of thousands of other machines, and a vast network of irrigation projects spread out all over North Vietnam's cultivated land have brought initial changes to its agriculture and countryside and begun to bring the light of modern science and technique to the working habits of collective farmers.

Worthy of its role as the revolutionary vanguard, the working class has recorded important achievements in the first step of socialist industrialization. Industrial output in 1964 increased by more than eightfold compared with 1954. The first bases for many new industries have been created. The war of destruction launched by the U.S. aggressors, though having caused big losses to us, failed to weaken our socialist economy. With the correct line or reorienting the direction of economy and with the courage and devoted labor of the working class, the centrally-run industry still could maintain part of their production capacity. More than 1,000 medium and small-sized local industrial projects were built and put into operation right in the years of resistance to the war of destruction. As a result, the industry of our country supplied an important part of the necessary goods required by production, the war, and the people.

Along with the economic progress, we have obtained many brilliant successes in the development of culture, particularly education and public health. Illiteracy was eliminated at an early stage. North Vietnam today has more than 4 million general education pupils, nearly 140,000 middle-level

vocational school students, more than 70,000 university students, and more than 40,000 cadres of university or higher level. The network of hospitals, infirmaries, and medical stations has been extended down to district and village level and deep into the remotest parts of the country, making a worthy contribution to the protection and restoration of the health of the people and the army. On the literary and art front many good works have appeared reflecting the various aspects of the new society, especially the revolutionary heroism of the Vietnamese people in the fight against U.S. aggression for national salvation. The contingent of cultural and art workers is growing more and more, drawing in young members, growing from among cultural and art movements of the masses, grasping more and more firmly the party's line and views, and striving to blend with the real life and to build a new culture and art with a rich socialist content and a profound national character, thus contributing to fostering the sound and fine ideas and sentiments of the new-type man.

Indeed, the material standard of living of our people at present is still low. Our people are still meeting with many difficulties in their life. But, basically, everyone has adequate food and clothing and is cared for when sick, and our children have access to education. The 20 million people in the North are all ardently patriotic, seething with revolutionary heroism, of one mind, and are enthusiastically emulating one another with the determination to fulfill every revolutionary task. Only socialism can bring about these achievements in such a short period of time in the conditions of a poor and backward country like ours after nine years of resistance to the French colonialists, and in the extremely hard and fierce conditions of the fight against U.S. aggression, for national salvation.

Of course, these are only initial achievements. In order to turn a backward agricultural country with a small production system as its main characteristic into a socialist country with a modern industry and agriculture and an advanced culture and science, and to ensure for our people a rich and beautiful material and cultural life, we have to make great efforts in a historic period of several decades to come. On the path of transition to socialism, bypassing the stage of capitalist development, we have to overcome many difficulties and hardships ahead. But that is the shortest way bringing the working people to liberty and happiness. The working people in the North, with the superiority of their social regime and under the correct leadership of the party, will certainly march forward steadily to build socialism successfully.

Comrades and friends, while celebrating the 40th founding anniversary of the party, this year we also celebrate the 80th birthday of President Ho Chi Minh, the 25th founding anniversary of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, and Lenin's birth centenary. The coincidence of these four great anniversaries makes 1970 a year of particular significance to all of our people. The most practical way to celebrate the four great anniversaries is that our entire party, people, and army do their best to carry out the immediate tasks with the highest and greatest results.

In his testament, President Ho Chi Minh recommended us: "The resistance war against U.S. aggression may drag out. Our compatriots may have to undergo new sacrifices in terms of property and human lives. In any case, we must be resolved to fight against the U.S. aggressors till total victory. No matter what difficulties and hardships may lie ahead, our people are sure to win total victory. The U.S. imperialists will have to pull out...." The urgent task of the Vietnamese revolution at present is to completely defeat the U.S. aggressors, to liberate the South, defend the North, and advance towards the peaceful reunification of the country.

Having passed through decades of war, our people ardently aspire to peace. But this must be peace with independence and freedom. So long as the U.S. is still unwilling to rapidly and unconditionally withdraw all its expeditionary troops, all of President Nixon's statements about peace are merely deceitful and are intended to mislead public opinion in the United States and the world. So long as the U.S. imperialists remain stubborn and unwilling to recognize the fundamental national rights of our people, we must fight on to sweep them away. Our people must be prepared to fight many years more and fight till the enemy gives up its aggressive design, withdraws all its troops, and respects the sovereignty of our people and the territorial integrity of our country. A nation having fought unremittingly for decades for self-liberation is sure to march forward to win its independence and freedom at any cost. We are firmly confident that our compatriots in the South, with the strength of the militant solidarity of the whole country, will certainly defeat the U.S. aggressors completely.

While always standing on guard, ready to cope with every new adventure of the U.S. imperialists, the North must do its best to boost production, stabilize step by step the people's life, reinforce the economic and defense potentials, fulfill its tasks as the great rear area of the great frontline, and continue to move socialist construction ahead. It is necessary to strive to develop agricultural and industrial production, concentrate efforts on better solving problems of food, foodstuffs, and consumer goods, improve communications and transportation, improve the flow and distribution of goods, step up the technical revolution, build the material and technical bases for socialism, and consolidate the new relations of production.

The imperative and key task at present is to mobilize and make good use of all labor forces and endeavor to increase the efficiency of socialist labor. This is a basic measure of the most decisive character for developing production, speeding up the process of socialist accumulation, solving the immediate economic and everyday-life problems, and at the same time, making preparations for a new and even more vigorous development of socialist industrialization. At present, in many production industries and elements, labor productivity is still low, and many potential capabilities, including technical capabilities, have not yet been fully developed. We are still wasting manpower and material resources. It is necessary to improve organization and management so as to mobilize and make the best use of the socialist labor forces and materials and technical means with the greatest economic results.

The slogan of action for workers, collective farmers, socialist intellectuals, and revolutionary cadres at this time is to strive to work and work with high labor productivity and efficiency in order to defeat the U.S. aggressors and build socialism successfully. Let us all strive to work on the production front with such determination to fight and win as that in fighting the enemy to save the country. Work! Work with high labor efficiency! Such is the indicator of the revolutionary ethics, level of consciousness, and sense of responsibility of every cadres, party member, and laborer. It is also a concrete manifestation of the love for the country and socialism, a basic criterion of the ethics of the new-type man.

In his testament, President Ho Chi Minh said that we "must work out a good plan for economic and cultural development with a view to continually raising the living standard of the people." To step up production and raise labor efficiency is the basic way to improve the living conditions. At the same time, we must strive for better distribution and service to the people's life. To care for the life of the masses is an obligation of party and administrative organizations and a responsibility of every cadre and party member. A quality revolutionary must daily care for the happiness of the masses. Obedient to the teachings of our beloved President Ho Chi Minh, let us raise even higher our sense of responsibility so as to be a worthy, devoted servant of the masses.

Revolution is the cause of millions of the people. To promote to the full the strength of the masses to the fight against U.S. aggression, for national salvation, and in the building of socialism, we must fully materialize democratic socialism and fully ensure the laboring people's right of being collective master. It is a responsibility of party and administrative organs, and of mass organizations and cultural and educational establishments, to unceasingly heighten the masses' socialist consciousness and their political, cultural, scientific, and technical knowledge so as to develop to the utmost their revolutionary zeal, wisdom, and creativeness and enable them to fully exercise their right of being master in all fields of political, economic, cultural, and social life.

To ensure fully the laboring people's right of being collective master in all activities of the state and the society and concurrently, raise the effectiveness of administrative organs is to increase the strength of the proletarian dictatorship. On this basis, we must resolutely punish the counterrevolutionaries, and those who breach the socialist law or encroach on the interests of the people.

Our party is the architect of all the victories of the Vietnamese revolution. To increase its combat posture in the present struggle and strengthen its leadership in all social activities, the party must unceasingly be consolidated and built up in force and size to the highest degree. Our party must further tighten its grasp of its theoretical weapon, Marxism-Leninism, better master the laws governing the development of the socialist society, and endeavor to apply more aptly this knowledge to reality so as to correctly and

creatively work out its line and policies. The party must be strong in its entire organizational structure, from high to lower levels, from executive committees of all echelons to the various special committees. The party must be strong in its whole system, from nerve organs to local cells, to guarantee complete understanding of all its line and policies, at high levels and at lower levels, in leadership centers and in the various branches, among its entire membership, in mass organizations, and among the broad masses. Our entire party must strive, all of its cadres and plain members must strive also, to constantly consolidate its class stand, revolutionary spirit and militant valor, and improve its knowledge, ability, and organization technique, in order to be fully equal to its tasks, which are more and more complicated and weighty.

In his testament, President Ho Chi Minh has told us that "unity is an extremely precious tradition of our party and people." All comrades, from the Central Committee down to the cell, must preserve the unity and oneness of mind in the party as they do the pupils of their eyes. Once again, let us pledge to him that we will carry out to the letter his sacred teaching in our resolve to make our party be always of one mind, and one mind only.

In building the party, our immediate task is to concentrate efforts on the consolidation and strengthening of party cells and local party organizations. We must make party cells and local party organizations strong fortresses of the party, have close ties between the party and the masses, and make them strong enough to translate the line and policies of the party into actions by the masses, for the successful accomplishment of all the tasks of the revolution.

If the party is to be strong, each party member must be as good as possible. The party must actually include the most aware members of the working class, of the collective peasantry, and of the socialist intelligentsia, the best people who represent the evolution of the society.

Party members must be entirely dedicated to the cause of the working class and the party. They must throw in their lot with the people, and must fight selflessly, persistently and tirelessly for the interests of the working class, the laboring people, and the nation, for the victory of the struggle against U.S. aggression, for national salvation, and for that of socialism and communism. Each party member must through his implementation of the party's policies and the execution of the various tasks in the revolution, constantly train himself in class stand, ideology, virtue, and style of work, and must continuously improve his specialty. The party members must mingle with the masses, set examples for the masses in production and fighting, and never allow themselves to enjoy any privilege. They must act with "dedication to the public interest" as both leader and servant of the masses, in keeping with the teachings of President Ho Chi Minh.

"Training and educating the revolutionary generation to come is a highly important and necessary task." In order to put into practice President Ho

Chi Minh's testament, we must strive to build up and consolidate the Lao Dong Youth into a stronger organization so as to make it worthy of its role as the militant vanguard of our youth, and turn it into a school of communism for our youth and a helpful hand and a reliable reserve contingent of the party. Attention must be paid to educating the youth into staunch revolutionary fighters fully qualified and able to be master of the country and the new society and the heirs of the building of socialism who will carry the glorious banner of President Ho Chi Minh to the final goal.

Deeply imbued with proletarian internationalism, our party, right after its birth, set for itself the task of uniting with the world proletariat and with all oppressed nations, regarding this a matter of principle and one of the factors deciding the victory of the revolution in our country. This correct viewpoint and foreign policy of the party, strictly applied to the process of revolution in the past 40 years, has won more and more support and assistance from the world revolutionary movement to the Vietnamese revolution. On the other hand, it educated our people in the crystal-like love of proletarian internationalism, and encouraged them to do their best to contribute actively to the common struggle of the world's people. From now on, our party will consistently follow this viewpoint and line.

Acting upon the sacred testament of President Ho Chi Minh, our party continues to do its best to contribute effectively to the restoration of unity among the fraternal parties on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, in a way consonant to the requirements of integrity and reason.

We are continuing to consolidate and strengthen the unshakable solidarity between us and the Soviet Union, China, and all the other fraternal countries in the socialist camp.

We vigorously support the struggle of the proletariat and the laboring people in the capitalist countries.

We resolutely support the struggle against old and new colonialism and for national independence, as waged by the peoples in Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

We are continuing to develop our friendly relations with the nationalist countries, and will strive to strengthen the close solidarity among the Indochinese peoples in the struggle against the common enemy, the U.S. imperialists, and will make lasting our relations with the Kingdom of Cambodia and the Kingdom of Laos on the basis of respect for each other's independence, sovereignty, unity, and territorial integrity.

We will, together with the fraternal countries and the progressive people all over the world, firmly carry on the struggle against U.S.-led imperialism, thus actively contributing to the common struggle for peace, national independence, democracy, and social progress.

We are also ready to establish relations with all other countries in the world that respect our sovereignty and independence, on the basis of equality and mutual benefits.

Comrades and friends, the past 40 years have been 40 years of victory over enormous trials and hardships, 40 years of steering firmly the Vietnamese revolution through huge waves, and big storms to the glorious victory of today.

We owe this to our party's thorough understanding of Marxism-Leninism, the all-conquering revolutionary doctrine, the beacon which helps our party solve correctly all questions related to the Vietnamese revolution.

We owe this to the fact that our party has come from the womb of the working class, the revolutionary vanguard class, and of a heroic nation, and to the fact that it is the leader enjoying absolute trust of the people and has always lived among the people.

We owe this to the fact that our party is an active detachment of the great international communist army, the mightiest revolutionary force of our time, which is marching in the van of the struggle to abolish the old world and build a world.

We owe this to the fact that our party had President Ho Chi Minh as its great leader and great teacher, whose thoughts will live forever among our party, our people and our nation, and whose standard is still showing the way to us.

The victory of the revolution in the past 40 years has been very great. Yet the tasks of our party and our people remain quite heavy.

Our party makes it a point to fulfill its glorious historic mission and to be worthy of the trust of the people and of the nation as a whole.

Let our entire people and all our armed forces, under the leadership of the party, be resolved to completely defeat the U.S. aggressors, thus completing the best page in the glorious history of our nation's struggle against foreign invaders! Let us rush ahead for still more splendid successes in the cause of socialist revolution!

Let us be of one heart and mind, and valiantly strive to materialize at all costs the "final wish of President Ho Chi Minh," which is also the fondest wish of our entire party and people, to build a peaceful, unified, independent, democratic, and prosperous Vietnam, and make a worthy contribution to the world revolution!

Long live the invincible Marxism-Leninism.

Long live a peaceful, unified, independent, democratic, and prosperous Vietnam!

Long live the Vietnam Lao Dong Party!

Our eternal gratitude to the great President Ho Chi Minh!

CSO: 3520-D

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

[Article by Le Duan; Hanoi, Hoc Tap, Vietnamese, No 2, February 1970,
pp 27-111]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Part I: The People's National Democratic Revolution

The Strategic Line

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Revolutionary Methods

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Part II: Socialist Revolution in North Vietnam

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

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

Proletarian Dictatorship and the Three Revolutions

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Economic Development Line During the Initial Period

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Give Priority to the Proper Development of Heavy Industry

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Step Up Light Industry

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

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

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

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

leadership and management, build a relationship of genuine equality among cooperative members, and maintain a satisfactory relationship between cooperatives and the state; and at the same time, we must positively improve techniques, increase production, diversify products, and make handicraft and small industry a really useful part of light industry.

In short, in the process of the implementation of socialist industrialization, we must solidly develop important industries, such as machinery, electric power, raw materials, metallurgy, chemistry, construction materials, foodstuffs, textiles, household appliances, wood and paper products, and art items. Paying full attention to these important industries and rationally and proportionally developing them are not only in keeping with the need to improve our people's living standard and extending production under our country's conditions, but are also aimed at -- together with agriculture -- creating a solid foundation for an independent and self-reliant economy.

Strive to Develop Agriculture

As a fundamental economy that supplies society with precious products -- food and foodstuffs -- as an important base for developing industry, the agriculture of our country must necessarily develop in two directions: both rapidly increasing total production, including many kinds of products, and rapidly raising labor output. Only on this basis will we be able to develop agriculture, build modern industry, turn a portion of social labor for domestic requirements into labor for export, turn a portion of labor for production of agricultural products, through the import-export channel, into labor producing equipment and machinery in the service of the technological revolution. This is the correct path to improve the people's living standards, broaden the rural market, and at the same time create an accumulation for socialist industrialization.

In this initial stage, agriculture's responsibility is extremely heavy. Agricultural production must surge powerfully ahead, meeting the consumption requirements of all the people -- first of all the nutritional requirement on an ever-improving scale -- insuring raw materials for light industry, insuring exports to serve the technological revolution, and insuring the requirements of national defense. Throughout the country, as well as in each region, only on the basis of correctly and concretely ascertaining these requirements and relying on the existing potential of our country's agriculture, will we be able to chart the best direction for production -- classify the regions and set up production plans, actively step up the technological revolution -- and create a new face for the agriculture of the entire country.

Our country's agriculture is an agriculture of the tropics, mixed to some extent with characteristics of the temperate zone and divided into three definite regions -- delta, midlands, and mountain regions. Each region has its own strength. Forestry, raising of large domestic animals,

and cultivation of slow-growing trees for industrial use are the strength of the mountain region. As to food, foodstuffs, and fast-growing trees for industrial use, they are the strength of the delta. The midlands are both a rice region and a region of subsidiary crops and various types of beans, both a land for industrial trees and a land for large-scale animal husbandry. In the course of agricultural development, the regions must know how to develop their own strengths. The central branches must know how to concentrate their means and capital to invest in suitable areas so as to promote agricultural production in all three regions. In the past few years, delta agriculture has made much progress and created many good typical models of several types. However, unless we rapidly effect new leaps forward in the output of rice, subsidiary crops, and other types of plants, particularly in labor output as a base for the new division of labor, we cannot bring about a new situation in economy and livelihood. The agriculture of the midlands and mountain region in the past few years developed weakly and in a manner entirely disproportionate to the great potentialities of these two regions. On the basis of achievements, it is time to have a powerful change in the direction of agricultural development and to boldly create in the midlands and mountain region new agricultural economic areas that possess a high production ratio. Only by closely coordinating the delta agriculture with that of the midlands and mountain region can we create a comprehensive and rich agriculture and enable agriculture to play its "basic" role in industrial development. The delta agriculture must develop powerfully to act as a stable "springboard" for the mountain agriculture. Conversely, the mountain agriculture must develop its own strength to assist the delta agriculture.

In addition to the delta, midland, and mountain regions of our country, the sea also occupies a particularly important position because it is a source of rich marine products and a convenient channel of communications and transportation. In the course of socialist industrialization, in charting the direction of production and carrying out a new division of labor, we must pay adequate attention to tapping the great potentialities of the sea, causing the sea to make an effective contribution to the improvement of the people's living standards and enrichment of the country.

In the immediate future, the strategic task of agriculture is to endeavor to achieve three targets: five tons of paddy, one laborer, and two pigs. In speaking about five tons of paddy per hectare of cultivated land we do not mean only to talk about the settlement of the food problem for rice planting households. We also mean to talk about the food base for everyone in society. This does not mean that the food problem will be settled simply by paddy and rice. We must combine rice with subsidiary crops, vegetables, and other foodstuffs according to a suitable ratio in line with regional characteristics. One laborer per hectare of cultivated land does not just mean the assurance of adequate labor for agricultural cultivation. It means dealing with a new division of labor to develop agriculture and industry and to devote a portion of labor to production for export. Two pigs on a hectare of cultivated land is not merely

intended to supply meat to the domestic requirements, but also to supply fertilizer for intensive cultivation and to reserve a portion of the meat for export. The process by which these three targets will be achieved is the process which turns monocultural agriculture into comprehensive agriculture and the process which develops regional economy and reassigns labor in each region on the basis of a new nationwide division of labor.

In order to successfully fulfill these strategic tasks, we must firmly grasp the direction for building and developing the large, socialist agriculture in our country and fully recognize the relationship between industry and agriculture in the immediate future. We must boldly improve agricultural leadership and management and set up a concrete and intense work style. Leadership cadres must go to each cooperative and region to learn about their concrete situation, and quickly map out bold and realistic measures aimed at settling decisively each economic and technical problem. From good typical models, we must endeavor to draw general conclusions on a scientific basis. We should not stop at the level of the experience acquired. However, when we utilize typical models, we must very concretely apply them in a manner suitable to each field, each mountain, each hill, each plant, and each domestic animal. We must expand democracy and develop initiative. At the same time, however, we must institute a strict discipline in economy as well as in technology, in production as well as in distribution, suitable to the characteristics of each region and cooperative, and we must overcome the casual habits and haphazard working methods of the small producer. All levels of the party and administration, particularly the provincial and village levels, must firmly grasp the economic and technical characteristics of each plant and domestic animal, must skillfully settle the problems of water, fertilizers, seeds, agricultural season, and farm tools. They must have a concrete knowledge of cooperative management and must institute a special-responsibility division of effort in agricultural production. First of all, they must be thoroughly familiar with and correctly implement the new statute of the cooperatives. Parallel with the improvement of the agricultural management system and perfection of the agricultural machine from the central to grassroots level, we must actively step up the building of a new material and technical base for agriculture, improve the systems for water projects, insure sufficient water for cultivation, develop the sources of manure -- mainly animal and green manure -- discard bad seeds, equip labor with adequate tools, and so forth.

Thus, in order to solve the two fundamental economic tasks in our initial step -- accumulating capital for industrialization and insuring the requirements of the people's livelihood -- the originally backward agriculture of our country must undergo an extremely deep revolutionary reform on several aspects: reform of the relations of production in parallel with technological improvement; comprehensive agricultural development in parallel with classification of specialized cultivation; intensive and rotation cultivation in parallel with expansion of crop areas. Such a revolutionary reform in agriculture cannot be merely the special task of the peasantry.

It must be the common enterprise of the working class, the entire socialist state, and of all branches and echelons, as well. Like industry, agriculture is also basic to the national economy. It is also built on the basis of the socialist public ownership system (although at a lower level). It is also an integral part of the process of social reproduction. For this reason, in the leadership and guidance of economy, we must not slight agriculture, because the slow, unbalanced growth of agriculture will certainly exert an unfavorable influence on the entire social production cycle, particularly during the initial stage when we use agriculture as the base for the priority development of heavy industry. That is why our state, from the central to the regional levels, and especially the industrial, financial, and trade branches, must further intensify service to agriculture and apply themselves more actively to agriculture so that within a short period of time basic changes will be brought about in agriculture thereby creating the conditions for other changes in the entire national economy.

Building the National Economy While Developing the Regional Economy

In order to achieve close coordination and a proper balance with a varied agriculture that is undergoing such profound changes, the industry of our country must include two components: central industry and regional industry. The balanced coordination between industry and agriculture must be posed on a nationwide scale but it must also be posed on a regional scale. Agriculture must supply food, foodstuffs, labor, raw materials, and markets to the regional and central industries. Agriculture's means of production and the rural areas' consumption materials are supplied not only by the regional industry, but are also supplied by the central industry. These two relationships -- the relationship between agriculture and regional industry and the relationship between agriculture and central industry -- constantly change in accordance with the technological level and production scale of each branch, at each stage. In the immediate stage, when agriculture begins the new division of labor and the central industry is still young, the coordination of agriculture with industry within the sphere of each region has particular significance. For this reason, in order to achieve the best balance between industry and agriculture, we must decentralize economic management to the regions, increase the central level's assistance, and rapidly create a strong and stable regional economy in parallel with the building of central economic branches.

To build the regional economy in parallel with the central economy means to build a rational economic structure aimed not only at achieving the relationship between industry and agriculture in the best way but also at rationally solving a host of problems and other major relationships in our country's economy, which is moving from small-scale production to large-scale socialist production. Indeed, at the same time, the objective process of economic development in our country at present poses problems of a national character as well as those of a regional character, and balances on a nationwide scale as well as those on the regional scale. Beside the branches of economy and enterprises which can be developed only under the

centralized management of the central level, our country's socialist economy also has a number of economic branches and enterprises that can be favorably developed only under the regional management. If we do not recognize this objective reality of the economic life and fail to distinguish problems of a national character from those of a regional character, we will restrict development according to laws of our country's economy, which has not gone through the stage of capitalist development. Large-scale mechanized production can be brought about only on the basis of correct coordination between the unified centralized system of the central level and the regions' system of collective mastership, and between the building of major enterprises and the reform of small production and the re-division of labor in the regions. Not only must we know how to develop the strength of the entire country but we must also know how to develop the strength of each region in order to raise a high tide of production development in different areas and on different scales. Not only must we know how to make concentrated use of all the superiorities of the socialist system to build modern economic bases on a large scale making up the backbone of the national economy, but we must also know how to create in the regions the suitable forms of economic organization, so as to mobilize to the highest degree all the latent potential of the people participating in building the economy, developing production, and organizing their livelihood.

Advancing from a backward economy and a poor living standard, the consumption of needs of our country and people are developing in an increasingly complex manner. The central level can only, and must, manage the basic national consumption, whereas the regions have the task of quickly and fully meeting the consumption needs of secondary importance. To achieve close coordination and a clear delineation between the central and regional levels is the best way to satisfy the people's consumer requirements in a manner consistent not only with the level of general production development of the entire country but also with the concrete potential and characteristics of each region. For this reason, not only must the balance between production and consumption be posed and settled on a nationwide scale, but it must be posed and settled in each region. Both kinds of equilibrium have important roles, which assist and complement each other. Once the balance between production and consumption has been settled at the central level, the regions are better able to settle other balances between production and consumption arising in each region. Conversely, once the local balances of each region have been solved, the central level is better able to solve the major balances of an overall nature.

Within the sphere of each region, if the balance between production and consumption is achieved, the regional economy will develop better, the regional living standard will be further improved, and the region's ability to contribute to the central level will be richer. The fact that each and every region has the task and objectives to develop to the utmost all its own latent potential and that it competes in economic development according to its own capabilities and requirements, will cause many different features

in production as well as consumption, thus making the people's life increasingly diverse. Naturally, the basic norms of consumption must be unified on a nationwide scale because this is the principle of socialism and the necessary requirement of the system of socialist public ownership.

Advancing from small-scale, manual production to large-scale, modern production, social labor must necessarily be reapportioned. A given technological level gives rise to a given division of social labor. At present, when the production forces have exceeded the limits of individual countries, not only is social labor apportioned within the scope of one country, but to a certain extent it must also be assigned on an international scope. In our country, agricultural labor with very low output embraces three-fourths of our total social labor. For this reason, to talk about a new division of labor means first and foremost to talk about a redivision of agricultural labor. To shift part of labor for food production to the planting of industrial trees and development of livestock breeding, fishery, and forestry; to shift part of agricultural labor to industry and communications and transportation; to shift unskilled labor to skilled labor; and to shift low-output labor to high-output labor are the urgent requirements of the economic construction and the main objective of labor management at the present stage. If these new division-of-labor measures are carried out in good time and rationally, they will rapidly step up the process of technical revolution and the emergence of large-scale production. We must fully realize that initial accumulation as well as improvement of the people's living standard can be achieved only on the basis of redivision of social labor and redivision of labor among the branches of the economy, rather than on the basis of keeping intact the present state of agricultural labor.

In the immediate stage of our country's economy, the new division of labor must be carried out primarily from the production bases and from the regions outward. Naturally, the powerful development of the central economic branches will absorb a certain amount of available rural labor, creating entirely new labor standards and changing the labor structure according to the growth of large-scale production. Nevertheless, if we only rely on the development of the central economic branches, progress in the new division of labor will be slow, because each year the central economic branches can absorb only a relatively small portion of available labor and bring about high output only in a portion of social labor, while most of the remaining labor in the regions is urgently crying for a rational division and use. How to increase labor output and liberate a part of agricultural labor from old practices? How to use this surplus labor in the most advantageous manner? These are daily phenomena which only the cooperatives and regions can grasp concretely and quickly act upon. The shifting of many small machinery stations to the countryside has provided tens of millions of surplus workdays. However, because many areas did not know how to mobilize these workdays for developing new branches and professions, they were unable to enrich society with new property, or raise the common output of agricultural labor. If we do not overcome these

shortcomings in economic management we will restrict the introduction of new science and technology into agriculture, hinder the process of the new division of labor, and delay the building of the new economy.

This law on development in our country's new division of labor from small-scale to large-scale production requires that we not only develop central economic branches, but also concentrate on rationally building regional economy. Only on the basis of a redivision of labor in each region along with construction of regional economy, can we achieve a redivision of labor in the whole society. Conversely, economic development of the overall national economy and central economic branches will have positive effects on the labor and economic situation in each region and quickly bring about the new division of labor at the regional level.

In relations between urban and rural areas, there have long been two notable processes: the process of separation of cities from rural areas and the process of urbanization of rural areas. These two processes themselves are not independent and separate from, but closely linked with the development of the economy, particularly industrial development. The separation of urban from rural areas is, in reality, a separation of industry from agriculture. And urbanization of rural areas is, in reality, industrialization of agriculture, bringing industry to the countryside and closely combining industry with agriculture. Building the central economy while simultaneously developing regional economy is the best way to combine urban and rural areas and close the gap between them. Through constructing the bases of central industries on suitable sites, and through building the regional economy, including agriculture and regional industries, we can develop both the urban and rural areas. Our cities are built on various sites which are closely linked with rural areas. Besides the present few relatively large cities which are political, economic, and cultural centers of the whole nation, we will -- on the basis of economic development -- build more medium-sized and small cities in many places to elicit direct effects on rural areas and rapidly develop these areas in the economic, cultural, and social fields, creating a new look throughout the country, from the delta to the highland and giving every Vietnamese -- no matter where he lives -- sufficient material benefits and a rich, healthy culture.

Building the central economy along with regional economy also creates a solid economic foundation for the people's national defense. The strength of the people's war in our country is that of the whole people who stand up to fight the aggressors, are organized into political and military forces, and employ suitable combat methods in the three strategic areas: the highland, delta, and cities. Each province is a strategic unit in both military operations and logistical aspects, and in combat as well as production. Therefore, we must not only strive to build modern heavy industries, but also strive to strengthen regional economy; not only create large-scale production forces, but also know how to deploy these forces to specific sites as required by military strategy. If we achieve this, we can, in any

kind of war and under any war circumstances, solidly maintain and develop our combat and production capability and nurture the people's strength to fight for a long time.

This law of economic development in our country poses a series of relations between the central and regional economies as well as some new problems in our country's economic management.

The more regional economy develops, the greater will be the regional level's management responsibility and the more expanded will be the central level's centralized management. On the path of economic development, many regional questions will become national ones; and many balances and production areas of a regional nature will become balances and production areas of a national character. Thus, the central economy will be strengthened step by step on the basis of developing the initiatives and capabilities of various regions. However, the content of regional management will constantly become more diverse along with constant economic development. While regional management transfers to the central level those balances and production areas which transcend its limits, it receives a series of questions of balances and production areas arising from regional economic life. In the same progress, the economic life will constantly supply the central level's centralized management as well as regional management with a constantly revised and developing content. Therefore, we need not worry that the central economy will be weakened if the economy is decentralized to various regions, or that the regional economy will be restricted if centralization to the central level is implemented. Previously, we had originally set forth the assignment of economic management between the central and provincial levels, but the content of this assignment was not very clear and was not fully based on practical reality, that is, that our socialist economic base should necessarily include central and regional economies. Assigning economic management to regional levels aims at providing regions with conditions for developing agriculture and regional industry, at reorganizing socialist labor to contribute more, on this basis to developing the central economy and solving in time various problems concerning the livelihood of regional people, and at basing everything on the common lines and policies of the central government.

Through the total delineation of economic management there will be, in our nation's unified economic structure, central and regional economies, central and regional industries, national and regional policies, national and regional budgets.

Assigning economic management to various regions and striving to develop regional economy does not mean turning each region into an independent economic unit. The central government will firmly grasp the unified and centralized leadership concerning the whole economy through national policy, which includes the essential balances and norms, through adoption of various important policies and basic standards of production and consumption, and through distribution of materials and capital. The

central economy is composed of key branches. It functions as a leader or goading force for the whole national economy. Each region will rely on the common lines, policies, and directions of the central government to actively manage and build its own regional economy. The economy of each region is a component part of the national economy and at the same time provides a relatively reasonable structure in the regional domain. It reflects common lines, policies, and directions of the central government and also initiatives and the original and creative character of various regions as well as the characteristics and special nature of each region.

Relations between regions are those of socialist cooperation among parts of the same network of division of socialist labor, which embraces the whole nation. The content of this relationship is multiform, involving exchanges of experiences and mutually assisting each other in technology, raw materials, and consumption; pooling efforts in building economic and cultural works of common interest, and so forth. These relations should develop under the leadership of the central government and should not oppose, but supplement and further enrich state policy.

To permit provinces to have the necessary conditions to develop regional economies, in addition to the assignment of economic, cultural, and educational management, we should also insure that each province has a source of labor, wealth, and finance, and a market corresponding to the requirements of the new development of production and division of labor on a large scale. Naturally, the reasonable scale of a region is not a rigid, uniform and unchangeable thing. When we fix the limits of a given province, we should examine all facets of the problem and act so that the factors of territory, population, natural resources for industry, agriculture, transport, and communication can be associated in perfect harmony, thus creating the most favorable conditions for rational development of the regional economy.

The relationship between central and regional economies is a complicated one involving many fields. It should be concretely reflected by a series of regimes and policies such as the regime of planned revenues and expenditures, distribution of raw materials and products, and so forth. To implement the lines and policies of economic development of the party and nation, we should not stop at a certain number of common principles and slogans, but should advance broadly into the fields of organization, procedures, regime, and division of labor in order to simultaneously avoid unnecessary duplication and manifestations of irresponsibility, and also overcome the phenomenon of bureaucratic centralization and avoid anarchy and fragmentation.

Improve the System of Economic Management

After determining the lines and directions of economic development, the establishment of an appropriate system of management has extremely great significance, and will decide the success or failure of the lines

themselves. At present, the system of economic management and our machinery of economic management still have many irrational points unsuited to the task of building the economy, thus hampering the application of the party's lines and policies. It also has partly limited the speed of reforming and building the economy. Despite this fact, many of our comrades have failed to fully realize their shortcomings in this area or the importance of economic management tasks, and to deeply advance into organizational tasks of the economy.

Managing the economy means managing a living body which develops according to objective laws. A system of management can be called appropriate only when it fully reflects the common rules of development of the whole economy as well as its particular behavior in each region, part, cell, and situation. Being an objective product which experiences frequent changes according to the economic situation, it rejects all irresponsible, bureaucratic attitudes which depart from reality. It demands that leaders of various branches and levels pay great heed to economic life and that they be aware of the factors emerging from the practical reality. The strength of proletarian dictatorship originates from the fact that it is capable of recognizing the laws of development in general, and setting forth a thesis which corresponds to the requirements of development of matter itself.

In the present conditions of the northern part of our country, where the development of production and reassignment of socialist labor have just gone through their first phase, the system of economic management should be extremely flexible. It should follow the general economic laws of socialism. At the same time, it should fully apply the laws of development from small to large scale production and also reflect the unified and centralized character of the central government. It should also fully show the collective mastership of various regions and bases, step up planning, adequately use market relations, and develop cost accounting. Finally, it should afford encouragement by means of material benefits, step up political and ideological education, and heighten the masses' socialist consciousness.

To deal with management of socialist economy, we should, first, deal with planning -- a special strong point of the socialist economic regime. To bypass planning, minimize the important role of laws of the planned development of economy, is to depart from the nature of socialist economy and deny the organizational and economic managerial role of the proletarian and dictatorial state. However, the problem posed is: In our present planned economy, how can we and must we plan the economy and how must we use market relations and levers: credit, prices, salary, interest? This is one of the basic problems of the system of economic management in our country at present.

Advancing from small-scale production, many economic problems which have an overall significance have arisen simultaneously with economic problems having regional significance. Thus, to build the three levels of an

integrated plan at central, regional, and basic levels is an objective necessity consistent with the present development of our economy and with the main responsibilities of the first phase of economic development and accumulation. Each planning level has its responsibilities and prescribed rights aimed at solving practical and urgent economic problems. At the same time, each planning level will fully contribute to our common economic development. Central planning will outline the direction of development of the whole state-operated economy, assert the steps and development speed of various main economic branches, decide large balances and large development steps, and set forth the major duties and norms for the whole nation. Under the leadership of central planning, regions and bases will map out development plans for their regions and units aimed at correctly implementing the tasks and norms of the central plan and, at the same time, highly developing active and creative spirit so as to exploit various potent capabilities and settle in time concrete duties and problems emerging from their own region and unit. Each planning level is a production unit and cost accounting unit. It is also an accumulation and enlarged reproduction unit. In addition to national unified economic and technical norms, each planning level can and must have its own norms. Although the three planning levels have different duties and capabilities, they are unified in a living body in which the central planning level plays the leading role.

Our national economy is undergoing rapid revolutionary change. New demands, new capacities, and new balances in production and consumption are continually emerging, ones which are fully discerned only through experience. Therefore, in fulfilling planning, on the one hand, we must keep a firm grasp on long-range plans by outlining the trend of development in our national economy over a relatively long period and carrying out major projects for building and developing large-scale production. On the other hand, we must pay great attention to short-range plans which are programs of concrete struggle for achieving victory in each phase, fully solving each problem, and promptly handling problems which emerge during the execution of plans.

Without long-range plans -- plans for 5 or 10 years, for instance -- it is impossible to discern the economic development trend and fully carry out the necessary preparatory tasks, such as capital accumulation, training of cadres and workers, scientific and technical research, basic investigations, geological surveys, establishment of economic zones, and formulation of production plans, and so forth. But under the present situation of our national economy special attention must be paid to yearly and short-range plans and to leadership over the monthly or even daily struggles because these are concrete actions bringing about appropriate results. Therefore, closely following every step of our economic development, going down to the bases, discovering new factors promptly, and eliminating irrational points in time must become daily and regular tasks of economic organs. Leadership over the economy and production, like leadership over military combat, must be seen in this light.

An important part of our socialist economy is now still dispersed. There are numerous needs in our social life, especially in our myriad daily activities that our country has not yet envisaged and satisfied. This requires that our state, in its leadership over the economy, cleverly coordinate plans with the markets, using subsequent plans to improve earlier ones.

Through planning -- Building the second manifesto of the party and the unified law of the proletarian, dictatorial state -- we can and must regulate the basic economic relations and the essential balances and must actively take advantage of the relations between markets to control the economic norms and to control a number of vital economic activities that cannot be envisaged in the plan. We must not only grasp the planning task and plan norms but must also correctly manage all market activities so that we can develop their positive effects and prevent their negative impact on planned economic management.

Realities in building the economy in our country, as well as in our fraternal socialist states, prove that in economic management we must correctly use levers, prices, wages, profits, and loans and properly apply the socialist economic auditing system and business methods. As a historic product, the relations of goods and currencies are connected with the fixed levels of production development. On the basis of the system of private ownership, the development of relations of goods and currencies takes place simultaneously with the process of creating class differences, creating a distinction between the rich and the poor in society. However, when all economic arteries are in the hands of the proletarian state, when all exploiting classes are exterminated, and when small producers have entered the path of collective work, the correct and rational development of the relations of goods and currencies along with the new division of labor and technical revolution then constitutes a positive factor for developing production and organizing life. So, applying the law of values, achieving economic auditing, and taking advantage of levers, prices, profits, wages, and loans are very important economic problems. Application of the law of values and of the economic auditing system is aimed at evaluating the economic effect of each economic policy and each technical measure, controlling the quality of the work of each base, locality, branch, and echelon, mobilizing all latent economic potentialities, and encouraging everyone to develop his innovations, to practice extreme thriftiness, and to labor enthusiastically so as to benefit the country and the people. In building the economy in a poor country such as Vietnam, where labor output is very low and capital is limited, we must pay more attention to the effect of trade so as to be able to satisfy the immediate needs and to achieve expanded reproduction. Profits for expanded reproduction must be accumulated not only on a nationwide basis, but also in each branch, each echelon, and each basic economic unit. It is necessary to develop each branch, each echelon, and each unit during each production cycle; however, we must not hold a narrow concept of losses such as individual producers do in their businesses. In our country's present conditions, our biggest profit

consists in developing production, enlarging branches and professions, increasing the volume of products, and increasing output in each branch and in our entire national economy. Only on this basis can we speak of collecting profit and make this collection consistent with the socialist nature of our national economy. On the one hand, we must endeavor to make profits in each business link and in each phase; on the other hand, we must use the long-range economic situation as a base to examine the problem of profit or losses comprehensively.

During the change over from small production to big production and from a natural economy to a manufacturing economy, circulation and distribution play a particularly important role in society's reproduction. As an intermediary link between production and production, between production and consumption, for uniting the various economic branches and economic areas in the country into a uniform body, and for connecting our independent and autonomous economy with the economy in other countries of the world, the circulation branch must actively serve production, stepping up economic interchanges, intensifying the application of price measures, improving trade measures, and reducing circulation costs. Only in this way is it possible to step up the new distribution of manpower and the process of enlarged reproduction, thus contributing to the accumulation of more capital for society and to a more satisfactory serving of the people's livelihood. We must not lower the role of commerce to that of "ordinary trade." On the contrary, we must regard commerce as the housewife to society, as the people's logistic friends, in charge of protecting the economic interests and the mastership right of everyone in the society. As a center for distributing national income, a clearing center, and a "nerve center" of the entire national economy, the financial and banking branch must know not only how to concentrate the capital, but also how to make it possible to accumulate and concentrate it more quickly and distribute the national income correctly, thus insuring a rational relationship between accumulation and consumption and the characteristics and requirements of each phase of economic development.

During the present phase, our national economy is poor, labor output is low. Correctly settling the relationship between initial accumulation and immediate consumption is an arduous struggle. Without initial accumulation it is impossible to improve the quality of economic development or to build a heavy industry and large-scale, modern production to serve as the basis for building a prosperous economy and an abundant life. Thus, "the tightening of belts," reducing unnecessary expenses, and resolutely saving money for capital accumulation is an inevitable requirement reflecting our people's high level of enlightenment while advancing on the path of socialist construction. However, the nature of the socialist economy as well as the requirements to increase work output and develop production require that we look after the people's life, satisfy their fundamental needs, and resolutely put an end to the cases of unnecessary shortages and irrational difficulties in serving the people's daily life.

Moreover, the financial and banking branch must take advantage of its professional activities to intensify its supervisory and control role over the various branches, localities, and production bases and urge the various branches and echelons to further improve their economic plans and production trends, drastically economize manpower, material supplies, and money, and resolutely combat embezzlement and waste. We must regard embezzlement and waste as an unforgivable offense because it not only causes a loss in material wealth but also tarnishes the superiority of the new production relationship and the views and feelings of new socialist persons.

To fulfill these duties, economic cadres of various branches and echelons -- especially trade, financial, and banking cadres -- must study hard to thoroughly understand the economic line and policies of the party and state, equip themselves with fundamental knowledge about circulation, distribution, and credit, fully realize the importance of this leverage network, build them into great, strong branches, and positively use them in leadership over and management of the economy.

A striking characteristic of the present economic management in our country is that, on the one hand, we must manage a socialist economy which is shifting from small to large-scale production and from scattered to centralized operations; on the other hand, we must manage closely organized and highly centralized modern enterprises. Therefore, along with applying the general system of managing the national economy as a whole, we must build a suitable system of managing enterprises according to these basic principles: Insuring the execution of political tasks of enterprises, insuring technical mastery and the conditions for technical development, insuring the application of disciplinary rules of production, including those related to plans, materials, finances, and labor, and insuring workers' collective mastery and living conditions. All these basic principles of management reflect the substance of a centralized, unified modern industry and the right of collective mastery of the masses and workers, contributing to a constant increase in labor output and insuring the improvement of laborers' livelihood. This is also the aim of the management of enterprises.

To insure the execution of the economic management task, to develop production, and to organize life, we must build a strong apparatus responding to the requirements of economic management, suitable to the characteristics of each branch and each locality, strongly focused on the bases, and penetrating every economic and technical aspect. It is necessary to overcome the tendency to organize an apparatus along administrative lines, out of sink with the economic tasks and with the requirements of production techniques. Some important tasks are not guided by anyone, but sometimes overlap each other. In some areas there are too many persons engaging in bureaucratic paper work, but a shortage of supervisors. As a consequence, the efficiency of the managerial apparatus is reduced markedly. It is necessary to build correct operational relations, systems and

procedures between the various links of the managerial apparatus aimed at clearly determining the rights and duties of each organ, respecting the mastership right of each branch and each echelon under the general mastership right of the central government, and enabling the various production management echelons to rely on the common economic and technical norms within the framework of the state plan to take the initiative in distributing manpower, finance, and material supplies in order to exploit all potentialities and satisfactorily fulfill all production tasks. Concerning the relations between branches and echelons, special attention must be paid to control methods: Economic control, technical control, and control over cadres. Control and the systems concerning economic cooperation must be regularly carried out in order to promptly eliminate specific errors and shortcomings in managerial methods.

One of the important objectives of economic organization is to correctly determine the relations between the party, the government, and the masses in the field of economic management. As leader and staff of the army which is building the economy, the party is responsible for setting forth fundamental lines and policies, adopting important methods and measures, mobilizing the masses to deeply advance on the economic front, and controlling the activities of various government branches. Party leadership is an historic necessity aimed at insuring that the national economy develops in the right direction, defending the interests of all people's strata, and continually heightening the people's mastership right. In revolutionary undertaking in general and in economic development in particular, our party does not aim at any private interests. The entire national economy with its factories and land is the people's property which exists under different conditions and is operated under different economic and technical conditions. This objective reality requires that our party adopt different leading methods for different targets -- industry, agriculture, factories, or cooperatives -- in order to maintain its leadership, elevate the managerial mission of the administration, and insure the direct mastership right of the masses.

Representing the people's interests, the administration is the organ in charge of managing the national economy in the people's name. Therefore, all party economic policies and lines to be followed must be initiated by the administration. Basing itself on its laws, systems, and regulations and through its specialist, technical, and professional organs, the administration at all echelons directly manages the economy, directs production and distribution, and reconciles the material interests of various people's strata in the society in accordance with party lines. The responsibility of party committees is to build a stable administrative machinery, to respect the managerial functions and the ruling role of administrative echelons, and to insure that administrative organs have all the necessary conditions and power for managing the economy. Our party's success in management of the economy lies not only in the fact that it can set forth a correct economic line, mobilize its units to thoroughly apply economic measures and technology, but also in the fact that it can build a stable

system of administration fully able to undertake the management task, turning the party's lines and policies into practical activities of the masses.

In the last analysis, both the party's leadership and the administration's management role aim at guaranteeing the people's right to collective mastership in every realm of social life. However, in order to successfully mobilize the entire people to build the economy and to prevent bureaucratic phenomena and abuses of power, we must set forth appropriate forms of activity to motivate the masses to directly take part in economic management and in controlling the activities of party organs and of the state.

Being "the school of communism," of economic management, of workers' education, the trade union must assist the workers in clearly understanding the political tasks, and the position and importance of factories vis-a-vis production, livelihood, and the destiny and future of the country; unceasingly heighten the workers' mastership sense and capability; and, in practice, take part in production and other activities of factories. Economic management organs must respect the ideas of the trade union, considering it as the spokesman of a mass political organ, and must respect the masses' right to collective mastership. An important task of the trade union is to mobilize and guide workers in completely taking part in the emulation movement so that the movement can have a real mass character and reflect the mastership of workers in factories. Being a product of the public economy and of the new democratic system, socialist emulation has a content rich in political and intellectual mobilization and in economic and technical results. It is an adequate form to mobilize and educate the masses, a powerful force for boosting production, improving technology, and increasing productivity. It correctly coordinates the interests of the state, of each collective, and of each individual.

As the assault unit on the production, science, and technology front, the Youth Group must have an appropriate position in the managerial apparatus, especially in basic units. The party and government organs must rely on the youth group to fulfill new and heavy economic tasks and to solve complicated scientific and technological problems. Through seething social activities we can educate, train, and turn youths into deserving collective masters of society.

Thus, in the national economy as well as in each unit of economy there must be constant and close coordination among the party, administration, and the people. Only on this basis can the people's right to mastership be complete and guaranteed for a long time and can the new socialist regime be truly steadfast.

Achieving socialism, bypassing the phase of development of capitalism, is the shortest way leading the laboring people to freedom and happiness. However we must endure great difficulties and hardships, because we start with nothing and we do not inherit much from the old society. Moreover this is a new path opened to us in our history.

On this revolutionary path that is full of difficulties, our party, in the light of Marxism-Leninism and with the rich experiences of the friendly and brotherly countries, has gradually grasped the rules of development of the revolution and improved its lines and policies. Moreover, after scores of years of carrying out the socialist revolution in various phases, we have gained valuable experiences in building our economy and in reforming our society. The body of cadres -- managerial and technical cadres -- has attained maturity, especially in quantity. The new production relations have attained a predominant role in society, and are strongly impacting the development of the economy and our people's anti-U.S. national salvation struggle. Our people's diligent labor has created a number of new material bases for other phases of development in the days ahead. Moreover, the brotherly countries have brought us great economic and technical assistance and experiences. These are basic, favorable conditions that enable us to advance steadily. We will achieve in the days ahead greater exploits in socialist revolution, thus further contributing to the development of the economic potentials of the north to serve the people's life and, together with 14 million kith-and-kin southern compatriots, we will carry out our iron-like determination to completely defeat the U.S. aggressors.

Our generation is very proud that it defeated the French imperialists, is now defeating the U.S. imperialists, and is building Vietnam into a socialist, prosperous, beautiful, independent, democratic and happy country in compliance with the earnest aspirations of President Ho and our people.

Part III: Our Party, the Organizer of All Victories of the Vietnamese Revolution

The Success of the Creative Application of Marxism-Leninism to the Concrete Situation in Our Country

Forty years is really a short period of time in our people's 4,000-year old history, but our people's greatest and proudest achievements were crystallized in these 40 years. This is the time when our people arose, in the common tide of progressive mankind, with a great vitality of the new era, with all glorious national traditions and with full consciousness of their own fates and future.

From a small and barely populated country, from an age-old feudal society and living about 100 years under the imperialists' domination yoke when even the name of Vietnam was wiped from the map of the world, in a quarter of a century our people arose in a series of revolutions -- the August revolution, the anti-French resistance, the socialist revolution in the north, and the anti-U.S. national salvation resistance. Due to its nature, scope, and historic importance in the national as well as international fields, this revolutionary process has led our country and our people to the heights of the new era, the era of victorious, noble ideals: national independence, democracy, and socialism.

The prime, basic, and decisive factor for all these historic successes is the founding and leadership of our party, a new-style proletarian party holding firmly the ever-victorious Marxist-Leninist banner and representing faithfully all the vital interests and genuine desires of the working class, laborers, and the entire people, a closely organized Marxist-Leninist party nurturing the traditions of solidarity and singlemindedness and intimately attached to the masses.

Armed with the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary science and enjoying over 100 years of valuable experiences of the world proletariat, our party has led the Vietnamese revolutionary movement with a correct line, thoroughly carried out the tasks of the people's national democratic revolution in the north, led the north to the socialist revolutionary stage, while continuing to complete the people's national democratic revolution nationwide.

Our party has won glorious victories in the people's national democratic revolution, because it has correctly and creatively settled the following basic strategic problems:

To affirm and continually consolidate the leadership of the working class and its vanguard unit, the Marxist-Leninist party; to correctly coordinate the two anti-imperialist and antifeudalist tasks; to implementing step by step the antifeudalist task in close coordination with the anti-imperialist task and effectively serving this task.

To succeed in mustering the great peasant force; and to successfully build a firm and steady worker-peasant alliance as a main-force army of the revolution and as a core force to guarantee the unique leadership of the working class party.

On the basis of the worker-peasant alliance, the party founded the broad national united front, by mustering all patriotic and progressive forces, to direct the revolutionary spearhead at the enemy of the people.

To cleverly take advantage of the enemy's internal contradictions in order to divide his ranks, to neutralize the forces which can be neutralized, to isolate the most dangerous enemy, and to create conditions for the successful development of the revolution.

Applying flexible and precise revolutionary methods and using every form of organization and struggle appropriate to each period, develop the revolutionary armed forces using as the basis the development of the political forces of the masses. When the revolutionary conditions appeared, the party used the two forces -- military and political -- and coordinated military struggle with political struggle to attack the enemy in both the rural and urban areas, to win victory after victory, and to advance toward winning complete victory.

Meanwhile, it consolidated and strengthened the people's democratic administration, the great achievement of the revolution, using it as an efficient tool for carrying on the resistance and building a new society.

It also achieved international solidarity on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

In the past decade, while uniting with the southern compatriots to complete the people's national democratic revolution throughout the country, our northern people used the people's democratic administration to fulfill the historic tasks of proletarian dictatorship and advance the north toward socialism through the carrying out of three revolutions -- revolution of production relations, technical revolution, and ideological and cultural revolution, of which the technical revolution was the main one. Socialist revolution is new to us, but realities in the past 10 years enable us to assert that the fundamental trend of the path leading to socialism in the north, as set forth by our party, is completely correct.

The great experiences of the Vietnamese revolution in the past 40 years were the successful experiences of Marxism-Leninism in a colonial and semifeudal country. During the past 40 historic years, our party creatively applied universal Marxist-Leninist principles to the concrete conditions of our country. Born and matured in a society composed mostly of peasants, our party has attracted a great number of peasant adherents. Even so, our party has unswervingly and fully maintained the character of being the working class' revolutionary party, primarily because our party is imbued with Marxist-Leninist ideology and is absolutely loyal to Marxism-Leninism, and because our party's political and organizational lines represent the working class' lines based upon Marxism-Leninism. As the only scientific, thoroughly revolutionary doctrine, Marxism-Leninism is like a beacon illuminating the way for our party to solve every problem of the Vietnamese revolution and to set forth correct revolutionary lines and methods. As a result, our party successfully frustrated the bourgeoisie's reformism and the petty bourgeoisie's narrow, super class nationalist tendency, successfully foiling the provocations and sabotage acts of the Trotskyites and other counterrevolutionary elements, overcoming political vacillations and rightist or "leftist" deviations within party ranks, and fulfilling every revolutionary task in every period.

While attaching great importance to learning from the fraternal countries' and parties' revolutionary experiences and regarding these as an absolute necessity for a proletarian political party eager to fulfill its tasks, our party has constantly based itself upon the concrete realities emerging from the Vietnamese revolution and upon the inspiring realities of Vietnamese society -- with all its inherent historical, social, and economic characteristics, its national traditions, and so forth -- in applying Marxist-Leninist theories, universal rules, and the fraternal countries' experiences in the national, democratic revolution and in the socialist revolution. The Vietnamese revolution's present,

great victories are attributed to the revolutionary lines and methods independently and creatively adopted by our party.

Endeavoring to Strengthen the Leadership of the Party in the New Stage

Our revolutionary tasks in the present stage are much heavier and more complex than those in the past. On the one hand, our party must strive to achieve the national, democratic revolution throughout the country and lead all our people in completely defeating the U.S. aggressors. This undertaking will involve extensive hardships and sacrifices. On the other hand, our party must accelerate the socialist revolution and socialist construction in the north -- an undertaking which is almost completely new to our party. Carrying out this great undertaking, we have now acquired many basic, favorable conditions from our achievements over the past 10 years or more. However, everything is only in the initial stage. Communists always squarely face the facts and know how to look into the future. Obviously, in the present economy of the northern part of our country, social labor remains mostly manual. We are therefore far from achieving our ideal and realizing our people's aspirations regarding socialism. To advance toward achieving modern industry and agriculture and advanced culture and science, our party and people will have to make outstanding efforts and overcome countless difficulties.

Party leadership is the factor determining every success. Therefore, to fulfill the present revolutionary tasks, the key requirement is to strenuously strengthen party leadership.

Our party is a ruling party. The historical responsibility of a ruling party never decreases; on the contrary, it has immeasurably increased. As everyone knows, the basic problem facing every revolution is the problem of power. However, speaking in the context of the party's revolutionary undertaking and of the proletariat's class struggle as a whole, seizing power does not represent the ultimate goal. The successful seizure of power does not mean culmination of the revolution, but only the beginning.

It is absolutely necessary for the proletariat to successfully seize power. Without toppling the ruling class' power and establishing proletarian dictatorship, the proletariat cannot advance the class struggle toward full victory, that is, toward successfully eliminating not only the exploiting classes, but also the root causes of exploitation; eliminating not only the state of mutual class opposition, but also class differences; eliminating the causes of poverty and misery; and building the most plentiful and happiest life for the people. In short, the proletariat will advance toward successfully building a completely new society -- a communist, classless society, in which everyone leads a materially plentiful and morally rich life.

Throughout the historical periods during which these planned, organized, far-reaching, and profound social changes take place in conformity with the rules governing the objective development of history, the role of the working class party, which is the force that exerts leadership over society, is constantly enhanced. The party represents the most active component of society as well as the best organized and most enlightened component, ideologically and politically, which firmly grasps the development trends of our age and clearly sees the prospects and objectives of its struggle. The party is the only body that can organize and motivate the masses; bring together, coordinate, mobilize, and devote every effort and every activity to all links of the social apparatus in fulfilling the historical task of building a new society.

To strengthen party leadership in the present stage, the party must continue to comprehensively study, and thereby, develop, improve, perfect, and further concretize the party political line.

Our political line in the new stage, which was set forth by the third party congress, and which has been further developed by the subsequent party Central Committee conferences, remains our fundamental direction. Realities have proven that our party is taking the right path. However, as dialectic materialists, we will never let our cognizance remain at a standstill. Social realities and real life constantly change and develop, especially in our society, which is in the initial stage of the transitional period. Therefore, we must regularly and closely associate ourselves with life and -- in light of the real economic and social developments, the masses' experience, and what we have done and been unable to do -- comprehensively conduct necessary analyses, recapitulate experience, and draw necessary theoretical conclusions, in order to constantly supplement, develop, and further concretize party lines and policies.

The party political line must always originate in the objective rules governing social development. In the national, democratic revolution and in the war our party has adopted correct lines, because it has firmly grasped revolutionary rules and the rules governing people's war. In the socialist revolution and in socialist construction, it is imperative not to act at one's convenience in disregard of the rules. Engels clearly pointed out: "Never is it permissible to forget that once it became a science, socialism has required to be treated as such." (Marx-Engels, Selected Works, Vol. 1, p 1052) Proletarian dictatorship and the people's revolutionary enthusiasm are very important moving forces because without them socialism cannot be built. If we think that we can build socialism with proletarian dictatorship and our enthusiasm alone and if we disregard all objective laws and economic facts which are sometimes "cruel and hard," we are grossly mistaken. When stressing particularly the role of subjective factors of men, the vanguard party, and the masses, Lenin always reminded the communist parties to absolutely refrain from taking one's subjective will as policy and one's feelings as a starting point for the revolutionary policy, and strategem. Lenin's political activities constituted a brilliant illustration

of this point. A well-known striking example is that when posing the problem of shifting from the communist policy in wartime to the new economic policy and when defining and executing this new economic policy, Lenin had to exert immense effort to persuade the communists who were imbued with revolutionary enthusiasm but unaware of the economic laws to realize that the new economic policy was absolutely not a policy of restoring capitalism but the only possible single policy for Russia at that time to vanquish capitalism and advance toward socialism.

Our party has matured in grasping the laws of the national democratic revolution and of people's war but has just begun to grasp the laws of socialist revolution and socialist construction. Only by making outstanding efforts and by outstandingly maturing in this aspect can our party fulfill its duty as a leader of society. The successes of the revolution and creativeness in the revolution are always the outcome of a correct association between the universal and the particular in the application of objective laws. Directly advancing from the point of a country having a small-scale production as a basis toward socialism, bypassing the capitalist development stage, we obviously face a series of new problems. To firmly grasp proletarian dictatorship and to carry out the three closely associated revolutions, including technical revolution as the key one, is the basic trend of the socialist revolution and socialist construction in our country. However, the laws governing the technical revolution, socialist industrialization, the revolution of production relations, the ideological and cultural revolution, and numerous economic relations and the way to launch these revolutions in the present conditions of our country are problems that we must ponder patiently. It is necessary to study the principles of scientific socialism, to grasp the realities of our country's revolution, to learn the experiences of fraternal countries, and to attentively recapitulate the experiences of the past years in carrying out the socialist revolution and building socialism in order to improve the ideological level of the party, to clarify the practical problems and, on this basis, to develop and perfect the party's methods, lines, and policies so that they can bear a truly scientific nature and exert a more effective impact on life.

To increase the practical organizational power of the party and of the state machinery is the urgent and key issue at present in strengthening the party's combativity and leadership over society.

A correct line is important and decisive but insufficient. In addition, it is necessary to carry out wide-scale organizational work to mobilize and use all social forces and all material and spiritual capabilities for the settlement of all concrete problems.

In the people's national, democratic revolution, our party not only possessed correct lines, but also demonstrated its outstanding organizational ability. When it still operated clandestinely or when it carried out overt activities, when it simultaneously carried out armed and political

struggles under normal as well as extraordinary circumstances, when a revolutionary situation did not prevail and when a revolutionary situation did prevail, our party constantly carried out the organizational task which, it is reasonable to say, attained scientific standards. As a result, our party successfully mobilized, brought together, and brought into full play every potential mass force and every major and minor revolutionary capability, and creatively adopted and skillfully coordinated various forms of propaganda and organization and versatile forms of struggle which were suitable to the balance of forces that existed between us and the enemy at all times and everywhere.

For more than 10 years now, our people have had to concentrate their forces in order to fulfill their duty to the vast frontline. In recent years, our people also have had to cope with a fierce war of destruction, which has upset normal activities to a certain extent. However, under party leadership our people succeeded in achieving important results in socialist construction, in cultural and economic development and in organizing their life. This proves that our party not only has a correct line, but also made initial progress in organizing the execution of its plans during the new revolutionary phase. However, as far as the sense of organization and the organizational activities are concerned, we suffered shortcomings and weak points, compared to the requirements of socialist construction. Faced with the necessity of carrying out the economic building task urgently, correctly, harmoniously, efficiently, and according to plans, the fact that many aspects of the apparatus for managing the economy, managing production, and serving the people's life were confused, loose, slow, and inefficient has revealed the low level of our actual organization.

Advancing directly to socialism and bypassing the phase of capitalist development means that we have not passed through the school of large-scale mechanized production. This represents the main cause of our party's and state's present weakness in organizational and managerial activities.

Small-scale production -- which is scattered, ramshackle, disorderly, undisciplined, and anarchic by nature -- left nothing worthy to us organizationally, but only left bad habits and patterns of doing business that are at complete variance with the organizational requirements of large-scale, socialist production. Therefore, advancing from small production, we now have not only two alternative economic development trends -- capitalist or socialist -- but also two alternative organizational methods -- handicraft or large industry. Errors in adopting correct lines would sway the direction of revolutionary development and would lead to elimination of the proletarian dictatorship. If we commit errors in the organization of management and if we introduce the views and methods involved in small production -- which, through generations, have become so familiar to us -- into the organization of management, we shall be unable to achieve socialism, true socialism with large, mechanized production.

We possess a correct political line, a tough proletarian dictatorship, a firm worker-peasant alliance, and broad national solidarity bloc, an enormous strength inherent in the new production relations, the people's revolutionary enthusiasm, and rich resources. We also receive wholehearted assistance from the fraternal countries. What do we need most badly? We need most badly economic, scientific, and technical knowledge and organizational and managerial abilities.

We have been trained for decades in the school of courage and stalwartness provided by the national, democratic revolution and the war. This represents a very great advantage and a very valuable asset. However, this definitely cannot compensate for what we need most badly -- the ability to organize economic construction and development, to carry out cultural development, and to serve the people's life. These tasks represent the basic tasks for a ruling party and for a state of the proletarian dictatorship.

At present, many of our comrades at various echelons -- from the central to basic echelons, enterprises, farms, and cooperatives -- in party organizations, and in the state apparatus have not fully realized the importance of the organizational task. They have separated the ideological and political tasks from the organizational activity and have substituted general ideological and political tasks -- worse still, some comrades have substituted desk activity for the organizational task, an activity requiring very extensive efforts, strenuous studies and research, conscientious thought, exploration of one method after another, actually carrying out and closely following the work, rectifying irrationalities in time, and tackling in time the new problems arising from the changing situation. In short, the organizational task is a very arduous, difficult task and activity.

Lenin said: "We must clearly understand that in order to achieve satisfactory management, in addition to the persuasive skill and the skill in knowing how to win in the civil war, it is necessary to know how to carry out the organizational task in the practical field. This represents the most difficult task because the problem is to organize the most comprehensive bases, the economic bases of the lives of tens of millions of humans in conformity with new formulas. This also represents the most noble task because only after the major, basic parts of this task have been carried out can one say that Russia has become a republic, not only Soviet but also a socialist country." (Lenin, "The Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Administration," Vietnamese version, Su That Publishing House, second edition, 1969, p 10)

In the bourgeois revolution led by the bourgeoisie, the laboring masses have to fulfill only the duty of overthrowing the feudalist regime, whereas the organization of a new society is in the hands of an exploiting minority, that is, the bourgeoisie. In reality, in this matter, the bourgeoisie does not need to make great efforts. The capitalist society and

economy have come into being spontaneously in a disorganized and anarchic state and at the expense of laborers' untold sufferings.

Conversely, in the socialist revolution, after overthrowing the bourgeoisie and seizing power, the working class and laborers, under party leadership, have a great, creative task: To organize and build a new society in which there is no system of exploitation of man by man, a society which develops harmoniously and vigorously in every field of the economic and cultural life. Socialism and communism are a very scientific, complex, subtle, and rational system of organization, production, and distribution. They insure and strongly stimulate the development of production and social labor output on the basis of renewed techniques and perfected relations of production. This is the best organized society and the highest social organization in history. So, the success of our undertaking greatly depends on the organizational power of the working class which is represented by our party and of the proletarian, dictatorial state, an essential tool with which to build a new society.

The anti-U.S. national salvation undertaking and the socialist revolution have assigned many great, urgent tasks to our people and party. Our entire party must rapidly overcome the contradictions in its present maturity process between these two things: the need to urgently step up the revolution and construction undertaking with an increasingly greater volume and complexity on the one hand, and, the inadequate organizational power of the party and the inadequate managerial power of the state on the other hand. Now is the time for a revolutionary change in our conception of the role of organization and for a bold reform of the party's organizational task and of the managerial formulas of the state and all organs, branches, and echelons.

The party's leadership over the proletarian dictatorial system as a whole is a question of principle, decisive to the very fate of proletarian dictatorship. So, it is necessary to unceasingly strengthen the party's comprehensive leading role and to improve its leadership task. The party leads the proletarian dictatorial system according to its correct all-inclusive line by developing the effect of administrative organs and mass organizations, by controlling the activities of these organizations, by carrying out political and ideological tasks within the party and among the people, and by showing examples of positive actions of party members in implementing the party's line and policy and the policy lines of the administration and mass organizations.

The strengthening of party leadership cannot be separated from the strengthening of the role and effectiveness of the administration in the management of the economy, state and social life in every respect. As a ruling party, the party has become the real leader of all society, having a proletarian dictatorial state, a very great tool responsible for, on the one hand, dispelling the opposition of hostile forces and for, on the other hand -- and this is a very important aspect -- mobilizing and organizing

the people to build socialism and to participate in managing the social life in every respect. The party can never exercise its leadership over society without an intermediary: the administration. Therefore, one must not believe that there is contradiction between the strengthening of party leadership and the improvement of the administration's role and efficiency. The power and militancy of a ruling party are mainly reflected in the efficiency and power of the state apparatus under party leadership. As the nerve center of the proletarian dictatorial system, the party can neither relax its leadership over the administrative organs, nor replace them in fulfilling their administrative tasks. To lessen or relax party leadership is to weaken the proletarian dictatorship. In fulfilling the administrative tasks in the administration's place, the party is busy with activities which do not fall within its competence. As a result, party leadership is not increased, but decreased. Another consequence is that administrative organs cannot improve their organizational and managerial ability, and party leadership is weakened. Heightening the party's organizational ability is first of all heightening the party's ability in leading the state apparatus and all its specialist, professional, and technical organs and using them for supervising the economic and cultural building task and the task of serving the people's life in accordance with the party line and policies.

Our national economy is developing quickly, advancing from small-scale production to large-scale production. This situation requires that our leaders should, on the one hand, keep a firm hold on economic rules and, on the other hand, closely follow various economic processes and new evolutions in the economic life to change or improve the managerial organization forms and make the economy develop at the highest rate. To be clever in the organization field and keep a firm hold on organizational science and technique, one must know how to versatily fulfill the organizational task and immediately spot new material changes so as to change one's organizational methods and formulas in time.

Constantly developing socialist democracy is the most important condition for strengthening and consolidating the administration. Moreover, this is the most important measure to be taken to strengthen the relationship between the party and the masses under the conditions of the party exercising power.

There is a change in the quality of the relationship between the party and the masses from the moment the party does not exercise power to the moment it holds power in its hands. This is reflected first of all in the fact that the administration -- the people's organ of power -- is the masses' broadest organization by which the party established "direct and widespread relations" with the masses concerning "the most fundamental tasks and the most important and realistic aspects of the masses' lives," as Lenin said about the soviets. The revolutionary struggle to overthrow the old regime or build a new society is always the people's undertaking. Under party leadership, the working class and laborers are masters of and

build the new society through a broad and large proletarian dictatorial system in which the administration is the strongest and sharpest organization. Therefore, minimizing the administration's role also means lowering the people's role and violating their mastership right. Heightening the administration's role means heightening the people's role in state and social management, having them participate in building the new society in the most organized manner, and uniting them with the party through the largest and broadest organization. Absolutely, there cannot and must not be any opposition between the masses' mastership right and administrative organs' mastership role. With proletarian dictatorship, the only masters of society are the people or the laboring masses, including the working class, the collective peasant class, and the socialist intellectual class, while the administration is an instrument or an organization through which the people exercise the right of being masters of society in the administrative field. The strength of the ruling proletarian party and proletarian dictatorship in suppressing opposition forces as well as in building a new society primarily lies in the fact that in an increasingly fully developed socialist democracy, the party and state organs are closely united with the masses in all fields of social activity, attracting the great majority of the masses to participate in creating a new society.

It is regrettable that now a number of comrades have not yet fully understood the nature of the relations between the party and the administration and the people. Therefore, in a number of places there have been erroneous acts prejudicial to the relationship between the party and the masses, between the state and the people, and between the party and the administration and vice versa. These shortcomings must be promptly and resolutely corrected. It is necessary to fully realize that for a ruling party, the greatest danger which it must avoid is not only the mistakes in implementing the line set forth, but also the bureaucratic, commandistic, and mandarin-like practices which might cause the party to stay aloof from the masses and weaken proletarian dictatorship. The party's strength lies in its close solidarity with the masses, and the administration's strength lies in the fact that it truly belongs to and comes from the people and works for them. The stronger the administration, the larger the majority of laboring people it attracts to participate in state management, and the stronger the party's role in leading society. By having fully developed socialist democracy and relying on the socialist economy with steady and strong material and technical bases, the socialist regime will be as firm as a rock, and no force can shake it. This is our party's struggle trend and objective.

Constantly Building and Consolidating the Party to Make It Increasingly Strong and Powerful

To increase its combativity and strengthen its leadership over all social activities, the party must constantly build and consolidate itself in order to become very strong and stable. It must keep a firmer hold on Marxist-Leninist theory, more thoroughly understand the rules governing

development of the socialist society, and constantly improve its ability to apply this knowledge to realities in order to correctly and creatively determine a line and policy. The party must be strong within its structure and organization, from the upper to lower levels and from party committees at various levels to specialized committees at the district level. The party must be strong in all its organs, from its nerve center to its basic cells, and must insure thorough understanding of party lines and policies by everyone, from the upper to lower levels, from the central leading echelon to every branch, from within the party to mass organizations and the public at large. The party as a whole must advance, every cadre and party member must advance vigorously to adequately and outstandingly fulfill the greater and heavier tasks.

Improving party chapters and basic organizations is a particularly important task in consolidating and building the party. As a basic party organization, a party chapter connects the party with the masses, organizes the implementation of every party line or policy, and trains members and cadres for party work. The party's life is closely connected with social life in every sphere. This is shown by the presence of party chapters everywhere, at enterprises, on construction sites, in state farms, cooperatives, agencies, shops, research institutes, schools, hospitals, army units, and so forth. The party has developed unceasingly together with society and the revolutionary mass movement. This fact is directly reflected in party chapters and basic party organizations. In social life or in our people's present life, when facing important problems, our people have always consulted the party and awaited its call. It is through party chapters and basic-level party organizations that the party maintains its daily contact with the people. The party has become an essential factor not only in the people's revolutionary undertaking and creation but also in their life, sentiments, and most sacred desires. Whether party chapters are strong or weak and whether their actions and those of party members are good or bad or correct or false have a direct, immediate impact on the people's material and spiritual life.

Therefore, in building the party, we must concentrate our strength on consolidating all party chapters and basic-level party organizations to strengthen their leading role and combativity in every respect. The party's combativity must finally be manifested in the party chapters' power to turn all party lines and policies into actions of the masses in order to successfully carry out all practical revolutionary tasks. In this direction, we have stepped up the drive to build 4-good party chapters and 4-good basic-level party organizations in the past few years. Formation of good party chapters and basic-level party organizations must be based on political tasks in each specific period and must be closely associated with organizing and implementing these political tasks. A party chapter cannot be called good if, at this echelon, production is not satisfactory, labor output does not increase, the masses' democratic rights are restricted, duties to the state have not been fulfilled, the masses' life has not been comprehensively stabilized, nor gradually improved, and so forth.

It is necessary to improve every activity of party chapters to increase the effectiveness of their leadership. Party chapter activities must actually encompass concrete, rich political content. Party chapters must discuss party lines and policies, tasks of their localities and local units, plans to organize implementation of these tasks, and the daily production and life of the masses; insure clearcut distribution of work and responsibility among all party members and cadres; review results achieved in implementing party chapter policies and determine the responsibility of each individual; and so forth. It is necessary to improve party chapters' and basic-echelon party organizations' methods of carrying out their activities, and insure that the strength and working capabilities of state and professional agencies and mass organizations are fully developed and devoted to fulfilling specific tasks in conformity with party lines and policies.

To strengthen the party and party branches, each party member must be of high quality. The party must actually comprise the most outstanding and most enlightened elements of the working class, collective peasantry, and socialist intelligentsia, who represent social development and progress, are absolutely loyal to the working class' and party's undertakings, are closely associated with the masses, and who fight self-denyingly, stalwartly, and untiringly for the interests of the working class, the masses of laborers, and the people, and for the victory of socialist and communist ideals. Each party member must strive to effectively implement party lines, policies, and resolutions, set examples, and take the lead in combat and production. Each party member must, through implementation of party and party chapter policies, constantly strengthen his stand, train and improve himself ideologically, ethically, and morally, and strenuously study to constantly heighten his professional standards. Party members must show intense concern for improving the people's material and moral life, respect the people's collective mastership right, never ascribe to themselves any prerogatives, nor any special advantages vis-a-vis the people, be selfless and impartial, and be both leaders and servants of the people, as President Ho said in his teachings.

It is necessary, through the mass movement, to detect in time, educate, improve, and admit new forces into the party, especially outstanding youths of both sexes, who are filled with revolutionary enthusiasm, stand ready to sacrifice their lives for party ideals, and possess creative capabilities. To show gratitude to our party's founder and great teacher, the party Central Committee has decided to admit, this year, a new class of party members called "The Ho Chi Minh class" into the party. In addition to the long-standing, veteran, and highly experienced party members, the admission of new, young members into the party will insure that party ranks constantly and faithfully reflect our people's constantly advancing revolutionary movement, and that the strength of party chapters -- the party's combat fortresses -- constantly increases in pace with requirements arising from political tasks in the new stage. Besides admitting many new, really outstanding forces into the party, it is necessary to resolutely

oust from the party degraded elements who are detested by the masses and are unworthy of being members of a revolutionary vanguard party. These elements are not numerous. However, if we fail to resolutely oust them from the party, they would be highly detrimental to the party's fighting strength and to relations between the party and masses.

Consolidating and strengthening close relations between the party and masses represents a rule governing the survival and development of the working-class party. This task must be directly and daily carried out in party chapters and basic-echelon party organizations. Party chapters and all party members must regularly and closely associate themselves with the masses; clearly understand their inner thoughts and aspirations; educate, unite, and organize them; and lead them in striving, together with party members, to achieve the party's combat objectives. It is necessary to strenuously consolidate and strengthen trade union organizations and insure that trade unions truly represent the aspirations, fighting strength, and creativeness of the masses of workers, and that they actually participate in managing state, social, and economic affairs. Importance must be attached to admitting young, outstanding workers of both sexes into trade union leadership organs. Trade unions must strenuously educate, mobilize, and organize the masses of workers, accelerate the emulation movement for increasing labor output, develop workers' collective mastership in enterprise management, and satisfactorily organize the workers' lives.

To educate youths and develop and consolidate the Lao Dong Youth Group -- which bears the proud name of President Ho Chi Minh -- represents an extremely important task. It is necessary to insure that the youth group constantly remains worthy of being an effective arm of the party, an inexhaustible source of replenishment for party ranks, and the outstanding continuer of the party's and people's revolutionary undertaking. Special importance must be attached to the role and forces of women. Women have rendered extremely great, meritorious service to our revolution and society. Party chapters and basic-echelon party organizations must strenuously educate women, unite them, and fully develop their capabilities, so they can participate positively in political and social activities and in building the new society.

In order to closely unite the party and masses into one bloc, another important measure is for party chapters and basic-level party organizations to periodically organize meeting sessions in appropriate forms so that the party can criticize itself before the masses and the masses can criticize them and express their opinions. Mass criticism of party chapters is very important and necessary in consolidating and building the party. Party chapters and party committees of all echelons must mobilize and guide the masses in honestly criticizing the party. In recruiting new party members, appointing party chapter members, party committee members, and so forth, it is necessary to refer to mass opinion so that the deliberation, selections, and resolutions of party chapters can have a sound basis.

To insure the revolution's success under the condition of having correct policies and lines, the decisive condition consists of organizing and carrying out these lines and this is a strong and stable body of cadres.

The anti-U.S. national salvation struggle and socialist construction task are increasingly broad and heavy. Thus, the party must have a body of cadres having good qualities, who can symbolize the party's political lines during the new phase, and are numerous enough to satisfy present as well as future requirements. This body must be composed of all categories of cadres so they can satisfy the diversified requirements of various fields of the revolutionary undertaking.

Cadres' qualities are reflected by the results of fulfillment of tasks entrusted to them by the party for each revolutionary phase. Whether revolutionary tasks are fulfilled well, and whether the party's lines and policies are implemented correctly and thoroughly is the yardstick with which each cadre's qualities and knowhow are measured. To fulfill his tasks, each cadre must have high revolutionary spirit and revolutionary enlightenment. As a revolutionary combatant of the proletariat, a cadre must first be absolutely loyal to the party and its revolutionary lines, to the revolutionary undertaking of the class and nation, and to the communist ideal. He must cultivate revolutionary feelings, be closely attached to the masses, be unafraid of hardships and sacrifices, and courageously struggle to overcome all difficulties to fulfill his duties. Without these revolutionary qualities, he cannot correctly understand Marxism-Leninism, keep a firm hold on the nature of party policies and lines, or have a creative capacity in fulfilling all revolutionary tasks. Born and nurtured in our people's long revolutionary struggle movement and, in general, trained and tested through two great resistances and in the socialist revolution, our cadres have clearly exposed their high revolutionary qualities. In the present revolutionary period, our party must continue to bring these basic strong points into full play, along with preventing and immediately overcoming every corrupt and backward phenomenon which may occur among cadres when our party is in power.

But to fulfill revolutionary tasks, it is not enough to possess only revolutionary spirit. Being an act of self-awareness, revolution requires that cadres be imbued with revolutionary knowledge and thoroughly understand the laws of the objective development of society. Socialist revolution is the most thorough revolution in human society. It is not limited only to destroying the old order, but also is the enterprise of organizing and building a new society in every complicated aspect of life, especially economic life. To fulfill its tasks, the party's cadres must primarily possess a thorough command of politics, economics, culture, sciences, techniques and must be competent in organizing and managing. Lacking these requirements, cadres cannot make progress, cannot fulfill speedily and satisfactorily every task, and cannot avoid mistakes and causing losses to the revolutionary undertaking. So, in every task, each cadre

must equip himself with necessary knowledge, complete his tasks, and strive to advance toward mastering science and technology. Only by so doing can he satisfactorily carry out his tasks, lead the masses, and step up the revolutionary undertaking rapidly and vigorously.

In socialist revolution, the party's fundamental political tasks are to firmly hold the proletarian dictatorship and to carry out the three revolutions, of which the technological revolution is the most essential. The party's combat strength and all qualities and knowledge of the cadres and party members must be concretely reflected in satisfactorily carrying out these tasks. The party's body of cadres must primarily and necessarily be made up of the persons who are competent in organizing and leading the masses so that the masses can constantly implement the socialist ideal with the highest determination, the highest self-sacrificing spirit, and the necessary knowledge of the tasks undertaken.

The short-term and long-term demands of economic and cultural development require that our party and state step up the formation of a large body of intellectuals versed in social and natural sciences, and absolutely loyal to the party's revolutionary undertaking. Our present body of intellectuals has basically changed in composition and character. Our present intellectuals are socialist intellectuals and are linked with the workers and peasants. The absolute majority of them are workers' and peasants' children and young brothers and sisters freshly trained under the socialist regime. Educated by the party and forged through a long revolutionary process, our old intellectuals have considerably progressed in their ideological stand and have made great contributions in serving the people. However, intellectuals, including those originating in the working class and the peasantry, possess weak points that they must overcome. The party must educate and assist them in correcting their weak points so that they can serve the people's great revolutionary enterprise with all their energy and talents.

Our party places high value on intellectuals, because the intelligentsia is a necessary instrument of the workers in their struggle to liberate themselves and to build socialism and communism. The working class must have a numerous intelligentsia. Moreover, the party must see that workers and peasants can gradually advance to gain modern scientific and technological knowledge, to step up production and technological production and organize a civilized life. It is necessary to change incorrect concepts and attitudes with regard to intellectuals, culture, science, and technology. Each cadre and party member, youth, and worker must endeavor to learn to heighten his knowledge level in order to fulfill his tasks and to progress unremittingly. In addition to political criteria, there must be definite standards for levels of economic management and of scientific and technological knowledge for party committees at each echelon. To lead scientific and technological enterprises, party committees at all echelons must have skilled staffs, including experts in each branch of economy, science, and technology. Also, we must strengthen party committees and

party leadership organs in the departments and specialized branches and research institutes. The body of science and technology cadres, from technical workers to engineers and scientists, must be increasingly enlarged.

The development laws of the revolution and of the party require that the party adequately link together the cadres who have struggled for a long time and young cadres so that they can augment each other's strong points and assist each other in overcoming weak points, because both categories of cadres have certain strong points and weak points. Our party must endeavor to invigorate its contingent of old cadres while attaching great importance to forming and promptly promoting many more young cadres who have high revolutionary qualities, abundant energy, and great unyielding strength, and who have emerged in revolutionary movements.

The strength of Marxism-Leninism lies in its singleminded unity, in its unity of ideology and organization. This is the most beautiful tradition of our party. Thanks to its constant unity, our party could overcome every trial in every period and bring the revolution to its present glorious successes. As Lenin said, the proletariat has nothing without organization, but has everything with organization and unity. When the party is in power, the unity of the party is especially important, because without unity of spirit, thought, and action in the party -- the force which has led the undertaking of the entire society -- the party could not preserve the results of the revolution, the unprecedentedly difficult and great task of building a totally new society -- the socialist society.

Bringing into full play its tradition of singleminded unity scored in 40 years of hard combat and continuous successes and implementing President Ho's sacred testament seriously, our party is determined to "preserve its unity like the pupil of the eye." Our party never tolerates any sign of rightism. It considers sectarianism in the party the most serious crime against revolution. Being the vanguard of the working class and the most active segment of society, the party is strictly singleminded.

Its unity relies on Marxism-Leninism that is constantly kept pure by the party, and on the consciousness of all party members with regard to the party's ideals, goals, and tasks. The unity of ideology has been steadfastly guaranteed by the party's regulations on democratic centralization and its fundamental principles of organization. The party is a revolutionary army. But unity of ideology alone is far from enough, because "ideology can materialize nothing" (Marx and Engels, *Die Heilige Familie Oder Kritik der Kritischen Kritik*, Su That Publishing House, 1963, p 202). To turn thoughts into action it is necessary to have organization. Moreover, without unity in the organization the unity of thought cannot exist nor can it be maintained. This does not mean that there is no freedom of thought. Conversely, the democratic centralization system requires that each party member have the right to discuss and decide all problems of the party, and, to express, in the party organization, all his views on any matter for the good of the revolution. Within the framework of the party's platform and rules, built by the entire party, the utmost

development of the democratic rights and wisdom of cadres and party members is one of the most important factors insuring the party's vital force. Ideological repression is incompatible with a proletarian party and the Marxist-Leninist ideology. However, freedom of thought absolutely does not mean turning the party into a club for debates. The party is an army which on the battlefield must act as one man. Therefore the principle that the minority must submit to the majority, the lower echelon to the higher echelon, the individual to the organization, the whole party to the central committee -- the highest leadership organ in the period between the two congresses -- is the basic principle of the democratic centralization system. To infringe this principle is to undermine the iron discipline of the party and to undermine the unity in the party. Lenin stated: "He who weakens, however little, the iron discipline in the proletariat's party, especially in the period of proletarian dictatorship, has actually helped the bourgeoisie class oppose the proletariat." (Lenin, Complete Works, in Vietnamese, Su That Publishing House, 1969, Vol. 13, pp 46-47)

The party's leadership is always based on the collective principle. Individual dictatorship is a phenomenon completely opposed to the party's nature. A man, however exceptional his qualities, can never know all things and all facts in all aspects and in all their variations. Therefore it is necessary to have collective intelligence. Only with a collective decision based on collective intelligence will we be able to avoid subjectivism that leads to errors and sometimes to dangerous consequences. The collective leadership principle is the highest leadership principle of the party. However this does not lessen at all the leaders' individual responsibility. At present a number of comrades of the leadership organs do not attach due consideration to the collective leadership principle. Moreover, a number of comrades hold the collective responsible for everything. If a mistake is committed, they immediately cast blame on the collective, thus ignoring the party members' responsibilities. It is necessary to end this state of affairs.

Apart from the aforementioned ideology and organizational principles, unity in the party also largely depends on the comportment of the comrades and the way they solve differences of view. On the basis of common ideology and objectives for which they have fought and sacrificed themselves and the hardships and elation they have shared among themselves, the communists boundlessly love each other. No sentiment is more sacred than comradeship. Comradeship closely unites the communists in the struggle for the common ideology and objectives. There can be absolutely no concessions on matters of principle. However a fair and just solution to complicated problems, without infringing the matters of principle, and, when necessary, to know how to make concessions to each other when differences of views crop up is essential. This is a fact contributing to further strengthening the solidarity and unity in the party. This is one of our party's good experiences which, in the future, we must maintain and apply more satisfactorily.

Criticism and self-criticism is a fundamental method to be followed for strengthening solidarity and unity inside the party. It is also a rule governing the development of the party's progress.

The development of society, including a socialist society, is a complex process full of contradictions. The struggle between the old and the new, between progress and backwardness, arises continually. With each change in the situation, new objectives are set forth, requiring that our party devise new ways to deal with them and new formulas for organizational, political, and ideological tasks in order to attain these objectives. The party is an ideologically and politically uniform bloc, but the levels of consciousness of cadres and party members vary with each individual. Faced with changes in the situation and objectives, some comrades are quickly conscious of the trend of events and the path to follow. Other comrades are slow or not fully conscious of new events. Finally, some comrades are too slow in becoming conscious of new situations and objectives; their views do not evolve in pace with new situations and new objectives; moreover, they are conservative, clinging to their old views and work methods. Due to various complex circumstances, many party members are still influenced by non-proletarian thoughts. Thus, the struggle between the old and new, between progress and backwardness arises inevitably and permanently inside the party. Practicing criticism and self-criticism, along with heightening the consciousness of cadres and party members, is the fundamental method for solving these contradictions and achieving a unity of mind inside the party. This is a fundamental method for educating cadres and party members so they may develop their strong points and eliminate shortcomings and weak points. Lenin said that the party which has the courage to criticize itself, which dares publicly admit its errors and shortcomings, and which is determined to find causes of shortcomings and errors and determined to eliminate these shortcomings and errors alone is worthy of being called a revolutionary party and a party which is constantly attached to the masses and that such a party alone is able to lead the revolution to victory. President Ho taught us to carry out criticism and self-criticism, especially criticism from the lower to upper levels, in order to further strengthen the party and make cadres and party members progress further.

To shoulder his heavy revolutionary responsibilities in the new phase, each cadre and party member must unceasingly consolidate his proletarian stand and improve his revolutionary ethics. President Ho's life and works constitute a brilliant example of noble communist achievements for all our cadres and party members to follow so as to constantly improve themselves. Fighting self-denyingly, stalwartly, and valiantly for the communist ideal to the last drop of their blood, Comrades Tran Phu, Ngo Gia Tu, Le Hong Phong, Nguyen Van Cu, Pham Dang Luu, Hoang Van Thu, Vo Van Tan, Nguyen Thi Minh Khai, and others gave us lessons on improving our revolutionary ethics.

Our party, the vanguard team of the working class, represents the most positive aspect of society in its development. So, our party's

ideology can be only proletarian ideology or Marxist-Leninist ideology. On the basis of heightening proletarian ideology, we must resolutely struggle to overcome petty bourgeois ideology, rightist and "leftist" deviation -- a widespread political phenomenon in which rightism is the more important -- individualism of various hues such as subjectivism or unilateralism. To overcome bourgeois thoughts is essential. Meanwhile, we must resolutely oppose every influence of bourgeois ideology on our party and stamp out all traces of non-proletarian ideology.

Every manifestation of non-proletarian ideology is against the very nature of our party's ideology. We must resolutely exclude all these ideologies like microbes which are harmful to our body.

In sum, our party's strength is all-encompassing. Our party must be strong in its line and in the way of organizing its implementation, strong in the political, ideological, and organizational fields, strong in building state machinery and powerful economic management agencies, strong in its close relations with the masses, in constantly consolidating proletarian dictatorship, and in developing socialist democracy, and strong in understanding and grasping the law of social evolution and in the successive victories of the revolutionary undertaking of our working class and people that has been organized and led by our party. The source of our party's strength is its solidarity and singlemindedness based on Marxist-Leninist ideology and on the organizational principles of a new-style, proletarian party.

We are determined to build our party into a greater and stronger one which can gloriously fulfill the historic mission entrusted by our working class and people..

"Strengthen Solidarity, Step Up the Struggle for Peace, National Independence, Democracy, and Socialism"

We are marking the 40th anniversary of the party at a time when the world revolution is powerfully developing and facing greater prospects of success.

After World War II, socialism exceeded the limits of individual countries and became a world system. As a result of its extremely great victories, the socialist camp is ceaselessly developing as the factor determining the development of mankind, the bastion of revolution, and the pillar of the defense of world peace. The powerful upsurge of the national liberation movement in Asian, African, and Latin American countries, which has shattered most of the colonial slave system, continues to break the chains of old and new-type colonialism and deals decisive blows to imperialism's rear. The unprecedentedly strong struggle movement of tens of millions of workers and toilers in imperialist countries directed against the reactionary rule of state monopoly capitalists and their war policy is a mighty force striking powerfully at imperialism right in its lair.

These three great revolutionary forces, together with the broad world peace movement, are attacking imperialism successively and from various sides, thus causing the world's balance of forces to change in a way that is basically favorable to peace, national independence, democracy, and socialism. Placing themselves against the alliance of these forces, the world's people are fully capable of shattering all the dark designs and war adventures of the imperialist warmongers headed by the United States.

The period since the end of World War II also marks the period of a high tide of socialist revolution, the most seething period in the history of the world revolution. More than one billion people in our camp, advancing from various economic and social circumstances, are marching powerfully on the path of socialist construction, turning former backward countries into countries with a beautiful political regime, modern industry and agriculture, advanced culture and science, and a powerful defense insuring independence and the happiness of their people and setting a bright example and becoming the hope of mankind.

Under the influence of socialism, the present national liberation movement is developing in an extremely deep and broad manner and assuming a new quality. Its salient feature is the struggle for complete elimination of both old and new-type colonialism and the reactionary forces serving imperialism, a struggle that is closely and organically connected with the struggle for reforming society along noncapitalist lines. Only when it is led by a really revolutionary political party, when it has a correct line and suitable revolutionary method, when it firmly relies on the worker-peasant force and other progressive strata in the country, and when it is actively helped by socialist countries, will the national democratic revolution in many newly liberated countries have the capability of developing into a socialist revolution -- bypassing the path of capitalist development -- with different transitional steps.

In the imperialist countries, with the rapid development of capitalism into state monopoly capitalism and with intensified exploitation and repression of the working class and toiling people, social contradictions are becoming most acute. This situation permits the working class to strengthen its unity of mind and action, and on this basis, to succeed in rallying the majority of the toiling masses and other democratic strata into a united front against the state monopoly capitalist rulers and the control of U.S. imperialism, for achieving democracy and social progress and defending peace and national sovereignty, thus creating premises for a high tide of struggle for the victory of the socialist revolution.

Those are the three great torrents making up a high tide of socialist revolution in our era, pulling mankind into the orbit of socialism, and pressing the people of various countries to march forward to complete the worldwide transitional step from capitalism to socialism.

During the past 25 years, to desperately cope with the ever greater victories of socialism and to counter the increasingly powerful struggle movement of the working class and oppressed nations, parallel with the terrorist demagogic policy at home, the imperialists, headed by U.S. imperialism, sought all ways and means to fight back at the world revolutionary movement. They exerted efforts to strengthen their armament, step up the arms race, and restore West German and Japanese militarism, relentlessly prepared for a new world war, and encircled, intimidated, and sabotaged the socialist countries, while carrying out every trick in an attempt to divide the socialist camp and the revolutionary forces in the world. With regard to colonial and dependent countries, they switched to the application of neocolonialism and instigated many special or limited wars with a view to repressing the national liberation movement.

However, the time when the imperialists can ride roughshod has gone forever. None of these frantic counterrevolutionary acts can save them from collapse. Imperialism has been successively defeated by the world revolutionary forces and forced to withdrawal from one position to another. Those who suffered the most defeats have been the U.S. imperialists, the chief imperialists who are playing the role of international gendarme. Clearly, the world revolution at present is in an offensive position that is stronger and more stable than ever before. Applying the offensive strategy, the socialist, national liberation, democratic, and peace forces are capable of smashing every war policy, defeating every type of war waged by imperialism in any region, and advancing toward shattering its entire war-waging plan, driving imperialism back step by step, toppling it part by part, accelerating the process of its collapse, thus consolidating lasting peace in the world and achieving victory for national independence and socialism on a wider scale.

To counter the wars unleashed by U.S. imperialism and the warmongering imperialists' plan to prepare for a new world war, and to score ever greater victories for peace, national independence, democracy, and social progress, a united front of the world's people against U.S. imperialism must necessarily be set up. This front must include in its core the socialist countries, the international communist and workers movement, and the national liberation movement. At the same time, it must broadly attract all peace-loving and justice-loving forces, mobilize all potentialities of the world's people for a common objective, namely, to isolate the U.S. imperialists and the war maniacs who are allies or servants of the Americans, repel and defeat their plots and aggressive acts, defend peace, and continue to cause the world revolution to develop victoriously and incessantly.

The present arduous and decisive class struggle on a worldwide scale urgently demands that solidarity in the socialist camp and the international communist and workers movement be restored and consolidated on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. Only in this manner will it be possible to unite the revolutionary forces in the world against

imperialism, smash the imperialists' plots of military offensive as well as their divisive acts against socialist countries, and resist all their repressive and sabotage maneuvers against the international communist and workers movement.

The Vietnam aggressive war is an important part of the global strategy of U.S. imperialism, the most warlike imperialist. Waging a war of aggression against Vietnam, U.S. imperialism tries to perpetuate the partition of Vietnam, turn South Vietnam into its neocolony and military base, and at the same time drive back socialism and use South Vietnam as a testing ground for the strategy and tactic of its aggressive war and various new types of weapons with a view to repressing the revolutionary movement and preparing for a world war. In this criminal war, U.S. imperialism has revealed its new, extremely cruel and fascist nature. However, it is becoming bogged down and sustaining ignominious defeats and is being sternly condemned throughout the world and even in the United States. The U.S. ruling position in the capitalist world is being shaken and is markedly deteriorating with every passing day. The Vietnamese people's anti-U.S. resistance for national salvation is the apogee of the common struggle movement of the world's people against imperialism headed by U.S. imperialism. It is making an important contribution to settlement of the world's fundamental contradictions in the present era, contributing to the defense of socialism, national independence, and peace, and pushing forward the struggle of the world's people for freedom, justice, human dignity, and man's right to live.

Our people are exceedingly proud to be assault fighters at the forefront of the people's revolutionary struggle against U.S. imperialism, mankind's most dangerous enemy. We pledge to exert efforts to defeat the aggression of U.S. imperialism and its lackeys and bring our national salvation resistance to final victory in order to fulfill our sacred national obligation and noble international obligation and be worthy of the confidence of our brothers and friends throughout the world.

Since its birth, our party has set for itself the task of uniting with the international proletariat and with the revolution of colonial and semicolonial countries, considering it an extremely important task of principled significance and one of the factors determining the success of our country's revolution. This correct international line of our party, which has been followed throughout the process of revolution, on the one hand succeeded in winning increasingly greater support and assistance from the world revolutionary movement and on the other hand taught our people the pure sentiments of proletarian internationalism and taught them to oppose nationalist viewpoints of the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie and smash the perfidious, divisive tricks of the imperialists and their lackeys. At the same time, it encouraged our people to make an active contribution to the revolutionary struggle of the world's people.

Obeying President Ho's testament, our party will henceforth, as before, always devote all its efforts to restoring and safeguarding solidarity and singlemindedness in the socialist camp and between fraternal parties on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. We will continue to consolidate and tighten the unshakable friendship between our country and others in the socialist camp, especially with the Soviet Union and China, and will strengthen relations of cooperation and mutual assistance in all fields with fraternal countries.

We strongly support the struggle of the proletariat and toiling people in capitalist countries for peace, national independence, democracy, and social progress. We resolutely support the struggle movement against old and new-type colonialism for national independence of the peoples of Asian, African, and Latin American countries and continue to develop friendly relations with nationalist countries.

We endeavor to tighten brotherly solidarity between the peoples of Indochinese countries to oppose the common enemy -- U.S. imperialism -- strengthen lasting friendship between our country and the Kingdom of Cambodia, and build good neighborly relations with the Kingdom of Laos on the basis of respect for each other's independence, sovereignty, unity, and territorial integrity.

We are determined to join our efforts with fraternal countries and progressive people the world over to continue fighting against the aggressive and war-provoking policy of the warlike imperialists headed by U.S. imperialism, thus making an active contribution to the cause of peace, national independence, democracy, and socialism.

We are also ready to establish relations with all countries respecting our country's sovereignty and independence on the basis of equality and mutual benefit.

During the past 40 years, each historic stage of the Vietnamese revolution, especially that from the August revolution to the present anti-U.S. national salvation resistance, has been closely connected with the active support and wholehearted assistance of fraternal socialist countries, the international communist and workers movement, the national liberation movement, and all peace-loving and justice-loving people in the world.

Our people are eternally grateful for the extremely great and invaluable assistance of fraternal socialist countries, especially the Soviet Union and China, considering it a noble manifestation of proletarian internationalism. We are also deeply grateful to other fraternal parties which have wholeheartedly united with our people and actively helped us in our long-term struggle. We sincerely thank the international working class, the nationalist countries, and progressive people in the world, including the U.S. progressive people, who have constantly approved and supported our just cause.

Reviewing the glorious stages of the Vietnamese revolution under our party's leadership, we feel more encouraged as we look to the future determined to struggle to fulfill the following great and urgent tasks:

The most urgent task of the Vietnamese revolution at present is to totally defeat the U.S. aggressors, liberate the south, safeguard the north, and advance toward peaceful reunification of the country. Our party, armed forces, and people should mobilize their mightiest efforts to lead the anti-U.S. and national salvation struggle to complete victory.

While remaining constantly vigilant and ready to cope with all new adventurous schemes plotted by U.S. imperialism, the north should redouble its efforts to boost production, gradually stabilize the people's livelihood, strengthen the potential of the economy and national defense, satisfactorily fulfill its duties as a big rear toward a big frontline, and continue to lead the building of socialism forward.

We should streamline the power of the state, fully implement the socialist democratic system and fully guarantee the collective mastership of the people to strongly develop revolutionary enthusiasm, intelligence, and creative spirit of the masses in the anti-U.S. national salvation struggle as well as in building socialism.

We should strive to build and consolidate a strong and great party, so that it can play its role as a leading force for the whole society. We should maintain solidarity and singlemindedness within the party, and strengthen the people's political and spiritual singlemindedness.

The glorious victories of the Vietnamese revolution over the past 40 years are the great achievements of all our people under the party's leadership.

We are extremely proud of our working class, which has heightened the heroic fighting tradition and is in the vanguard of the national democratic revolution and the socialist revolution. Under the correct leadership of the working class represented by our party, our laboring people have been tenaciously and indomitably struggling, and together with the workers form a powerful pillar in the national liberation movement and also in building socialism. In the north, through two great leaps forward -- the implementing of land reforms and agricultural cooperativization -- the laboring rural people have become the collective peasant class, and together with the working class, have become the masters of the nation and society over half of a country which has been liberated. Our party will do its utmost to strengthen the worker-peasant alliance, and will strive to politically and ideologically educate workers and peasants, and raise their cultural, scientific, and technical standards with a view to further developing the great role of the workers and peasants in the anti-U.S. national salvation struggle and continuing to make industrialization and cooperativization advance.

Having experienced two heroic and national salvation wars of resistance, the Vietnamese people's armed forces today have become an ironlike armed force of workers and peasants and are worthy of being called one of the solid pillars of the proletarian and dictatorial state, and are a force which the party and people are very proud of, entrusted with the task of safeguarding national independence and the free life in the socialist north. With their glorious feats of arms over the past 25 years, and under the "determined to fight and determined to win" banner awarded by President Ho, the Vietnamese people's heroic armed forces, together with the invincible South Vietnamese Liberation Armed Forces, will certainly and totally defeat U.S. aggression and continue to fill the glorious pages of our history with new feats of arms.

We are also happy to see that the ranks of our intellectuals are becoming more and more numerous, including old intellectuals who have been serving the fatherland and people, and also tens of thousands of new intellectuals who came from the worker-peasant class and who have been trained and educated under the socialist regime. Our party and government consider them to be precious capital and will create all favorable conditions for the intelligentsia to conduct research and study to further elevate their thinking and specialized talents so they can contribute more to the great national revolution and be worthy of being patriotic, socialism-loving intellectuals.

Ever since the establishment of the Thanh Nien [youth] Revolutionary Association by President Ho Chi Minh, our Vietnamese youths have been constantly heightening the glorious fighting tradition. At present, throughout the country and on all revolutionary fronts, millions of youths are bravely advancing under the most difficult and adverse situations. They have been displaying their youthful enthusiasm to offer contributions to the fatherland and socialism. Our party is convinced that Vietnamese youths will fight more heroically and will constantly be in the vanguard of building socialism, and will strive to study and train themselves to become indomitable revolutionary combatants capable of becoming future masters of the country and of a new society, and deserve to be called the generation of heroic Ho Chi Minh youths. We will pay great heed to training and educating the children and youth class to become "Uncle Ho's docile nephews," and hope that our children will be able to follow in the footsteps of their elders and further contribute to the image of our fatherland.

Our nation and party are forever grateful to the Vietnamese mothers who have given birth and donated to the nation their distinguished sons who have been heroically fighting to protect the territory we inherited from our ancestors. The present sacred anti-U.S., national salvation struggle is also a period when our women have more strongly and heroically risen up than during any other period of our history. Our party will exert every effort to step up the liberation of women in order to let our women contribute more and more to the fighting and building of a new life.

Over the centuries, the mountain-dwelling and ethnic minority people had, side by side with the delta people, shed their blood and made enormous sacrifices to build and safeguard the Vietnamese patrimony. Particularly in the last decades, led and educated by our party, these fraternal ethnic minority people have been contributing more to the fatherland, closing their ranks more tightly, fighting very heroically against the common aggressors, and enthusiastically building the nation. Our party will strive to pay greater heed to developing the economy and culture in the mountainous areas in order to make the fraternal ethnic minority peoples rapidly advance toward socialism and build a happy and civilized life.

Defying all the schemes of the enemy aimed at sowing dissension and trouble, the religious compatriots are imbued with an enlightened, fervent patriotism and have closely united with all of the people. They have effectively contributed their part to the revolutionary tasks of the nation. Having gone through the protracted, difficult, but glorious war of resistance, the national alliance bloc, set up by President Ho, has been further strengthened and developed. In the coming years, we should further develop the great role of the Vietnam Fatherland Front. We are firmly convinced that all of our compatriots, regardless of nationality, religion, and political tendency, will forever carry aloft President Ho's banner of great alliance and will struggle together to build a peaceful, independent, unified, democratic, and prosperous Vietnamese nation.

We are extremely proud of our heroic nation, our heroic people, and our heroic armed forces. With respect to our party, "with the characteristic modesty of a revolutionary, we are still entitled to say that our party is really very great" and deserves to be called a heroic party of a heroic people.

Having over the past 40 years weathered countless challenges and sacrifices, waged numerous heroic struggles, and accumulated considerable revolutionary experiences, our party will certainly fulfill its historic mission, that is to lead our people in achieving the national liberation tasks, and our nation toward the most enlightened path of mankind -- the socialist and communist path.

This year -- the year we celebrated the 40th founding anniversary of the party -- is precisely the year when our nation is 25 years old, the year when our people mark the 80th birthday anniversary of beloved Uncle Ho, and also the anniversary of great Lenin's centenary.

To our people and party, these anniversaries carry extremely great significance.

Over the past quarter century, our state -- the first people's democratic state in Southeast Asia -- has mobilized and organized the forces of the people and conducted two heroic wars of resistance -- against the French colonialists and the U.S. imperialist aggressors. Since the north

advanced toward the socialist revolutionary stage, our state has switched to performing its historic tasks of a proletarian and dictatorial state and has implemented the socialist reforms and built socialism.

The greater our pride in our people and party, the greater our pride in President Ho, our beloved leader and great master. He was the most outstanding Vietnamese, whose works and name will be forever linked with the most brilliant era in the glorious history of our people. In celebrating the 80th birthday anniversary of President Ho, let all of our party and people strive to study his ideology, virtues, and revolutionary behavior, be worthy to be called his comrades and students, and be determined to implement his sacred testament in order to lead the revolutionary tasks of our people to final victory.

Together with the international communist movement and the whole progressive mankind, our party and people enthusiastically greet the forthcoming birth anniversary of Lenin -- the talented leader and the great revolutionary master of the working class, the laboring people, and the oppressed peoples the world over. As the one who carried on the works of Marx and Engels, Lenin had bequeathed to us, to the communists, and the revolutionary fighters throughout the five continents an invincible weapon, that is his ideological treasure and his extremely rich revolutionary experiences. Studying and putting into practice Lenin's great ideologies and advancing on the path traced by him, we vow to remain faithful forever to invincible Marxism-Leninism and to proletarian internationalism.

Obedying President Ho's teachings, let all of our party, people, and armed forces further close their ranks under the glorious banner of the party, let millions of people be united as one man, heroically rush forward, be determined to totally defeat U.S. aggression, successfully build socialism, and effectively contribute to the revolutionary tasks of the world people.

Long live invincible Marxism-Leninism!

Long live a peaceful, unified, independent, democratic, and prosperous Vietnam!

Long live the Vietnam Lao Dong Party -- the organizer of all the victories of the Vietnamese Revolution!

Forever show our gratitude to the great President Ho Chi Minh!

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