

LE DUAN

THE VIETNAMESE REVOLUTION
FUNDAMENTAL PROBLEMS
ESSENTIAL TASKS



HANOI - 1970

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FOREIGN LANGUAGES PUBLISHING HOUSE
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CONTENTS

THE PEOPLE'S NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION

Problems of Revolutionary Strategy.	21
Principles and Methods for Revolutionary Action .	41
The Revolution in South Viet Nam and the People's War against U.S. Aggression, for Na- tional Salvation	62

THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION IN NORTH VIET NAM

The Dictatorship of the Proletariat and the Triple Revolution to Accomplish.	86
The Line for Initial Economic Development. . .	102
— To give priority to the rational development of heavy industry	105
— To give a strong impulse to light industry .	111
— To strive to develop agriculture	113
— Simultaneous building of the central and re- gional economies	119
— Improving economic management.	131

THE PARTY, THE ORGANIZER OF ALL VICTORIES

Victory of Marxism-Leninism Creatively Applied to the Concrete Conditions of Our Country . . .	149
— To strive to reinforce the leadership of the Party in the new stage	154
— To ceaselessly consolidate and build up the Party	169
To Strengthen International Unity and Intensify the Struggle for Peace, National Independence, Democracy and Socialism	187

CONTENTS

ON the occasion of the 40th founding anniversary of the Indochinese Communist Party (now the Viet Nam Workers' Party), First Secretary Lê Duân made an analysis of the great problems, essential tasks, principles and methods of the Vietnamese revolution.

This most important document is indispensable to all those who wish to make a thorough study of Vietnamese problems; in certain respects, it also sheds light on several aspects of the world revolution.

We present its translation in the pages that follow.

FOREIGN LANGUAGES PUBLISHING HOUSE
HANOI

DURING the long process of struggle to build and defend their country, our people, a heroic people, became nationally conscious at an early date and evinced extremely ardent patriotism. Under French colonialist rule, which lasted nearly a century, they refused to resign themselves to servitude and repeatedly rose up in arms against the aggressors and the traitors. However, all previous movements to oppose French rule and save the nation eventually failed.

In the twenties of this century, after the Can Vuong insurrections¹ had been stamped out, the seething national liberation movement faced a serious crisis as to which line to follow. The French colonialists on the one hand severely repressed and terrorized the patriots, and on the other, strove to sow capitulationist ideas and left no stone unturned to encourage various reformist and collaborationist tendencies. Among the people, concerning the revolutionary line to follow in order to liberate the nation, an acute conflict developed among the patriotic forces, between two main tendencies: one, of the young proletariat, the other, of the

1. Monarchist patriotic movement, also called Scholars' Movement. (*Tr.*)

national bourgeoisie. Each put forward its own political programme to try to win over the masses.

It was at that moment that President Ho Chi Minh, with his genius and his revolutionary activity, supplied a timely answer to those pressing exigencies of history. Overcoming the limitations of the nationalism of the literati and the bourgeois-oriented revolutionaries of those times, he embraced Marxism-Leninism at an early date and took the road of the proletarian revolution. He said: "In order to save the country and liberate the nation, there is no other road but that of the proletarian revolution."¹

The first tremendous achievement of President Ho Chi Minh was to link the Vietnamese revolution with the international workers' movement and to guide the Vietnamese people over the road he himself had taken, which led from patriotism to Marxism-Leninism. It was the only path to liberation, one that was opened by the Russian October Revolution to the toiling people and oppressed nations of the whole world.

To the Vietnamese people, Marxism-Leninism was like "food and drink for a hungry and thirsty traveller."² It powerfully drew the Vietnamese patriots to the road of the proletarian revolution and stirred up a vigorous national and democratic wave throughout the country, in which the working class became an independent political force. The combination of

1. Ho Chi Minh, *Selected Works* (in Vietnamese), Su That Pub. House, Hanoi 1960, p.705.

2. Ibid. p.652.

Marxism-Leninism, the most revolutionary ideology of our times, with the fierce struggle put up by the working class, the most revolutionary class and the close ally of the peasantry, and with the patriotic movement of a nation in full revolutionary effervescence, led to the founding of our Party on February 3, 1930.

That extremely important event marked a fundamental turning point in the history of the Vietnamese revolution. It meant the propagation of Marxism-Leninism to a colonial and semi-feudal country, the first necessary preparatory step leading to the most glorious insurrectionary period and the greatest leap forward in the evolution of the Vietnamese nation, beginning with the August 1945 Revolution and the setting up of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam.

The history of the past forty years of our Party and our people is a splendid record of revolutionary struggle.

It is the history of repeated revolutionary upsurges and many valiant insurrections: the 1930-1931 revolutionary high tide, that of 1936-1939, and the patriotic wave of 1940-1945, which led to the triumph of the August Revolution.

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

It is also the history of two great revolutions of our times: the people's national democratic revolution and the socialist revolution. Over the past ten years, under the leadership of our Party and the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation, these two revolutionary tasks have been closely co-ordinated and aimed at a common objective: to liberate the South, defend the North, and advance to the peaceful reunification of the country.

Under the leadership of our Party headed by our great President Ho Chi Minh, the people throughout our country have written the finest pages in the history of our nation and ushered in an era of independence and freedom, the era of socialism.

Our Party and President Ho Chi Minh, who have given guidance to the Vietnamese revolution all along these last forty years, have brought our people into the world arena as one of the first among the colonial and dependent nations to have successfully carried out a national liberation revolution and won power throughout the land; as one among the first to have defeated old colonialism, thus opening the process of piece-by-piece collapse of the colonial system of imperialism; as a vanguard fighter who is knocking down the neo-colonialism of American imperialism, the imperialist chieftain and the international gendarme.

By their magnificent victories over imperialism and feudalism and by the socialist revolution they are carrying out in the North, our working class and nation, led by our Party, are bringing the most active contribution, side by side with the peoples of the

brother socialist countries, to the process of historic change now taking place in the world.

The brilliant successes reaped by our people over the past forty years all originate from the clear-sighted leadership of our Party, a party absolutely loyal to the supreme interests of the working class and the nation.

Every step forward of our revolution and our people is a success won by Marxism-Leninism, the invincible revolutionary doctrine, the shining truth of the new era.

It is the immense triumph of the invincible militant unity of our toiling people and our entire nation in their struggle for independence and freedom, for socialism.

The achievements recorded by the Vietnamese revolution over the past forty years are closely associated with the progress of the world revolution in the new era — the era of transition from capitalism to socialism on a world scale — which began with the great Russian October Revolution; with the magnificent victory of the Soviet Union over the German-Italian-Japanese fascist coalition; with the splendid success of the Chinese revolution; with the overwhelming superiority of the socialist camp, the decisive factor in the evolution of human society; with the powerful national liberation movement, the intense struggle of the working class and toiling people in the capitalist countries, and with the democratic and peace movement sweeping the world.

Before attaining those glorious achievements, our Party and people have had to face countless hardships

and trials. Under the Party's banner, how many cadres and Party members, civilians and fighters, have laid down their lives, displaying the heroic spirit of the vanguard class and the nation, and evincing boundless loyalty to the fatherland, to the cause of the people's liberation, and to ever-victorious Marxism-Leninism! Those examples of heroism will live for ever with our people, our Party, with the present generation and all generations to come.

On this anniversary day so full of meaning, our hearts are filled with infinite sorrow: our venerated and beloved President Ho Chi Minh is no more.

Our entire Party and our entire people feel eternal gratitude to our great leader.

President Ho Chi Minh was the first man to sow the seeds of Marxism-Leninism on Vietnamese soil, causing the Vietnamese revolution to blossom and bear fruit. He spent much effort training a host of elite cadres for our Party and devoted his care and energy to building it into a united, unified and solid whole. Founded, led, and forged and tempered by President Ho Chi Minh, the teacher of the Vietnamese revolution, the great national hero, and the outstanding internationalist militant, our Party became at an early date a new-type party of the working class, a party with a great wealth of experience and a splendid record of struggle.

Every step forward of our people and our Party over the past forty years was bound up with the infinitely active and noble revolutionary life of President

Ho Chi Minh. The work of his life and the achievements of our people and our Party make up the immortal epic of the Vietnamese revolution.

President Ho Chi Minh is the great leader of the Party and the great leader of our nation. He embodies the close union of the ideal of independence and freedom with that of socialism and communism, of ardent patriotism with genuine proletarian internationalism.

He represents the essence of the spiritual values of our people all along their 4,000-year history. In him, the best qualities of our nation are blended with Marxism-Leninism, the ideological peak of mankind in our times.

President Ho Chi Minh's life is as pure as light. It sets a magnificent example of unflinching revolutionary resolve, determination to safeguard independence and sovereignty, humanity and deep love of the people, total dedication to the public interest and complete selflessness, modesty and simplicity.

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

**THE PEOPLE'S NATIONAL
DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION**

THE PROBLEMS OF
DEMOCRACY IN THE
UNITED STATES

PROBLEMS OF REVOLUTIONARY STRATEGY

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

The French colonialists having conquered our country, we lost our independence, freedom, our right to live and even our national culture, which had taken shape in the course of thousands of years of history. To drive out the imperialist aggressors, liberate the nation, win back independence and freedom for the fatherland, bring the people a decent standard of living and happiness, and restore the cultural and spiritual values of the

Vietnamese man — such was the deepest aspiration of all Vietnamese patriots.

But that national aspiration was thwarted by the imperialist aggressors, and in league with them was the feudal class. That collusion between imperialism and feudalism is the characteristic feature of the colonial regime. That is why the contradiction between our people and aggressive imperialism is tied up with that opposing them to the feudal regime, the prop of imperialist rule and exploitation. And so the anti-imperialist task cannot be separated from the anti-feudal task. The national liberation revolution must necessarily have a democratic content.

At all times, a genuine national movement must always include a definite democratic content, for any class wishing to regain national sovereignty or to "become a nation by itself" cannot but satisfy certain democratic claims of the popular masses, the forces which decide the victory of the national movement.

Our country is an agricultural one, with 90% of its population made up of peasants. Imperialism relies on feudalism to exploit our people, essentially the peasantry. That is why to liberate the nation means first and foremost and essentially to liberate the peasants. Democracy here means first and foremost and essentially democracy for the peasants. The eager aspiration of the peasants is that the nation should be independent and the tillers should have land, and that they should be freed from the twofold oppression of imperialism and feudalism. They can only escape from oppression and exploitation at the hands

of the landlords if imperialism, the defender and protector of feudalism, and at the same time the worst enemy of our nation and of the peasantry, is toppled. To free the peasants from the yoke imposed on them by the feudal landlords, to bring them land, such is the basic content of the democratic revolution; at the same time, to do so is to meet the exigencies of the cause of national liberation, for "the national problem in the colonial countries is in essence a peasant problem."

Holding firm and aloft the national and democratic banner with the two strategic slogans "National Independence" and "Land to the Tillers", our Party has succeeded in making large masses of the peasantry follow the lead of the working class, mobilizing other popular strata and taking them along with the workers and peasants to the battleground of the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal struggle. In the course of the revolution, basing ourselves on an analysis of concrete class relations and the possibility of dividing the ranks of our imperialist and feudal foes, we have embodied those strategic tasks in concrete objectives suited to each period in order to concentrate the fire of the revolution on the most dangerous enemy at the moment. However, in all periods, the concrete objectives and political tasks set forth by the Party have at bottom comprised both the national and the democratic content and been closely bound up with both the anti-imperialist and the anti-feudal tasks.

After the August Revolution, during the war of resistance against the French colonialists, while directing the spearhead of the revolution essentially against

the imperialist aggressors and their agents, the Party step by step carried out the tasks of the agrarian revolution. In 1953, as the war of resistance entered a most decisive stage, the Party mobilized the masses for a drastic reduction of land rent and for land reform, in implementation of the watchword "Land to the Tillers". Thanks to this, the spirit and power of resistance of millions of peasants were strongly roused, the worker-peasant alliance was reinforced, the people's power and the National United Front were strengthened, the fighting ability of the people's army rose at an unprecedented rate, and all activities of the resistance were impelled forward. This drive decisively contributed to the great Dien Bien Phu victory. To carry out land reform while the war of resistance was going on was a very judicious policy of our Party, one with a creative character.

At present, the invincible strength of the revolution in South Viet Nam is due to the fact that the Southern people, whose bulk is made up of over ten million peasants, have been given genuine national and democratic rights by the revolution, and that the Southern revolution has, in an imaginative way, coupled the two tasks, the national and the democratic, in the struggle against the neo-colonialism of the American imperialists.

What characterizes neo-colonialism is the fact that it is effected not through direct administration by the imperialists, but through a servile native regime representing the interests of the feudal landlord class and the comprador bourgeoisie with a "national democratic" cloak. Under these circumstances, the revolution cannot but vigorously attack the puppet regime

to topple it and knock down the prop used by imperialism to practise neo-colonialism. By overthrowing the Ngo Dinh Diem administration, the people of the South dealt a mortal blow at the American imperialists' neo-colonialism, triggering off a period of unending crisis for the puppet regime. In mid-1956, refusing to accept defeat and mulishly persisting in their design, the American imperialists massively introduced American troops into South Viet Nam in the hope of retrieving the situation. But the South Vietnamese people, far from stepping back, resolutely marched forward and concentrated the blazing fire of the people's war on the American aggressive troops, at the same time continuing to strike hard blows at the puppet army and administration. Fighting both the Americans and their puppets, until "the Americans quit and the puppets topple", the people of the South, fired by their victories, are rushing forward, resolved to achieve at all costs their immediate fundamental objective: an independent, democratic, peaceful, neutral and prosperous South Viet Nam, and the ultimate peaceful reunification of the country.

While struggling shoulder to shoulder with our Southern fellow-countrymen with a view to bringing the national democratic revolution to completion, our people in the North, under the leadership of the Party, set about building socialism as early as 1954, after the victory of the war of resistance against the French colonialists. This is in strict implementation of the first programme of the Party, in conformity with the irresistible trend of the national liberation movement in our times, when national democratic revolutions proceed direct to

socialist revolutions, bypassing the stage of capitalist development. This is the only way guaranteeing complete victory for the national liberation cause, genuine independence, and uninterrupted progress and prosperity for the peoples hitherto kept in backwardness by the yoke of imperialism and colonialism.

The socialist revolution which has been going on for the last ten years and more has reaped only initial results as yet. But these results are none the less extremely important: they have changed and are changing the face of the North in a fundamental way in all fields: political, economic, social and cultural, turning the North into an ever stronger base for the completion of the national democratic revolution throughout the country. By building socialism, completely frustrating the war of destruction waged by the American imperialists, fulfilling the duties of the great rear area to the great fighting front in the resistance to American aggression, for national salvation, our people are supplying a vivid illustration of the greatest truth of our times, namely that in the present era national independence, democracy, and socialism are inseparable.

Over one hundred years ago, Marxism came into being with a rousing battle cry: "Workers of all countries, unite!"

Developing Marxism in the era of imperialism, when capitalism had not only become an intolerable yoke on the proletariat and the toiling people of the "mother countries" but had also clamped the fetters of servitude on the colonial peoples, Lenin called out: "Workers of all countries and oppressed peoples,

unite!" The strength of this strategic watchword lies in the fact that it points out that in the present era, the revolution aimed at overthrowing capitalism and taking mankind to socialism can only carry the day by associating in one single drive the struggle put up by the proletariat in all countries and that waged by the colonial peoples against imperialism; that the battle for national liberation, independence and democracy fought by the people of colonial and dependent countries can only end in total victory if it becomes part and parcel of the world proletarian revolution, in conformity with the necessary trend of development of human society in the present era: advance to socialism. As President Ho Chi Minh asserted: "Only socialism, only communism, can free the oppressed nations and the toiling people of the world from servitude."¹

As capitalism sinks into its final decay, the problems of national independence and democracy do not rest solely with the people of colonial and dependent countries but are also the responsibility of the communist and workers' parties in developed capitalist countries in the struggle for socialism and communism. Indeed, at present the monopoly capitalists holding sway in those countries have sold out and are selling out national sovereignty piecemeal to the American imperialists, the international capitalist organizations, and the supra-national aggressive military blocs, while intensifying the exploitation and oppression of the working class and labouring people in their own

¹ Ho Chi Minh, *Selected Works* (in Vietnamese), Su That Pub. House, Hanoi, 1960, p.794.

respective countries, curtailing and even in many instances trampling upon all democratic liberties, be they but bourgeois democratic liberties. For this reason the Communists now must seize hold of the national democratic banner and march forward, as pointed out by Stalin.

To hold high the national and democratic banner and advance direct to socialism, bypassing the stage of capitalist development: this strategic line of our Party has been proved to be wholly correct by the realities of the Vietnamese revolution over the past forty years and of the world revolution as well. The victory of the Vietnamese revolution is the victory of Marxism-Leninism applied in a creative manner to the conditions of a colonial and semi-feudal country.

*

Thanks to its judicious line, our Party has succeeded in rallying round it all patriotic classes and strata and building a strong and large revolutionary army fighting for the liberation of the nation and the people.

The first crucial problem of the revolution is to correctly and fully assert the *leading role of the working class*. Because of its economic, political, and historical position, the working class has become the representative of the progress of human society in our epoch, the only class capable of elevating the toiling people to masterhood of their destiny. Although young in age and small in number, the Vietnamese proletariat

is a very resolutely revolutionary class. Born before the Vietnamese national bourgeoisie came into existence, it had hardly grown up when it absorbed the revolutionary light of Marxism-Leninism and quickly became a conscious political force, unified throughout the three parts — North, Centre, and South — of the country. Sprung from the pauperized toiling peasantry, its close ties with the latter created favourable conditions for the setting up of a firm worker-peasant alliance. Furthermore, the Vietnamese working class entered the political arena at a time when the great Russian October Revolution had scored a triumph which reverberated throughout the five continents and when in neighbouring China, after the treason of the bourgeoisie, the Chinese proletariat had stepped forward and taken hold of the national democratic banner. This historical background added lustre to the political prestige of the Vietnamese proletariat. The above-mentioned traits gave the latter an immense strength and moral ascendancy which helped it win a pre-eminent position and take over the leadership of the Vietnamese revolution after the failure of the Yen Bai insurrection.¹

President Ho Chi Minh said: "The *working class* is the most courageous and revolutionary class, which unflinchingly and fearlessly stands up to the imperialists and colonialists. Armed with a vanguard revolutionary doctrine and the experience of the international proletarian movement, our working class has

¹ Insurrection staged by the Quoc Dan Dang nationalist party in February 1930. (Tr.)

proved itself to be the most deserving and trustworthy leader of the Vietnamese people." ¹ The reason why our Party has steered a correct political course throughout all periods and has led the Vietnamese revolution from one victory to another is because it holds firm to the stand of the working class and has a thorough grasp of Marxism-Leninism, the revolutionary doctrine of the working class.

Besides the working class, the leading one, the peasantry is the most active opponent of imperialism and feudalism. The peasants make up the majority of our population and the greatest force in the national democratic revolution. That is why to make them follow the lead of the working class, develop their great revolutionary potential to the utmost, and build the *worker-peasant alliance* is the basic condition ensuring victory to the revolution.

Being a strategic principle of Marxism-Leninism, a universal necessity for all revolutions led by the proletariat, the problem of the worker-peasant alliance assumes particular importance in such a country as ours. Under the colonial and semi-feudal regime, the proletariat of our country, though small in size, displayed a strength which far outstripped its numbers, for besides following a correct revolutionary course, it had won over a natural ally, an extremely reliable one, who was possessed of powerful forces and high revolutionary mettle: the peasantry. Immediately after coming into existence, our Party was able to establish

¹ Ho Chi Minh, *Selected Works* (in Vietnamese), Su That Pub. House, Hanoi, 1960, p.769.

itself as the leader of the revolution for it had succeeded in building a worker - peasant alliance at an early date. The reason why the political prestige of our Party and its leadership of the revolution are absolute and indisputable is because they stem from the invincible strength of the Party's grassroots masses, the worker-peasant masses.

In the present era, a movement for social emancipation, for national liberation, can only be truly revolutionary when its core is made up of the workers and peasants, when it develops with the power of the worker-peasant alliance and under the leadership of the working class. If revolution is the work of the masses, then in the conditions prevailing in such a country as ours, a truly revolutionary movement must be one whose main force includes two components: the workers and the peasants. Only by realizing a worker-peasant alliance and relying on that firm foundation will the party of the working class be able to broaden the ranks of the revolution to include other classes and strata with a national and democratic leaning. There can be no National United Front without the worker-peasant alliance. Our people's democratic State born of the August Revolution reflects broad national union, but it is first and foremost a worker-peasant power under the leadership of the working class. This explains why the people's democratic State could set about discharging the responsibilities of the dictatorship of the proletariat immediately after the basic completion of the national democratic revolution in the North, without having to go through another

political revolution. Without the worker-peasant alliance, one cannot proceed to the socialist revolution, bypassing the stage of capitalist development. Likewise, the revolutionary army, a very important instrument of violence in the national democratic revolution in our country, can only be a worker-peasant army, a product of the working class and the peasantry, put under the direct and absolute leadership of our Party, the party of the working class.

And so, to have the Party, the vanguard of the working class, and to have the worker peasant alliance mean to have everything. In the chain of factors ensuring victory for the Vietnamese revolution, one must give first prominence to the *leadership of the party of the working class and the role played by the worker-peasant alliance.*

Unlike the peasantry in many other countries, the Vietnamese peasants never followed the lead of the national bourgeoisie, which was weak economically and flabby politically. It was because their revolutionary ardour and aspirations went far beyond the bounds within reach of the bourgeoisie. The peasantry is highly revolutionary but cannot lead the revolution, for it does not represent any distinctive mode of production and has neither an independent political position nor an ideology of its own. In the national democratic revolution in our country, it can only go with and be guided by the working class. It cannot even carry out the agrarian revolution by itself. In the bourgeois democratic revolution of the old type, the land problem could only be solved in

agreement with the line and the interests of the bourgeoisie. In the new democratic revolution, the agrarian revolution must be carried out under the leadership of the proletariat, according to its standpoint and its line. Only then are the peasantry's basic interests, both immediate and long-range, satisfied. Only by being the companion of the working class will the peasantry become an immense force. While the strength of the working class is increased severalfold for having a great ally, the peasantry, it should also be understood that the latter's power can only be brought into full play in alliance with and under the guidance of the working class.

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

Throughout all periods of the national democratic revolution, on the strength of a firm worker-peasant alliance, our Party has brought together all patriotic and progressive popular strata, united all nationalities

within the country, all religious communities, all forces that could be rallied; it has won over all forces opposed to the common enemy of the nation, brought into existence a broad *National United Front*, neutralized all forces that could be neutralized, and directed the spearhead of the revolution at the imperialist aggressors and their agents. The successes achieved by the revolution cannot be dissociated from the correct Front policy pursued by our Party.

Experience has shown that in carrying out the Front policy one must guard against and oppose both the rightist and "leftist" tendencies.

The Front is a unity of opposites which includes various classes in league with each other on the basis of a definite common programme of struggle. That is why one cannot conceive of a classless Front. A principled line requires that one should view and solve all problems related to the Front policy from a class stand. There are classes with essentially similar interests; there also exist classes whose interests are linked together only to a certain extent. Each class, for the sake of its own interests and of the common interest, joins forces with other classes within the Front. Moreover, the common interest itself is viewed by each class from its own angle. For the proletariat, on account of its historical position, its class interests and the common national interest are completely at one. But for the other classes, their respective interests and the common national interest converge in some respects, but diverge in others. For this reason, while maintaining unity and striving to strengthen it, there

must necessarily be a struggle between the viewpoints of the various members of the Front, who represent different classes. One-sided unity, unaccompanied by struggle, in practice leads to the disruption of unity and the liquidation of the Front. If one knows how to conduct a principled struggle, i.e. one that is based on the common political programme and aimed at implementing it, far from breaking up unity and weakening the Front, one will have done the only thing that could strengthen unity and consolidate the Front.

Being the leader of the revolution and the author of a political line that fully represents the common national interest, our Party has naturally been recognized as the leader of the Front. The interest of the revolution and that of the nation require that one should constantly enhance and consolidate the leading role of the Party within the Front, firmly maintain the Party's independent political line and organization, and oppose all tendencies to downgrade the Party's role and to dissolve the Party in the Front. The key to firmly maintaining the Party's leadership within the Front and strengthening the latter is to ceaselessly reinforce the worker-peasant alliance. Without the worker-peasant alliance as its firm foundation, there can be no genuine national democratic Front, nor is it possible to broaden it.

The petty bourgeoisie in such a former colonial country as ours evinces great revolutionary ardour. In particular, the various strata of intellectuals and students are fervently patriotic and eager to safeguard the nation's fine cultural traditions and to restore the

noble spiritual values of the Vietnamese man which have been condemned by the imperialists and feudalists. They have proved to be history-conscious and alive to the trend of events. Awakened and stimulated by the revolutionary upsurge of the workers and peasants, they have joined the revolutionary ranks in growing numbers and played an important role in the people's struggle, especially in the towns and cities.

The national bourgeoisie, bullied by imperialism, is also patriotic in some respects. To the national struggle for liberation it has made some contribution. At present, capitalism, which has proved to be utterly outmoded historically, has displayed its odious reactionary features right on our soil, either in the form of old or new colonialism. Socialism is more and more obviously the inevitable trend of development of human society. In this historical context and in face of the powerful revolutionary movement of the masses and the great achievements of the revolution, a certain number of intellectuals sprung from the national bourgeoisie and even some national bourgeois, their children in particular, have become conscious of the trend of the times and gradually shown a fundamental shift in their stand ; step by step they have gone over to the side of the workers and peasants and followed the road of national independence and democracy of the new era.

Relying on the basic forces, the workers and peasants, and in each period making an accurate appraisal of the changes happening in class relations, singling out the most dangerous foe to be overthrown, our Party

has applied extremely flexible tactics, unceasingly broadened the National United Front and drawn ever more new forces into the Front's organizations or into various forms of joint action aimed at some immediate concrete objective of the revolution.

While carrying out that Front policy, our Party has never failed to *take the utmost advantage of the contradictions within the ranks of the enemy, and divide and isolate them to the greatest extent* in order to weaken their position and influence, increase the strength of the revolution to the highest degree, and pave the way for its advance.

To turn to account the internal conflicts of the enemy is one of the problems of strategic significance in the proletarian revolution.

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

To work out the strategy of the world revolution in the era of imperialism, Leninism started from three fundamental contradictions : that between the proletariat and capital, that between the oppressed nations and imperialism, and that between the imperialists themselves. After the October Revolution, another fundamental antagonism has appeared, that between two world systems : the socialist and the capitalist. The evolution of these contradictions as a whole creates the relation of forces between revolution and counter-revolution on a world scale.

The Communists never harbour any illusions and never passively wait for what may come out of contradictions within the enemy's ranks. Moreover, we are aware that in face of action by the people, the hostile forces are wont to strive to patch up their quarrels in the hope of "closing their ranks" against the revolution. But there is a more fundamental truth: "Capitalist property disintegrated them, transformed them from allies into savage beasts." ¹

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

One trait of the revolution in our country is the fact that it has always had to face a powerful imperialist foe and, on many occasions, to cope with not one but several enemies at a time. In such circumstances, our Party has applied in a creative manner

¹ . Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol.30, Progress Publishers, Moscow 1965, p. 448.

this shrewd recommendation of Lenin: "The more powerful enemy can be vanquished only by exerting the utmost effort, and by the most thorough, careful, attentive, skilful and *obligatory* use of any, even the smallest, rift between the enemies (...) and also by taking advantage of any, even the smallest, opportunity of winning a mass ally, even though this ally is temporary, vacillating, unstable, unreliable and conditional."¹

With a view to making capital of the enemy's internal contradictions, dividing and isolating them, our Party, while holding firm to principles, has used various tactics in a very flexible and clever way. Before the August Revolution, our Party took extremely timely advantage of the mortal conflict between the Japanese and the French in order to give a great impulse to the anti-Japanese resistance for national salvation, and after the Japanese surrender, led the people to seize the opportunity and stage a victorious general insurrection. After the August Revolution, when the revolutionary power was still in its infancy, when we were facing serious dangers created by internal and external foes, when the situation could be likened to a "thousand-pound weight hanging by a hair", our Party, headed by President Ho Chi Minh, thanks to an extremely clear-sighted political line, at the same time rigorous in principle and flexible in tactics, tided the country over countless seemingly insuperable difficulties. We would at one time reach a temporary compromise with Chiang Kai-shek in order

¹. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol.31, Progress Publishers, Moscow 1966, p. 70-71.

to get our hands free to cope with the French colonialists, at another time do the same with the French in order to drive out the Chiang Kai-shek troops and wipe out the reactionaries, their agents, thus gaining time to consolidate our forces and prepare for a nationwide resistance to French colonialist aggression, which the Party knew was inevitable. Those extremely perspicacious moves will go down in the history of the revolution in our country as magnificent examples of the Leninist tactics of exploiting contradictions within the enemy's ranks and granting concessions while holding firm to principles.

Boundless loyalty to the revolutionary cause, iron resolve to liberate the nation and the people, firm reliance on the strength of the masses, all these virtues being combined with especial political sagacity and flair—such is what is required for a creative and effective application of this strategic principle: to capitalize the enemy's internal contradictions so as to ceaselessly take the revolution forward to new positions.

PRINCIPLES AND METHODS FOR REVOLUTIONARY ACTION

In order to bring the revolution to victory, the thing of primary importance is to correctly determine the general orientation and strategic objective and the specific orientation and objective for each period. But of no less importance than defining the orientation and objective is the problem, once such decisions have been made, of how to carry them into effect: what road to follow? what forms to adopt? what measures to use? Experience shows that a revolutionary movement may mark time, or even fail, not because of the lack of clearly-defined orientations and objectives but essentially because there have been *no appropriate principles and methods for revolutionary action*.

Methods for revolutionary action are aimed at defeating the enemy of the revolution, and this in the most advantageous way, so that the revolution may attain its ends as quickly as possible. Here, besides courage, one also needs wisdom; this is not only a science, but also an art.

No other field requires from the revolutionary a higher creative spirit than that of the methods for

revolutionary action. Revolution is creation; without imagination and inventiveness, a revolution cannot succeed. There has never been and will never be a unique formula, one that is suited to all circumstances and all times, for making a revolution. One given method may be adapted to a certain country but unfit for another; a correct one in certain times and under certain circumstances, it may be erroneous in other times and circumstances. All depends on concrete historical conditions. Lenin said: "Marxism demands an absolutely *historical examination* of the question of the forms of struggle. To treat this question apart from the concrete historical situation betrays a failure to understand the rudiments of dialectical materialism. (...) To attempt to answer yes or no to the question whether any particular means of struggle should be used, without making a detailed examination of the concrete situation of the given movement at the given stage of its development, means completely to abandon the Marxist position."¹

A method, a form of struggle can only be considered the best and most judicious one when it fully satisfies the requirements of a given concrete situation, when it is wholly suited to the conditions in which it is applied, when it makes it possible to put on their mettle the revolutionary and progressive forces and rouse them to action, when it permits a thorough exploitation of the enemy's weaknesses, and for all these reasons, is likely to bring about the greatest successes possible, given the relation of forces prevailing at the moment.

¹ Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. II, Progress Publishers, Moscow 1965, p. 214

As a result of more than a century of revolutionary struggle, the international proletariat has amassed a great wealth of precious experience. If one has mastered the concrete historical point of view and takes the peculiar traits of one's country into full account, then the more one knows about the revolutionary experience gained in other countries, the greater the possibility for revolutionary inventiveness in one's own country. While carrying on the struggle, our Party knows how to enrich its fund of revolutionary knowledge and ceaselessly develop its imagination and skill in political leadership, not only by constantly assessing, summing up and improving upon the experience gained by our own revolution but also through attentive, careful and selective study of the revolutionary experience acquired in other countries, full attention being paid to the specific conditions of the Vietnamese revolution.

It is a matter of principle that, either in day-to-day policies or in the practice of revolutionary struggle, no matter in what way and under what circumstances, a revolutionary should never lose sight of the final goal. To consider the fight for small day-to-day gains and immediate targets as "everything" while looking upon the final goal as "nothing", "to sacrifice the future of the movement to the present", is to display the worst kind of opportunism, which can only result in the popular masses being held in eternal servitude.

However, it is by no means sufficient to comprehend the final objective. While firmly keeping in mind

the revolutionary goal, the art of revolutionary leadership lies in knowing how *to win step by step, in judicious fashion*. Revolution is the work of the millions of people of the popular masses, who stand up to overthrow the ruling classes, these classes commanding a colossal machinery of violence together with other material and spiritual means. That is why a revolution is always a long-drawn process. From the initial steps to the final end, a revolution must of necessity go through many stages of struggle beset with difficulties and complexities and full of twists and bends, in order to clear one obstacle after another and gradually change the relation of forces between the revolution and the counter-revolution, until overwhelming superiority is achieved vis-à-vis the ruling classes. To push the enemy back and wrest one success after another for the revolution, and proceed to inflict total defeat on the enemy and secure complete victory for the revolution—such is a law of revolutionary struggle.

For those reasons, on the long road leading to the final goal, one should never fail to give due consideration to the concrete conditions in which the battle is fought in each given period: On the side of the revolution, when and in what circumstances are the masses going into action? In what way are the various social forces arrayed? On the other side, what are the enemy's strong and weak points? How is he manœuvring and with what aims in mind? Lenin used to demand that the Communists should pay unflinching attention to and view with the greatest objectivity not only the situation at home but also all elements

of the world's economy and politics, all class forces both within the country and throughout the world and the relationships between those forces. Failing full notice of all these factors of concrete moving reality, a revolutionary may at best perceive the ultimate objective of the struggle but he will have no command over the means to achieve it; he will not find the ways, methods, and practical measures to reach that goal, and so will be liable to commit serious blunders in his strategic and tactical guidance of the revolution.

To know how to win step by step in judicious manner means, in given times and under given circumstances, to know how to set the most appropriate concrete objectives and, on the strength of objective laws, direct the fight in such a way as to achieve the maximum success, paving the way for further advances of the revolution and opening up the surest prospects for ultimate victory.

Such steps have been taken by our revolution. The triumph of the August Revolution would not have been possible had it not been preceded by the 1930-1931 and 1936-1939 movements and the patriotic wave of 1940-1945.

The greatest achievement of the 1930-1931 movement—a gain that the subsequent atrocious white terror by the imperialists and feudalists failed to obliterate—lies in the fact that it asserted in practice the claim and ability of the proletariat, represented by our Party, to assume leadership of the revolution, and that it infused into the peasantry unshakable faith in the proletariat and

at the same time inspired the worker-peasant masses with confidence in their immense revolutionary stamina. On the other hand, while bearing out the soundness of the revolutionary line of the proletariat and the huge revolutionary capabilities of the workers and peasants, it also exposed the adventurism, reformism, tendency to compromise, vacillations and half-heartedness of the national bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie at the same time as it laid bare the extremely reactionary nature of the landlord class and comprador bourgeoisie before our entire people. That was the first successful step with a decisive significance with regard to the whole subsequent development of the revolution. In fact, had it not been for the earth-shaking class battles of the years 1930-1931, when the workers and peasants displayed extraordinary revolutionary energy, the upsurge of 1936-1939 would not have been possible.

A period such as the years 1936-1939, when legal and semi-legal actions were coupled with clandestine and illegal activities, is seldom seen in a colonial country. When the Popular Front came to power in France, the Party viewed this as a favourable occasion for pushing the revolution one step forward, and the reason why it was able to turn the opportunity to account was because it had built solid, fundamental combat positions as early as the years 1930-1931. Acting upon Lenin's recommendation: "Concrete political aims must be set in concrete circumstances,"¹

¹ Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 9, Progress Publishers, Moscow 1965, p. 86.

the Party set as immediate tasks for the 1936-1939 period the struggle against the reactionary colonialists (not yet the overthrow of the colonialist rule as a whole), against fascism and war, for democratic liberties, a decent standard of living, and peace. The Party was fully aware that those demands were by no means the final goal, that one could never radically change the old social order through reform, and that only by eventually standing up to smash the imperialist and feudal rule through violence and win power for the people would the revolutionary objective be achieved. However, Lenin himself said that without the democratic liberties brought about by the February Revolution (February 1917) it would have been difficult indeed to start the mass struggle of great scope and depth which led to the October Revolution. We may refer in similar terms to the effect of the 1936-1939 democratic movement upon the subsequent triumph of the August Revolution. It was a period of intense mass agitation without precedent under French rule. Through a multitude of flexible and manifold forms of organization and activity, including the utilization for our benefit of "chambers of people's representatives" and "colonial councils" set up by the French colonialists, the Party mobilized and gave political education to millions of people, especially workers and peasants, in political struggles sweeping town and countryside, spreading from factories, plantations and mines to villages and hamlets, and creating conditions for leading the masses into new, fierce battles in the 1940-1945 period.

After the outbreak of the Second World War, the French colonialists went down on their knees and offered Indochina to the Japanese fascists, and so a twofold yoke was put on our people's neck. The Party held that in that period, oppression, exploitation and war would rouse the people to ever more vigorous revolutionary action and that the revolution would inevitably flare up. On President Ho Chi Minh's initiative, it founded the Viet Minh Front with a view to bringing together the broadest range of national democratic forces; at the same time it set about building revolutionary bases and the first armed units, started a "fight the French, drive out the Japanese" movement, expanded guerilla warfare and multiplied partial insurrections. When, as foreseen by the Party, the Japanese tripped up the French, it took time by the forelock, made a quick shift and triggered off the movement to resist the Japanese and save the nation. This was a period of seething and vigorous mass mobilization, in which political forces developed both in scope and in depth in all areas—rural and urban, plain and hill-forest—shoulder to shoulder with the armed forces, and all-round preparations were made for the forthcoming general insurrection.

The glorious triumph of the August Revolution was not only the result of the national liberation movement of the 1940-1945 period but also the outcome of a revolutionary process fostered and prepared through the two full-dress rehearsals of the years 1930-1931 and 1936-1939.

The revolutionary struggle unfolds without cease in all spheres of social life: political, economic, cultural.

Hence, to win step by step means in each arena of combat to mobilize and organize the masses with a view to frustrating the enemy's successive policies and foiling every one of his schemes and manoeuvres ; to point out and attain at all costs all objectives that could be attained in a given period and a given battle, thereby impelling the movement forward and bringing it to a higher level. Nothing succeeds like success, and each success in a given field stimulates the struggle in other fields. Starting from scratch, the movement thus develops to an ever higher level, driving the enemy from pillar to post, consolidating its partial gains and unrelentingly expanding the revolutionary battlefield in a direction leading towards total victory. In the Vietnamese revolution, the seizure of power shows this distinguishing feature of evolving from partial insurrections to a general insurrection : this is indeed the application of the method of "winning step by step" to the specific conditions of our revolution.

In short, this method expresses the unity between steadiness of purpose and a clear-headed grasp of concrete moving reality ; it is the art of knowing how to combine in a dialectical way firmness of principle with flexibility of policy ; the art of applying to the work of revolutionary leadership the law of development from gradual changes to leaps. One must evince boldness and determination in setting new tasks and devising new plans ; one must be able to foresee, at least in a broad outline, the results of forthcoming actions and all possible trends of development of the objective situation. In practice new factors and new possibilities

keep emerging, and so one must take them into account for changing or correcting one's moves, and quickly working out new plans that would ensure that one's strategic and tactical guidance keep pace with the ever-changing situation. Only then can one fight one's way forward unflinchingly, going through gradual processes interspersed with leaps, big and small, in the revolutionary movement and in the relation of forces, and heading for the crucial bound to final victory.

Lenin firmly opposed subjectivism and voluntarism as well as all signs of political passivity. He required that the Communist parties should work out their policies and tactics by "combining full scientific lucidity in the analysis of the objective situation and its evolution with the most categorical recognition of the role played by the revolutionary energy, creativeness and initiative of the masses."¹

A revolution is not a coup d'Etat; it is not the upshot of plots. It is the work of the masses. Hence, *to mobilize and rally the forces of the masses, to set up and expand the political army of the revolution, is a fundamental, decisive problem.* This task must be attended to in an unflagging and sustained way throughout all periods, both when no revolutionary situation has appeared as yet and when such a situation has arisen and grown mature. To this end, one must mingle with the masses in everyday life and be active wherever the masses are, even within enemy organizations; one

¹ Lenin, *Collected Works* (in Russian), 4th edition, Vol. 13, pp. 21, 22.

must keep abreast of the situation both in the enemy's camp and in ours, correctly appraise all schemes, moves, and capabilities of the enemy, accurately assess all changes happening in his ranks, and at the same time be fully aware of the state of mind, wishes and potential power of the masses. In this way one will be able to put forward appropriate slogans, both incisive and timely, which will rouse the broadest masses to action and take them from the lower to the higher forms of struggle, thereby ceaselessly heightening their political consciousness and building up the army of the revolution both in scope and in depth.

Before the seizure of power and in the pursuit of that aim, the only weapon available to the revolution, to the masses, is organization. The hallmark of the revolutionary movement led by the proletariat is its high organizational standard. All activities aimed at bringing the masses to the point where they will rise up and topple the ruling classes may boil down to this : to organize, organize, organize. The purpose of political propaganda and agitation is indeed to organize the masses ; only by organizing them one way or another will conditions be created for educating them and building up the immense strength of the revolution, for once organized, their power will increase one hundredfold. It is for combat that the masses are organized; conversely, it is through combat that they are organized and educated and the forces of the revolution expanded. Therefore, propaganda, organization, and struggle must go hand in hand, the common purpose being to form and enlarge the political army of the masses in preparation for the decisive leap.

Throughout all periods, our Party has seized all opportunities to organize the masses by all appropriate measures and in all suitable forms. The Party knows how to get the masses interested in current political happenings, big or small, and rouse them to action so as to drive the enemy into confusion and passivity while building and expanding our own forces. Even when its activity requires the strictest secrecy, it has contrived all kinds of organizations with varied, broad, and flexible forms, aimed at rallying the masses for revolutionary action and guiding them from the lower to the higher forms of struggle, thereby educating them and enlarging the revolutionary ranks. While always taking illegal action as the foundation, the Party skilfully combines it with all possibilities for legal action. In a given situation, it may start an all-out drive for legality, not in order to deceive itself with any illusion about the "legal" road to power and engender such illusions among the masses, but with a view to giving a broader compass to the education and mustering of the masses and amplifying the influence of the revolution. In such moments, the Party must oppose hesitation and timorousness, just as it must guard against and combat legalism, the violation of the Party's principle of secrecy in organization, and the neglect of the work of building and expanding the Party and the core organizations of the masses. If one does not watch out for and fight legalism in time, it may lead to very dangerous consequences, when there is a sudden shift in the situation, when the enemy attacks the revolution, and when the

Party has to effect a quick and complete change-over to illegal action.

To organize and to struggle, to struggle and to organize, again to struggle ... One battle leads to another, and once the masses have gone into battle, they will grow all the more politically conscious, and their own experience will open their eyes to the truth and teach them which way to act. Here we note the particular importance of *slogans*. The art of giving strategic and tactical guidance to the revolution, and of directing a struggle as well, is shown first and foremost in sharp-edged and relevant slogans that keep pace with the situation.

One should not hold the oversimplified view that economic slogans are reformist while only political ones are revolutionary. There may be political slogans with a reformist character, and economic ones carrying a revolutionary content. The question is, when, in what connexion, and with what aim is a given slogan put forward? A genuinely revolutionary party, one that is unswervingly devoted to the final goal of the revolution, is able, in one way or another, to put the seal of the revolution on all slogans and on all forms of organization and struggle, including those with the faintest political tinge, which are considered necessary for the purpose of mustering the masses when the situation is not yet favourable to all-out revolutionary actions.

Throughout all periods, and especially in the one preceding the August 1945 Revolution, the Party has skillfully combined action slogans with propaganda slogans

in order to couple immediate targets with fundamental objectives. A slogan that is relevant to the concrete situation makes it possible to fan up a whole movement. One vivid instance of this is the slogan: "Get the stocks of rice and stamp out famine!" put forward by our Party in the period of preparation for the August 1945 Revolution. It was issued at a time when a terrible famine was on the rampage in Bac Bo and northern Trung Bo; it answered the most urgent aspiration of the masses, thereby fanning up the flames of their anger and hatred and rousing them to advance with burning revolutionary fervour towards insurrection and seizure of power.

Distinction should be drawn between propaganda slogans and action slogans in order to avoid involving the masses in decisive battles either too soon or too late. Both propaganda and action slogans must continually be altered to fit the evolution of the struggle, especially action slogans, which are closely connected with the day-to-day effort and so must show extreme flexibility, changing even with each hour. As the situation develops, one must gradually raise the level of action slogans and ultimately, when the right time comes, turn watchwords which are hitherto for propaganda into ones for direct and resolute action. It is dangerous for the revolution to throw the masses into decisive battles either too late or too soon. Under all circumstances, the most important thing, the most basic guarantee against blunders, is a thorough grasp, both in one's reasoning generally and in every decision one takes for action, of concrete reality. In a revolutionary period, events develop at a very fast pace and

in a most complex way. In this connexion Lenin pointed out: "The substitution of the abstract for the concrete is one of the greatest and most dangerous sins in a revolution."¹

He castigated those who, at a sharp bend of history, fail to adapt themselves to the new situation and cling to old slogans, which were correct yesterday but are meaningless today.

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

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

1. Lenin, *Selected Works*, Progress Publishers, Moscow 1967. Vol. 2, p. 179.

the "transformation of imperialist wars into revolutionary civil wars."

The present international situation differs radically from that before and after the First World War. Now that the world socialist system and the forces battling against imperialism with a view to transforming society in a socialist way are shaping the essential content, orientation, and characteristic features of the historical development of human society, the possibility of breaking the weak links in the remaining part of the imperialist chain has increased to an unprecedented degree, at the same time as appears the practical feasibility of preventing a world war. The fundamental interest of the proletariat, the people and the nations of the world lies in *safeguarding world peace while pushing forward the revolution in various countries*. These two objectives are organically linked together, each being the premise of the other, and are both perfectly attainable once the Communists, thoroughly conscious of the strategic offensive posture of the world revolution, succeed in setting up a united front bringing together all currents of the world revolution, all forces fighting for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism, and are resolved to defeat all aggressive wars triggered by the imperialists, foil every one of their warlike moves and schemes, drive back imperialism step by step, knock it down piece by piece, and eventually overthrow it in its entirety.

The revolution in the South of our country illustrates such a correct way to march forward. It proves

that in the absence of a world war, while indeed world peace has to be defended, a revolution can none the less flare up and be crowned with success. To intensify the anti-imperialist revolution, far from being incompatible with the defence of peace, is proved in practice to be a very fundamental direction in which to attack imperialism in order to safeguard the peace of the world in a truly effective manner. Conversely, to prevent a world war, to defend peace, is also a very important direction in which to attack imperialism and create more favourable objective conditions for the revolution to progress in all countries.

The South Viet Nam revolution also proves that no fascist dictatorship can prevent the outbreak of a revolution. When in the South of our country the puppet administration had to resort to the most barbarous fascist measures against the people, this meant that they had suffered crucial failure in the political field, that a revolutionary situation was brewing, that the revolution could break out, and in fact it did break out.

That a revolutionary situation prevails means that the problem of seizure of power is immediately at hand. How power can be won depends on the specific conditions of each country. However, under all circumstances, the only road to power lies in revolution, not reform.

Revolution comes as a climax of class struggle and is always accomplished by pitting the *violence* of the oppressed classes against the ruling class with a view to settling the problem of political power. Violence may

manifest itself and be exerted in various forms. In a nutshell, one may say that revolutionary violence must rely on two kinds of forces: armed and political, and include two forms of struggle: military and political, and the combination of these two. The experience of the Vietnamese revolution demonstrates that for the revolution to win, one must have armed forces besides political forces and must know how to carry out military and political action cleverly and in accordance with the concrete situation prevailing in a given place at a given time. If one does not keep one's forces, including one's armed forces, in proper trim, one will not be able to resist the fierce onslaught of the enemy. However, violence does not rest solely upon armed forces, nor does it assume the only form of military struggle. Political forces and political struggle are indispensable. Failing the political forces and political struggle of the masses, success cannot be won by military action and armed forces. It goes without saying that not all forms of political struggle mean violence. The only actions that may be so considered are the *revolutionary actions undertaken by the masses outside the bounds of the state laws of the ruling class and directly aimed at overthrowing its rule* and seizing power for the people, once the question of political power has been raised.

The revolutionary violence aimed at toppling the ruling class must necessarily be *that of the masses*, of the broad masses that are oppressed and exploited. Under the leadership of the Party, they can display their strength and resolve in countless ways. The best, most revolutionary method is one that can create and organize forms of violence that are the best

fitted for the circumstances, one that can mobilize the power of the masses to the highest degree and hurl it at the ruling class and bring about victory for the revolution in the most favourable conditions. Either not to dare to start a military struggle when the need arises, or, conversely, to engage in such an effort under unfavourable circumstances, is a serious mistake.

In the August 1945 Revolution, our Party applied in a creative way the law of violent revolution and insurrection in order to win power. The August Revolution combined political with military struggle, and elaborate preparation of political and military forces with quick seizure of the opportune moment for rousing the masses to action to topple the rule of the imperialists and feudalists. Born and nurtured in the vast revolutionary movement of the masses, the armed units for national salvation and for liberation, whose prestige far outstripped their numbers and the size of their engagements, had contributed a very important share to building up the patriotic high tide of the masses in the 1941-1945 period. When the Soviet Union's resounding victory over the Kwantung army of the Japanese fascists forced the latter into unconditional surrender, the Party quickly seized that unique opportunity to launch a general insurrection, relying on the political forces of the broad rural and urban masses and combining them with the revolutionary armed forces, smashed the enemy's key organs in the capital and the other cities, liquidated the whole of his

administrative network in the countryside, and seized power in all the country.

One must have a thorough grasp of revolutionary violence, build up overwhelming superiority for the revolution, marshal the broadest masses of people on the basis of a truly firm and strong worker-peasant alliance, and at the same time strive to divide and isolate the enemy to the utmost, cripple his power to resist, break up the State apparatus of the ruling class, and establish the people's power. Here, as evidenced by the experience of all revolutions, one very important question, besides the preparation of political and military forces, is to *seize the opportune moment*. This moment may be brought about either by revolutionary forces at home or by conditions abroad. Wanting sufficient revolutionary forces, one will not be able either to create a favourable opportunity or to take timely advantage of it should it present itself. Therefore, the crucial thing is to exert sustained efforts aimed at tipping the scale in our favour and achieving decisive superiority for the revolution with regard to both posture and strength. Now, when will the fire of revolution blaze up? What spark will set off the powder keg? Once the revolution has acquired firm posture and strength and the enemy has been driven to the wall, the daily political and social life will supply us with every favourable opportunity and circumstance to fan up a great movement, the problem only depending on the leaders' especial clear-sightedness and political flair. As Lenin said, history as a whole, and the history of revolutions in particular, is

always richer in content, more varied, more multiform, more lively and ingenious than is imagined by even the best parties, the most class-conscious vanguards of the most advanced classes. That is why in the course of a revolution, it often suffices that the leaders are in full possession of the fundamental orientation and certain basic factors and conditions and that they dare to act. As action evolves, things will reveal their possibilities and trend of development, and at the same time the boundless creative power of the masses, the makers of history, will provide us with the orientation and methods for solving all practical problems.

THE REVOLUTION IN SOUTH VIET NAM AND THE PEOPLE'S WAR AGAINST U.S. AGGRESSION, FOR NATIONAL SALVATION

Immediately after winning power in the whole country, our people had to engage in a war of resistance against the French colonialists who, with the help of the American interventionists, again invaded our land. This first holy war of resistance was the continuation of the August Revolution; it was a war for the liberation of the nation and the defence of the fatherland waged under the leadership of the working class, represented by our Party, according to a correct political and military line. This line advocated a war fought by the entire people, an all-sided and protracted war which relied mainly on our own forces, combined the powerful political forces of the revolutionary masses with the armed forces, and used the political forces as a foundation on which to set up and expand the people's armed forces, which, with their three categories of troops, served as the core of the entire people's resistance to the enemy. We took armed combat as

the main form of struggle, combined it to a certain extent with political struggle in areas behind the enemy lines, and at the same time paid great attention to the fight on the economic front. We were thus able to bring into full play our people's absolute political and moral superiority and at the same time make the most of the favourable factors of the new era in order to overcome the difficulties and weaknesses besetting a small country with a backward agricultural economy and scant armed forces, which was initially surrounded by imperialism on every side. Finally, after nine years of extremely glorious struggle, our armed forces and people defeated a professional army of aggression nearly half a million strong of a powerful imperialist country.

That was the epic of a prodigious people's war whose most outstanding exploit — the great Dien Bien Phu battle — will go down in national history as a Bach Dang, a Chi Lang, a Dong Da¹ of the 20th century, and will be recorded in world history as a brilliant feat of arms which breached the citadel of the system of colonial servitude set up by imperialism.

The revolution in South Viet Nam has developed to the fullest extent the experience gained in the August Revolution and the war of resistance against French aggression and applied it to the new conditions.

Towards the close of 1959 and the beginning of 1960, the oppressive regime in the South sank into a

1. Three of the most brilliant decisive victories won by the Vietnamese people over foreign invaders, respectively in the 13th, 15th and 18th centuries (*Tr.*).

deep crisis. Although still relatively strong in the towns and cities, the enemy was no longer able to exercise his ordinary rule over the people in vast rural areas; the puppet administrative apparatus at the base grew weak and impotent in one section after another. As for the popular masses, especially the peasants, they were boiling over with revolutionary fervour and were determined and ready to engage in a life-and-death struggle with the enemy. Conditions were ripe for rousing up the rural people to stage *partial insurrections* and smash the weakest link in the enemy's administrative system.

The "concerted uprisings" which broke out in that period marked an important leap which shifted the revolution to an offensive position and expanded the revolutionary high tide all over South Viet Nam, armed combat being coupled with political action. While the revolution developed into a fierce war, military struggle increased with every passing day and played a very important role. To defeat the enemy militarily is indispensable for the victory of the resistance and the revolution. *Armed struggle is a fundamental form of struggle with a direct decisive effect on the annihilation of the enemy's military forces and thereby on the thwarting of all his military and political schemes.* However, it is always closely co-ordinated with political action with the aim of giving a hand to the masses in their continued uprisings, breaking the enemy's grip, winning and maintaining sovereignty for the people, and impelling the revolution forward. Together with military struggle, *political struggle by the masses is also a fundamental form of struggle with a*

decisive effect throughout all stages of the revolution in the South and with regard to the success of this revolution. The political forces not only serve as a foundation for the armed forces but are also built into an organized political army of the masses, the core of the political struggle spearheaded against the enemy right in areas under his control, including places where his military, political and economic forces are concentrated. *Military struggle coupled with political struggle is the fundamental form of revolutionary violence in the South, and the combination of the two is the fundamental rule of revolutionary methods.* These two extremely effective prongs of attack make up an immense aggregate strength; they multiply the forces of our 14 million fellow-countrymen in the South severalfold and enable them to foil every military and political scheme and move of the Americans and their puppets, thereby shaking and eventually breaking the aggressive will of the American aggressors. While practising these two fundamental forms of struggle, the Southern people have also given a strong impetus to *political work among enemy troops* aimed at enlightening the soldiers in the American army of aggression and those of the puppet regime, essentially the latter troops, so as to win them over to the side of the revolution and frustrate the American imperialists' extremely perfidious policy of "using Vietnamese to fight Vietnamese." This, too, is a strategic prong of attack, a fundamental point in revolutionary work in South Viet Nam aimed at bringing into effect the slogan "Workers, peasants and soldiers, unite!", overthrowing the neo-colonialist rule

and defeating the war of aggression of the American imperialists.

Mass uprisings combined with revolutionary warfare, such is the process of development of the revolution in South Viet Nam, initiated by partial uprisings in the rural areas. In subsequent steps, mass uprisings continued with increasing vigour and in close co-ordination with the revolutionary war. They enlarged the people's field of action, built up their forces, and caused the revolutionary war to expand and gain ever-wider prestige; conversely, the more the revolutionary war developed, the more favourable conditions it created for the outbreak and spreading of insurrections. The period of general offensive and concerted uprisings which began on Têt of the year Mau Than (spring 1968) was the natural upshot of the revolutionary process in South Viet Nam and the peak of combined military and political struggle.

One problem of strategic significance in the South Viet Nam revolution is the *correct assessment of the strategic position of the three areas: hill-forest, plain, and urban*. On the basis of that assessment, military struggle should be coupled with political struggle, and combat actions with mass uprisings in varying degrees in accordance with the specific features of each area and each stage of development of the revolution. The guideline: *"Attack the enemy in all three strategic areas"* is an original trait of the methods used by the revolution in the South; it stems from the summing up of, and improvement upon, the experience gained by the Vietnamese revolution since long. Looking back over

its whole process of development, one sees that the Vietnamese revolution constantly relies on the workers and peasants as its main forces, pays great attention to the revolutionary movement in both town and countryside, and, while building firm bases in the hill-forest and plain areas, prepares a foothold in the cities, staging insurrections in both the rural and urban regions.

In brief, *to stage partial insurrections, combine military with political struggle, attack the enemy with three prongs—military operations, political action, and agitation and propaganda work among his troops—, co-ordinate mass uprisings with revolutionary warfare, and strike the enemy in all three strategic areas*—such are the most salient features of revolutionary methods in South Viet Nam. These are not hard-and-fast, unconnected formulae, but forms and ways of struggle which are extremely flexible, vivid, and organically linked together. It is precisely these revolutionary methods which have developed to the full the strength, intelligence, and creative power of the millions of people of the popular masses, who always know how to act on the offensive, preserve and build up their forces, carry on a protracted struggle while exerting every effort to create favourable opportunities, win ever greater successes, and eventually inflict total defeat on the enemy.

Like our previous war of resistance against the French colonialists, the present war of resistance against American aggression, for national salvation, is a *people's war* developed to a very high level.

In the *North*, we carried out a war of self-defence against an air and naval war of destruction of unprecedented scope waged by the American aggressors. After four years of extremely valiant fighting, our armed forces and people completely defeated it. This was a new, meaningful stride of the people's war fought by our nation.

This victory assumed a very great significance. It firmly preserved the socialist North, the great rear base of the revolution in the whole country, broke up an important component of the savage war of aggression of the American imperialists in Viet Nam, and dealt a hard blow at their aggressive will.

It proved the complete soundness of the line put forward by our Party: war of resistance fought by the entire people, national defence shouldered by the entire people, re-adjustment of the economy.

It brought out the strong vitality of our fine socialist regime, the inexhaustible strength of the people's democratic power in the North, the unshakable resolve of our armed forces and people to resist American aggression and save the country, and their magnificent revolutionary heroism.

As President Ho Chi Minh pointed out: "This is the victory of our Party's correct revolutionary line, the victory of our people's ardent patriotism, strong unity and resolve to fight and win, the victory of our fine socialist regime. It is the common success of the armed forces and people in both zones, North and South, of our country. It is also that of the people of the

brother and friendly countries in the five continents." ¹

The people's war in the *South* is a revolutionary war, a liberation war fought against a typical "special war" and the largest and most barbarous "limited war" ever kindled by the American imperialists.

The line followed by the people's war being waged at present in the South under the sound leadership of the National Front for Liberation arises from the just character of the war for national liberation and the profoundly popular nature of the revolution in South Viet Nam. It rests upon the fervent patriotism and thoroughly revolutionary spirit of the people of the South, who are determined to stand up to defend and exercise their sacred national rights trampled upon by the American imperialists and their valets. It has absorbed the military science of Marxism-Leninism and the precious experience gained by the brother socialist countries, which it applies to the conditions of our country in an imaginative way. It inherits and has elevated to a very high level the extremely rich experience of the Vietnamese revolution in nationwide insurrection and people's war, together with our nation's glorious tradition of resistance to foreign aggression and the military skill of our forefathers.

The people's war in the South is a war "for the people and by the people", an all-sided war waged by the entire people and raised to a very high level on

¹ President Ho Chi Minh's Appeal of Nov. 3, 1968.

the strength of the general laws governing revolutionary methods in the South; it is a war which comprises both military combat and political action and stems from an insurrectional movement of the masses. *It is consistently inspired by an offensive strategic thought, which has directed the revolution in South Viet Nam ever since it switched to an offensive posture through the upsurge of "concerted uprisings" in the years 1959-1960. The offensive posture of the revolutionary war in the South in the period of fighting against the "special war" rested upon the absolute political and moral superiority, upon the overwhelming strength of the revolutionary masses* resolved to stand up and engage in a life-and-death struggle with the aggressors and traitors to win back their right to live. Firmly preserved, it was raised to ever higher forms and evolved from a local to a total character, thanks to the ever more powerful blows dealt by the two fists, the military and the political. In the confrontation with the "limited war", this offensive posture relies on *the deployment of our military and political forces in all strategic areas of the battlefield*, which provides the armed forces and people of the South with strong combat positions and ample power to maintain their initiative and continue their attacks after defeating the American imperialists' "special war". The general evolution of the revolutionary war displays the constant application of an offensive strategy; it shows a chain of grim, repeated and ever fiercer assaults which assume higher and higher forms, alternating gradual steps with leaps. In some places and at some times this process may take on a defensive character, but

this is only a temporary tactical move aimed at clearing the way for a continuation of the offensive. With this offensive strategy, the armed forces and people of the South have foiled the neo-colonialist policy of the American imperialists, overthrown the fascist dictatorship of Ngo Dinh Diem, defeated the Americans in their "special war", and are now worsting them in their "limited war" on the highest rung of their escalation.

The offensive strategy of the people's war in the South advocates a war of resistance fought by the entire people on the strength of both military and political forces and through both military and political struggle: it prescribes that one should attack the enemy in all three strategic areas, couple combat actions by all three categories of armed forces with uprisings by the revolutionary masses, and strike at the enemy while striving to win sovereignty, the latter effort facilitating the destruction of enemy forces, which, in turn, consolidates popular sovereignty; it demands that one should constantly maintain the initiative over the enemy, attack him all over the battlefield, and drive him into a passive position in which the only thing he can do is to try his best to cope with whatever way of fighting we choose to use, his troops being stretched thin, surrounded, cut up and subjected to unrelenting pressure.

The offensive potential of the people's war in South Viet Nam is tied up with a correct appraisal of the peculiar features and trend of development of the relation of forces between the Southern armed forces and people on the one hand, and the American imperialists

and their agents on the other. Although strong in number and technical means, the enemy suffers from basic weaknesses which are beyond retrieval, whereas in spite of their shortcomings the Southern armed forces and people possess very fundamental strong points. Because they know how to bring the latter to bear upon the enemy's weaknesses, they have won the initiative and increased their striking power severalfold.

In order to apply an offensive strategy, one must successfully solve a whole series of problems on military art, tactics and combat methods. In this connexion, the armed forces and people of the South have devised many appropriate fighting methods, highly original, varied, flexible, and effective, inflicting bitter losses on the enemy while keeping ours to a minimum: to combine guerilla operations by regional troops, people's militia, and self-defence corps with concentrated attacks by main-force units; to associate small, medium, and big-sized actions so as to raise the level of wholesale destruction of enemy forces while ceaselessly consolidating and expanding the people's sovereignty in all three strategic areas; to overcome the enemy's numbers by the high quality of the revolutionary armed forces, creating a posture of strength from which they can defeat large enemy units with only small detachments and successfully pit scant means against important ones; to strike hard blows, bold, clever, secret and sudden, now using only one kind of troops, now co-ordinating the actions of several, hitting at the enemy's vital organs, his "brain" and his "throat", thus achieving devastating combat efficiency; to attack resolutely and with bold initiative, imposing

our own way of fighting on the enemy and preventing him from utilizing his strong points, so as to render his tactics passive and patchy and deprive his reactions and defences of all effectiveness; to co-ordinate several methods and forms of annihilation attacks, fully use all forces, weapons and war means available, turn to full account terrain and weather, set on the enemy in all kinds of situations, whether he is advancing or retreating, and strike him in all kinds of places and circumstances, both where he is weak and off his guard and where he is strong and on his guard.

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

The strategic guideline of the people's war in South Viet Nam is *to fight a protracted war, gaining strength as one fights*. This is the law which has governed our people's war for national liberation and the defence of the fatherland over the past quarter century. In the present liberation war, the armed forces and people of the South are facing American imperialism, the truculent imperialist chieftain with a large army and modern equipment, and a military and economic potential many times our own. That is why we need time to gradually destroy his forces and weaken him, limit his strengths and worsen his weaknesses, foster

and develop our armed and political forces, tip the scale more and more in our favour with every passing day, drain the enemy of his force and make our own grow as we fight on and gain bigger and bigger successes. To wage a protracted fight means to attack the enemy starting with small actions and proceeding to ever bigger ones, push him back step by step, foil his successive strategic schemes, and ultimately bear him down completely. In such a long-drawn struggle, if we know how to exert ourselves to the utmost while taking full advantage of every favourable objective condition, if we know how to cause the enemy to develop weaknesses and skilfully exploit them, if we give our forces accurate and effective strategic guidance, follow the right orientation, pick the right target and opportune moment, strike hard, crippling blows and win substantial military successes, if at the same time we know how to couple military struggle with political action and armed assaults with popular uprisings, then we can make very important leaps apt to change the relation of forces and the face of the war.

Such leaps in fact happened in the liberation war in South Viet Nam with the Binh Gia campaign in winter 1964-spring 1965, the opening of the Tri-Thien front¹ in 1967, the general offensive and concerted uprisings in Tet of the year Mau Than (1968). Such strides forward prove that the armed forces and people of the South have followed the right direction, cleverly combined small, medium and big-sized engagements,

¹ Near the 17th parallel. (Tr.)

coupled continuous and protracted fighting with hard, lightning blows of great audacity and suddenness, and on the basis of a persevering drawn-out struggle, exerted every effort to create favourable opportunities and take timely advantage of them, thus recording ever bigger successes.

One important guideline in the conduct of the war in the South is *to combine the destruction of enemy vital forces with winning and maintaining sovereignty for the people, the people's masterhood making it possible to wipe out enemy forces, and this latter action in turn facilitating the ceaseless expansion and consolidation of popular sovereignty.*

Assuredly, in any war, victory implies the destruction of enemy armed forces. But there are many ways leading to this result. The choice of combat methods stems from the strategic thought and is connected with the character of the war, the objects of one's combat actions, the size of the battlefield, and other factors.

The people's war in South Viet Nam is a revolutionary war growing out of a mass insurrectional movement aimed at toppling the rule of the American imperialists and their lackeys. While the war goes on, there take place not only combat actions by the armed forces but also a movement of political struggle waged by the masses in various forms, the highest being the continuous uprisings staged by the broad masses in order to win sovereignty in varying degrees, depending on the concrete conditions prevailing in any given place in the three strategic areas. These insurrections, which

have erupted over large areas, often repeatedly, with the aim of knocking down the puppet basic administration step by step and doing away with all forms of control and oppression, are very important spearheads of attack launched in co-ordination with military actions and creating favourable conditions for our armed forces to intensify their destruction of enemy strength. Conversely, the combat activities of the revolutionary armed forces aim not only at wiping out the enemy's military forces but also at boosting the political struggle, and in particular at helping the insurrectionary masses break up all forms of enemy control and oppression, win sovereignty, and set up revolutionary power in one form or another.

To combine the destruction of enemy forces with the winning and maintenance of sovereignty for the people — there lies the secret of every success of armed insurrection and revolutionary warfare in the South. Here, it is not only a matter of combining armed actions with popular insurrections aimed at a gradual conquest of power, but also *one of establishing the strategic posture of the people's war*. Militarily speaking, the Southern battlefield is very small in size, the density of enemy troops very great; on the other hand, the armed forces and people of the South are fighting on their own soil and carrying out a revolutionary war relying on nationwide resistance and the combination of armed with political struggle; that is why they must build a strategic posture that is advantageous to our side and disadvantageous to the enemy. The best way to attain this end is to win

sovereignty in order to destroy enemy forces, and conversely, to destroy enemy strength in order to win sovereignty.

For the people and their semi-military forces, to win sovereignty means to stand up resolutely to topple the rule of the Americans and their puppets and fight the enemy right in our fields and orchards, villages and hamlets, forest clearings and streets ; it means to cling to and be masters of the land, to be masters of the administration in varying degrees, masters of the situation. Each village, each hamlet, is turned into a fortress, each citizen becomes a fighter, who seeks every way to fight the enemy, devises all kinds of methods, engages in military and political action and agitation work among enemy troops, uses all weapons and all means available.

For the revolutionary armed forces, to win sovereignty means to deploy all three categories of troops everywhere and in a rational way all over the key regions in the three strategic areas, in the liberated zones, in places constantly subjected to enemy raids and " pacification " actions, and also in the very fringes of enemy bases ; it means to rely on the sovereignty exercised by the people and the unceasing growth of the political forces of the masses to turn the South into a pre-arranged battlefield, where the forces in presence are arrayed in a way that is advantageous to us and disadvantageous to the enemy, and where the liberation troops can attack with great mobility and flexibility and reduce the enemy to a posture in which he is surrounded and subjected to unrelenting military and political onslaughts.

Such is the battle array of a people's war combining military with political attacks, combat actions with mass uprisings, guerilla with regular warfare, and fought in all three strategic areas. Such is the battle array of a war with no definite frontline and where the battlefield is yet everywhere, in which the more than a million American and puppet troops are stretched thin, surrounded, cut up, and attacked on every side, and in which they suffer from all kinds of flaws and weaknesses: should they try to dig themselves in, their defences would be full of loopholes; should they attempt an attack, they would rush headlong into a place where our forces are waiting for them. Drowned in the raging sea of the people's war, the enemy forces are scattered and sapped in spite of their numbers and modern war equipment and are unable to use the combat methods in which they excel. On the other hand, the armed forces and people of the South can always surround them, stage uninterrupted attacks and uprisings, maintain the initiative, strike at them both in front and from the rear, and in whatever place and at whatever time we choose.

The most outstanding achievement of our strategy in South Viet Nam is to have forced the enemy into a defensive posture in which he must face attacks on every front by the revolutionary armed forces and ways of fighting of the latter's own choosing, a posture in which he is driven into political passivity and dire strategic straits, unable to make up his mind whether he should scatter his forces or concentrate them, engage in "pacification" or in "search and destroy" operations, withdraw to a defensive position or try to

attack. For this reason, the huge numbers of his army of aggression turn out to be inadequate and his strength becomes weakness; in spite of their modern weapons and means for high mobility, his troops show poor combat efficiency, and their huge potential cannot be brought into full play. On the other hand, thanks to their rational organization, high combat efficiency, appropriate combat methods, both flexible and skilful, and advantageous strategic posture, the people's armed forces of the South constantly attack the enemy from a position of strength, and, as they fight on, grow ever stronger, attaining ever higher combat efficiency, waging fruitful campaigns and achieving great strategic effectiveness.

Those successes are the results of the invincible line of the people's war, of the application of an offensive strategy, of a military art which *defeats big forces with small ones, overcomes large units with small detachments and matches high quality against large numbers, an art which knows how to curb the enemy's strength on the battlefield while developing our own military and political power to the full, how always to strike at the enemy from a position of initiative and offensive, and to create postures of strength from which to hit hard at the enemy and bear him down in a protracted war.*

The present people's war in South Viet Nam is a great and immensely vivid illustration of Engels's forecast: "A people who want to win independence cannot confine themselves to ordinary methods of warfare. Mass insurrections, revolutionary warfare, guerilla detachments everywhere — such is the only way in

which a small nation can vanquish a big country, and a small army oppose a more powerful one."¹

Our people's resistance to American aggression, for national salvation, has entered its tenth year. Since Tet of the year Mau Than (1968) it has shifted to a new stage marked by extremely valiant struggle and tremendous successes, and is advancing to complete victory.

The American imperialists have suffered heavy failure throughout our country and are running into many difficulties both in the United States itself and in the world. Yet, due to their obdurate and perfidious nature, they persist in their war of aggression.

President Ho Chi Minh told us: "The war of resistance against US aggression may drag on. Our people may have to face new sacrifices of life and property. Whatever happens, we must keep firm our resolve to fight the US aggressors till total victory."

Acting upon his testament, we are determined to wage a protracted war and compel the enemy to give up his aggressive design, withdraw all his troops, and respect our sovereignty and territorial integrity. The whole Party, the entire people, all the armed forces, should exert the greatest efforts, display revolutionary heroism, overcome all difficulties and hardships, persevere in, and push forward, the war of resistance against American aggression, for national salvation, until total victory, liberate the South, defend the North, and advance to the peaceful reunification of the country

¹ Marx and Engels, *Collected Works* (in Russian), 2nd edition, Moscow 1957, vol. 6, p. 416.

To fight and defeat the American aggressors — such is the urgent requirement of the Vietnamese revolution and the world revolution, for our present life and the future happiness of all generations to come. There lie the honour and pride of our Party and people and their duty to the fatherland and the revolutionary people of the world. Whatever sacrifices and hardships we may have to face, and however long and hard the war, we are resolved to fulfil the glorious mission entrusted to us by history.

We firmly believe that, under the leadership of the National Front for Liberation and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam, thanks to the invincible line of the people's war, the valour, intelligence, military skill, and great militant unity of our more than 30 million fellow-countrymen in the whole of our land, and with the immense help of our brothers and friends all over the world, the people and fighters of the South will certainly win complete victory.

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Making an assessment of the glorious revolutionary struggle carried out by our people under the experienced leadership of the Party, President Ho Chi Minh said: "Our people is a heroic people. We have toppled the Japanese fascists and defeated the French colonialists, and are resolutely fighting and worsting the American imperialist aggressors."¹ Our present war of

¹. President Ho Chi Minh's Appeal of July 20, 1965.

resistance against American aggression, for national salvation, is the greatest war of resistance in our people's glorious history of struggle against foreign aggression, and at the same time one of the finest pages in the history of the fight waged by the revolutionary people of the world against imperialism in the present era.

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

Enlightened by the precious lessons of the Vietnamese revolution, our people will march forward with ever firmer steps, bring the war of resistance against American aggression, for national salvation, to total victory and complete the people's national democratic revolution in the whole country, thus making a valuable contribution to the common struggle going on all over the world for peace, national independence, democracy, and socialism.

**THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION
IN NORTH VIET NAM**

THE SOVIET REFORMATION
IN NORTH AFRICA

Fifteen years have elapsed since the war of resistance against the French colonialists ended in victory, and the North, entirely liberated, entered upon the stage of the socialist revolution. During this short period, North Viet Nam has gone through many social reforms, done away with colonial and feudal vestiges, and become the socialist North, the base area of the revolution in the whole country. In spite of its still backward economy and American imperialist aggression, it has displayed tremendous vitality, brilliantly fulfilled its duties as the great rear area, smashed the war of destruction of the American aggressors, and uninterruptedly gone from one success to another in the socialist revolution.

It goes without saying that those achievements are only initial steps. In order to turn a backward agricultural country, in which small production plays the essential role, into a socialist one with a modern industry and agriculture and advanced culture and science, and ensure to our people a rich material and cultural life, we must exert the greatest efforts for twenty, thirty more years.

THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT AND THE TRIPLE REVOLUTION TO ACCOMPLISH

In the light of Marxism-Leninism, the Third Congress of the Party and subsequent Central Committee meetings accurately appraised the situation in the North in all fields and pointed out that "*the greatest characteristic of our country in the transition period* is its direct advance from agricultural backwardness to socialism without passing through the stage of capitalist development."¹ On this basis, the Congress and the Central Committee laid down a general line for the socialist revolution and gave the orientation for the development of the various branches of the national economy. The course charted by the Congress and the resolutions of the Central Committee faithfully reflect the law which governs the advance to socialism of such a backward agricultural country as ours and

¹. Ho Chi Minh, *Selected Works*, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi 1960, p. 772. (in Vietnamese).

conform to the characteristics and content of the new times.

In the present era, when capitalism is decaying and disintegrating more and more, and when socialism has become a reality, nay a world system and the decisive factor in the evolution of human society, the problem of progressing to socialism has become a historical necessity not only for the advanced capitalist countries but also for those economically-backward countries which have regained national independence:

With the great victory of the Soviet Union over the German, Italian and Japanese fascists, the weakening of many imperialist countries and the birth of a whole series of socialist countries after the Second World War, a national liberation movement flared up in almost all colonial and semi-colonial countries, forming a powerful spearhead against imperialism. In many of them, power with a national and democratic character has been set up, this character varying in degree according to the strength of the workers and peasants and the relation of class forces in each country. In countries where the workers and peasants play the decisive role and where the vanguard of the working class has assumed leadership of the revolution, the success of the national democratic revolution is not only a victory of the people over imperialism and feudalism but also a political triumph of the proletariat over the native bourgeoisie, the triumph of a new-type State. Hence, *the victorious completion of the national democratic revolution also means the opening of the socialist revolution.* The worker-peasant revolutionary power led by the working class immediately sets

about discharging the historical duties of the dictatorship of the proletariat: to carry out a socialist revolution and build socialism. Thus, in our times, the national democratic revolution led by the working class is of necessity bound up with the socialist revolution.

As soon as it came into being, our Party, in its first political theses, made it clear that the Vietnamese revolution must necessarily go through two stages: the national democratic and the socialist. This clear-headed course is in full harmony with the great tenets of Marxism-Leninism, the trend of our times, and the aspirations of our people. Revolutionary practice over the past forty years has proved it to be wholly correct.

All bourgeois revolutions in history led to the dictatorship of one exploiting class being supplanted by that of another; they all maintained the rule of a minority over the majority, this being possible only through resort to violence. Hence bourgeois dictatorship by nature involves violence and repression. Liberty, equality, fraternity, human rights, democracy...—all this fine rhetoric in fact aims at keeping the bourgeoisie firmly in the saddle, and serving its free enterprise and free exploitation. There can never be genuine democracy, democracy for the majority, so long as the basic means of production and the reins of the State are held by a minority. Being a historical necessity sprung from the trend of the times, the birth of the dictatorship of the proletariat generates a tremendous social upheaval which brings democratic rights to the toiling people, who make up the

great majority of society, and elevates them to masterhood over society, economy, culture, and their own destiny. Henceforward they are the real makers of history. The dictatorship of the proletariat is the power of the toiling people, the majority, pitted against the exploiters, the minority: its nature is not essentially violence and repression but construction and organization. For this reason, it is the highest and fullest form of democracy, "a million times more democratic" than bourgeois democracy.

In our country, the dictatorship of the proletariat came into being at a time when the forces of production were extremely backward and the material premises for the building of socialism still very weak. The social system of production stood at a crossroads: either to advance to socialism, or to capitalism, or to linger for a time in small production. In order to build socialism, we must build up right from the beginning both new productive forces and new production relations, both a new economic foundation and a new superstructure. In these conditions, the *initiative* of the dictatorship of the proletariat, its *constructive and organizational role* and the *political consciousness* of the masses in creating the new society assume all the more importance.

The dictatorship of the proletariat in any country has to solve this question: "Which wins?" — capitalism or socialism? In developed capitalist countries, the bourgeoisie is a big foe; capitalism consists of a system of production relations covering all fields of the national economy and a colossal superstructure at

the service of that regime of oppression and exploitation. That is why after the seizure of power and the setting up of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the class struggle against the bourgeoisie and other reactionary forces continues with unabated fierceness in various forms, "bloody and bloodless, violent and peaceful, military and economic, educational and administrative"¹, in order to build socialism. However, even in those conditions—as Lenin pointed out—the dictatorship of the proletariat "is not only the use of force against the exploiters, and not even mainly the use of force. The economic foundation of this use of revolutionary force, the guarantee of its effectiveness and success is the fact that the proletariat represents and creates a higher type of social organization of labour compared with capitalism. This is what is important, this is the source of the strength and the guarantee that the final triumph of Communism is inevitable".² In countries advancing to socialism without passing through the stage of capitalist development, to abolish the capitalist economic sector and all other forms of exploitation, to stem the trend of small production towards spontaneous capitalist development, to smash all attempts by hostile elements to raise their heads, to ensure order and security and strengthen the national defence potential—all this assuredly constitutes a protracted and complex class struggle and one of the

¹. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, Progress Publishers, Moscow 1966, p. 44.

². Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 29, Progress Publishers, Moscow 1965, p. 419.

most important tasks of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Whether or not to see this struggle through to complete victory is one of the important signs that distinguish the revolutionary stand of the proletariat from bourgeois and petty bourgeois reformism. However, the content of class struggle is not confined there, for to gain a radical victory over the bourgeoisie and other reactionary forces, to build socialism and communism successfully, it is not enough to repress the exploiting classes and other counter-revolutionary forces, it is not enough to do away with the capitalist economic sector and all other forms of exploitation. In the North of our country in particular, where small production was predominant and the capitalist economic sector insignificant, the expropriation of the exploiting classes by itself cannot create a material and technical basis for socialism, and the suppression of counter-revolutionary forces by itself is not enough to ensure success for socialism. The basic problem here is to convert small individual production into large-scale socialist production and build almost from scratch the whole material and technical basis, the economic foundation, and the superstructure of a socialist country by simultaneously carrying out a triple revolution: revolution in production relations, technical revolution, and ideological and cultural revolution. Only in this way, essentially in this way, can we prevent small production from spontaneously developing into capitalism, extirpate the socio economic conditions which beget and restore capitalism and the bourgeoisie, and ensure total and complete victory for socialism.

The struggle between the two ways — the capitalist and the socialist — in the North of our country consists essentially in a *struggle to raise small production to large-scale socialist production*. To hold firm to the *dictatorship of the proletariat* in order to carry out simultaneously *those three revolutions*, the keystone being the technical revolution, is the *basic content of class struggle in the period of transition to socialism in the North of our country*.

To relax vigilance vis-à-vis the exploiting classes and other counter-revolutionary forces, especially at present when our country is waging a bitter national and class struggle against American imperialism, the most truculent imperialism in the world, and when an unrelenting battle is unfolding on a world scale between the capitalist and the socialist systems, would be a dangerous rightist blunder and a crime against the revolution. But in the present socialist revolution in the North, if we overestimated the strength of the exploiting classes and other counter-revolutionary forces, if we kept our eyes glued on our repressive duty and failed to realize that our main task is to organize and build and carry out the three revolutions, we would also be committing a serious mistake.

The revolution in production relations, the technical revolution, and the ideological and cultural revolution are the three organic parts of the socialist revolution. They are intertwined, exert influence upon each other, and impel each other forward. The new society, the new man, the new production relations and new productive forces are not the results of any single revolution but the common products of all three.

Assuredly, in that dialectical relationship, each revolution maintains its specific position and function so as to solve specific problems in the process of the socialist revolution.

To advance to socialism without passing through the stage of capitalist development — this firstly means that we do not possess a big industry and a highly-developed material and technical basis. One cannot accomplish socialist industrialization on the basis of a backward and dispersed agriculture while maintaining in existence a capitalist economic sector and an individual economy which spawns capitalism every hour of the day. For this reason, the revolution in production relations is a sine qua non step which paves the way for the development of the productive forces, quickens the pace of the technical revolution, and builds up the collective masterhood of the toiling people in the economic field. As a result of this revolution, the worker - peasant alliance is consolidated, the dictatorship of the proletariat strengthened, and the ideological and cultural revolution benefits by socio-economic conditions from which spring the new thoughts and feelings of the new man.

The revolution in production relations consists first and foremost in eradicating the capitalist economic sector and the attendant exploitation of man by man, transforming the individual economy of the peasants and craftsmen into a collective socialist economy, and instituting the collective socialist ownership of the means of production in two forms: ownership by the people as a whole and ownership by the various collectives.

However, this tremendous change in social life is by no means the whole content of the revolution in production relations, for in the economic field, collective masterhood comprises three aspects: masterhood over the means of production, over economic management, and over the distribution of the products of labour. Hence, after the establishment of the toiling people's collective masterhood over the means of production, we must solve a whole series of such important questions as: How to manage collective labour and property so as to impart the fastest pace to enlarged reproduction, carry out the technical revolution at the quickest tempo, achieve the most rational re-division of social labour and the highest labour productivity; how to organize the system of social production so as to ensure both unified central leadership and the exercise of the right of the various branches and regions and of all the working people as collective masters; how to effect distribution so as to secure adequate accumulation for enlarged reproduction while improving the people's living standards, to encourage industriousness while fully displaying the social spirit of socialism, and to see to the material welfare of the people while developing culture, education, science and technique; what economic and administrative measures to apply in order to consolidate and improve the various socialist economic organizations while expanding the field of action of socialism, drawing individual producers into co-operatives, tightening market control, fighting speculation, redressing all defects in the management of land and labour, etc. Those are urgent, arduous, and complex problems

raised by the revolution in production relations on a national scale as well as in each region and each production unit, problems which we must solve in order to construct and perfect the collective masterhood of the working people in economic management and in the distribution of the products of labour and to complete the task of socialist transformation.

In order to advance direct from small production to socialism, parallel to the revolution in production relations, we must effect a technical revolution aimed at turning handicraft labour into mechanized labour, and building the new material and technical basis of socialist society. At present in the North of our country, after many social reforms, the regime of oppression and exploitation has been abolished, all working people are equal and free and the masters of the land. But this equality, freedom and masterhood cannot be considered sufficient, for our toiling people's material and cultural life still relies upon a weak material and technical basis. "Communism is Soviet power plus electrification of the whole country." — Lenin's famous formula helps us get a fuller grasp of the problem. Soviet power means dictatorship of the proletariat, the right of the toiling people to be the masters. Electrification means large-scale industry based on electrification; it means the material and technical basis of the new society. Wanting one of these two factors, there cannot be socialism and communism. As we start from small production, what we badly need is that which Lenin called "electrification". Only on the basis of

electrification can we consolidate the socialist economic regime, the worker-peasant alliance and the dictatorship of the proletariat, eradicate small-producer mentality and habits, strengthen and develop socialist ideology, bring the toiling people material welfare and a civilized life, and make them masters not only of society but also of nature. It is due to these extremely important implications that our Party asserts the position of the technical revolution as a "keystone".

The technical revolution is closely bound to the revolution in production relations, and the two exert reciprocal influence in a dialectical way. The latter paves the way for the former and creates socio-economic premises for pushing it forward; conversely, the former consolidates the fruits of the latter and creates material-technical premises for ceaselessly perfecting socialist production relations. A sound economic course should first of all impel both of them forward simultaneously and bring into play their dialectical interaction. On the one hand, we must fully utilize the positive part played by socialist production relations to operate a rapid re-division of social labour, expand production, improve the people's living standards and quicken the tempo of accumulation for socialist industrialization; on the other hand we must, in keeping with the level of development of the productive forces, actively and ceaselessly perfect the new production relations and cause them, especially the new regime of economic management, to constantly play their role as "trail blazer" and "booster" in the development of productive forces.

At present in our own camp as in many other countries of the world a new scientific and technical revolution is bringing about many important changes both in the conquest of nature by mankind and in social relationships. That is why the productive forces of our country must and can at the same time develop *gradually*, according to the law of change from small to large-scale production, and by *leaps*, direct to mechanization and automation, first of all to mechanization. On the one hand, we must turn to account all possibilities of handicraft production and take it step by step to semi-mechanization and mechanization, strive to expand regional industry and couple it with agriculture with a view to a re-division of social labour, thus creating conditions for the birth of large-scale industry. On the other hand, we must, on the strength of the supremacy inherent in the socialist economic system, the active help of the brother socialist countries and international exchanges, bend all our energies towards building a big industry with modern technology, make economic and technical leaps, and through these leaps advance towards the modernization of the whole of our national economy. This is the best way to carry out the technical revolution successfully and quickly build up a modern large-scale socialist production system in our country.

To build socialism means not only building a new economy and a new society but also forming new, socialist men, investing them with true value and realizing conditions for them to develop all-sidedly and become the conscious makers of history. To

change social existence is the basic condition for changing social conscience, and the new man will only come into being in the process of building the new society, through practical activities, through the revolutionary movements of the masses. But the transformation of man, his ideological remoulding is not and cannot be a spontaneous process. Besides, "to build socialism there must first of all be *socialist men*."¹ And so, together with economic revolutions, one must of necessity accomplish an ideological and cultural revolution aimed at bringing about radical changes in the ideological, spiritual and cultural life of the whole of society, of the broad popular masses. For our country in particular, the passage to socialism without going through the stage of capitalist development is a new road forward which requires a high creative spirit and political consciousness; however, the ideas and habits of our society still bear the stamp of small production, and our people's cultural, scientific, and technical level is still low. Hence the particular importance of the ideological and cultural revolution.

The socialist man is one with noble virtues which reflect his communist view of life, one who is boundlessly loyal to the cause of the working class and the nation, who in his life and work displays a sense of collective masterhood: "All for each, and each for all." The spirit of collective masterhood we are striving to foster rests on the stand of the working class. It not only opposes the spirit of

¹. Appeals of President Ho Chi Minh, *Su That* Publishing House, Hanoi 1962, Vol. 6, p. 174 (in Vietnamese).

individual masterhood of the capitalists and the small producers but also the "collective" spirit of the guild type, which divorces one's small collective from the unified leadership of the proletarian State and pits the interests of one collective against those of another. In each man the spirit of collective masterhood must be displayed first and foremost in his respect for labour, production, and public property; this is the most correct class stand after the proletariat has seized power and become the master of society. It is totally alien to the hireling mentality and the "functionary" style; it is opposed to all manifestations of indiscipline and irresponsibility in work and in everyday life; it flays the mercantile-minded, the liars, botchers, parasites; it castigates all manifestations of bureaucratism and of divorce from reality and production. One must be fully aware that only work of the highest standard can make one a full-fledged master and that only on the basis of high labour productivity can one attain to a rich material and cultural life and achieve socialism.

It is not enough to be conscious of being the master, one must also be possessed of scientific knowledge: only then can one become the master of society and nature, complete socialist transformation and build communism. Without revolutionary fervour there can be no revolutionary action; but revolutionary fervour by itself can at best destroy the old but cannot build the new. To build socialism means to combine all scientific knowledge — social sciences, natural sciences, techniques — with a view to scaling the peak of civilization. Hence the socialist man must be one with an

advanced cultural, scientific and technical standard, one who can understand and apply the laws of society and nature, inherit and develop in a creative way all cultural and scientific achievements accumulated by mankind through the energy and strength of thousands of generations.

The socialist man is one with ardent patriotism, profound love for his fellow-countrymen and comrades, unflinching courage and an indomitable spirit, deep attachment to independence and freedom, one who would "rather endure any sacrifice than lose his country and be a slave," one imbued with revolutionary heroism not only in the defence of his fatherland but also in the creative work of building the new society; at the same time he is deeply imbued with proletarian internationalism, knows how to harmonize in a judicious way the legitimate interests of his nation with the common good of the international workers' movement, and opposes all tendencies towards either narrow nationalism or great-nation chauvinism.

The socialist men of our country must not only be able to assimilate the newest achievements of modern civilization, but also to inherit and develop the fine qualities that are representative of the Vietnamese mind and soul forged during four thousand years of history.

To educate and train such men constitute the task and content of the ideological and cultural revolution. The more results it attains, and the quicker its pace, the more strongly it will impel the revolution in production relations and the technical revolution. Conversely, these two revolutions will build up economic and

technical bases on which to expand the ideological and cultural revolution and consolidate its gains.

To complete those three revolutions will result in successfully building socialism in our country, turning it into a prosperous socialist country with modern industry and agriculture and advanced culture and science, ensuring to our people material welfare and a rich spiritual life, and strengthening our economic and national defence potential. Therefore, to strive to *reinforce the dictatorship of the proletariat and develop to the utmost the leading role of the Party, the organizational and managerial role of the State and the spirit of collective masterhood of the toiling masses with a view to successfully carrying out the three revolutions, the keystone being the technical revolution*—such is the fundamental orientation, one with the character of a law, of socialist revolution in our country, and the necessary content of the latter's transition to socialism without going through the stage of capitalist development. To keep this orientation in mind and follow it in an imaginative way on a national scale as well as in each branch and at each level, to take as our concrete objectives the gradual, steady and balanced building of a system of large-scale production and the progressive improvement of the people's living conditions — such is the most important task of our Party, our State and our people in the socialist revolution.

THE LINE FOR INITIAL ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

To build a large-scale socialist production system in our country does not merely mean to build a certain number of large enterprises for one branch or another of the national economy but to transform the whole of the social system of production, to change radically the whole of the national economic structure, to combine the conversion of small production with the building of great production bases, relying on the results of the former undertaking to carry out the latter, and, conversely, using the strength of the large bases built to quicken the pace of conversion of small production and raise it to large-scale production. Viewed generally, the process of building a large-scale socialist production system in our country is one of transforming production relations coupled with effecting a technical revolution and turning handicraft labour into mechanized labour; accomplishing a re-division of social labour and developing new branches and new trades on a large

scale, with intensified specialization combined with increased co-operation; and building a national and independent economy while at the same time expanding economic relations with foreign countries, mainly those in the socialist system.

In order to build a large-scale system of production, one must have a definite amount of means of production and labour. Formerly, in order to quickly amass that huge capital in the period of primitive accumulation, capitalism resorted to ruthless violence to rob the toiling people in both the "mother countries" and the colonies, turning them into hired slaves. To construct a large-scale production system, socialism certainly cannot accumulate capital through robbery and exploitation but essentially by developing production and increasing labour productivity. It cannot just go on accumulating capital but must also look after the welfare of all strata of the people and effect distribution in accordance with socialist principles.

In conditions prevailing in our country, in order to fulfil those fundamental economic tasks of the initial period (capital accumulation for industrialization, improvement of the people's living conditions), we must know how to *build a rational economic structure and carry out a re-division of labour* on the basis of the collective masterhood of the toiling people with a view to giving a strong boost to production and rapidly increasing labour productivity. In order to build a rational economic structure, one must first of all ascertain the positions and tempos of, and the relationships

between, agriculture and industry, the centrally-run economy and the various regional economies, and production and distribution.

In the initial stage of the transition period, when the national economy still remains at the stage of small production and when agricultural labour with a very low output still occupies a great proportion of total social labour, the first step with a cardinal significance is to rapidly turn the agriculture based on individual holdings and monoculture into a collective and many-sided one, and, on the basis of increased labour productivity, proceed to a re-division of social labour in accordance with the new orientation in production, transfer part of the agricultural labour force to industrial development, gradually diminish necessary labour and increase surplus labour, the only source of accumulation. To this end, right from the beginning, industry must be made to act on agriculture and agriculture must be closely co-ordinated with industry, both central and regional. This relationship between industry and agriculture can only be established through the building of a centrally-run economy and the various regional economies.

There begins the birth and growth of a large-scale socialist system of production in our country.

That is why the Third Congress of our Party stressed: We must give priority to the rational development of heavy industry, strive to push forward agriculture and light industry, take industry as the leading force and agriculture as the basis for industrial development, co-ordinate the regional economies with the centrally-

run economy... The course charted by the Congress has been and will remain our fundamental orientation. The process of implementing that line and the living realities of the past fifteen years allow us to state our line for initial economic development concretely as follows: *to give priority to the rational development of heavy industry on the basis of impelling agriculture and light industry forward; to build the centrally-run economy while developing the various regional economies.*

TO GIVE PRIORITY TO THE RATIONAL DEVELOPMENT OF HEAVY INDUSTRY

"The only possible economic foundation of socialism is large-scale machine industry. Whoever forgets this is no Communist." ¹ These forcible words of Lenin point out the extremely important role played by heavy industry in the socialist economic system, holding the attitude towards heavy industry to be one of the basic criteria distinguishing scientific socialism from the other kinds of "socialism". We set great store by heavy industry for it is the lever raising small production to large-scale production, for it equips labour with new tools, increases man's power over nature, liberates labour from the backward state of handicrafts, imparts greater productivity to labour with a view to building a new society and a new economy. With the immense strength supplied by

¹ Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 32, Progress Pub., Moscow, 1965, p. 492.

heavy industry, man is in a position to exploit nature's resources ever more fully and produce ever more commodities.

Because heavy industry plays such a decisive role, and under the conditions prevailing in our country, our Party considers socialist industrialization, of which the keystone is the building of a modern heavy industry, to be "the central task all through the period of transition to socialism." However, in order to build a heavy industry, there must be pre-requisites to be created by agriculture and light industry. These are the labour force, consumer goods, primitive accumulation and market. Formerly, under capitalism, heavy industry came into being only after a long period of development of light industry, and took nearly a century to become a complete system. At present in our country, the socialist production relations make it possible for us to carry out at a faster pace a concentration of capital and a re-division of labour, and, right from the beginning, appropriate a part of the national income and the labour force for the building of a heavy industry. Thanks to our own resources, the help of the socialist countries, and international co-operation, we can speed up primitive accumulation and solve more quickly complex problems of science and technique. And so, even while our agriculture and light industry are still at a low level, we are possessed of a number of conditions, which formerly capitalism could not have, for developing heavy industry. Hence, if we do not boldly tackle the task of building a heavy industry, of establishing immediately certain necessary bases for heavy

industry, this means that we are not fully aware of the favourable conditions for economic building in our country, that we are incapable of turning to account existing advantages in order to give an early impulse to our national economy and impart a faster pace to our agriculture and light industry, thus bringing about progress not only by gradual steps but also by leaps. However, we must be fully conscious of this fact: heavy industry can only vigorously advance when agriculture and light industry have become firm bases for it. If we take no account of the present poor level of our agriculture and light industry, if we fail to see the necessary link between agriculture and light industry on the one hand and heavy industry on the other, if we promote heavy industry without aiming at pushing forward agriculture and light industry, we shall, in practice, not only fail to develop heavy industry but also worsen the existing economic imbalance, create more difficulties and check the advance of our national economy as a whole. For this reason, from the outset, we must strive to promote the growth of agriculture and light industry, and promptly make the first leap forward in these fields; each advance of heavy industry must aim at furthering agriculture and light industry, for without the action of the former there can be no progress of the latter two. Besides, for heavy industry to serve agriculture and light industry and help them forward also means that it is creating conditions for its own priority development.

At present, the most important task of heavy industry is to make it possible to *equip every branch of production*,

primarily agriculture and light industry, with tools of various kinds and various technical levels, both rudimentary and modern, fitted for each branch and each category of work, so as to quickly raise labour productivity at least two or three-fold. In the present economic situation, the raising of labour productivity calls for a whole series of important measures such as a rational and scientific organization of work, strict utilization of the labour force, improvement of the workers' skill; correctly determining the orientation of production and that for the distribution of manpower; greater efficiency in economic management, strengthening of ideological work and better organization of daily life so as to ensure that everybody work zealously, observe good work discipline, and make full use of his eight working hours. However, the improvement of work tools remains the most fundamental measure. To this end, we must urgently build the mechanical engineering branch into an important one and boldly invest capital and labour so as to develop it at a faster rate. One burning question at present is that, while building new engineering shops, we must pay great attention to the management of existing engineering enterprises, fully investigate and grasp the actual potential of each branch and each factory, integrate all the engineering factories into a system with distribution of tasks and close co-operation, give a correct orientation in production to each factory on the basis of the overall plan for the whole network; technical cadres in each engineering branch should get down to the bases, first of all in agriculture, small industry and handicrafts, carry out conclusive surveys on how to improve each

category of tools so that within a short time whole series of more appropriate implements could be turned out.

To fulfil its tasks, the engineering branch in our country should develop into a system extending from the central to the regional level, in which manufacture is judiciously combined with repair and specialized engineering with general engineering. While the central administration sees to the building and management of engineering factories with a high technical standard turning out modern machinery and equipment for agriculture, light industry, capital construction, transport and communications, etc., the main task of the regional engineering system is to serve agricultural production and turn out current consumer goods.

With a view to gradually modernizing our economy and meeting the present requirements of production work and daily life, another important task of heavy industry is to strive to create *a source of energy and materials and equipment* to serve as a basis for an independent economy.

Electrical power should be vigorously developed and should of necessity stay one step ahead of the other branches. Thermo-power should be coupled with hydropower, large-size plants with medium-size plants, both to be directly managed by the central administration; at the same time we must build small hydropower stations wherever possible, especially in the highlands. In order to rapidly create a source of electrical power for economic expansion, in the years ahead we must rely on home-supplied coal and build big-capacity thermo-power stations while making

active preparations for the building of hydropower stations on the strength of existing possibilities. For the production of electrical energy, cement, bricks and tiles, for use as fuel and for export, we must quickly increase our production of *coal*. For this we must dig new mines while going on with the exploitation of old ones, streamline the management regime of coal and reinforce the machinery for this management, determine the precise tasks of each unit at the base, consolidate the various labour organizations, and bring about a balanced and rational relationship between labour and equipment, and between the various links in the chain of coal production.

The production of *building materials* (cement, wood, bricks, tiles, lime, etc.) should be considered an important task of our State and be disposed into a nation-wide network, with a clear-cut distribution of responsibilities between the central and regional administrations, and a close combination of handicrafts with modern industry. We must make the building materials industry keep pace with the building of new material and technical bases, especially after the years of savage war of destruction by the American imperialists.

In the building of the *metallurgical branch* we must pay attention to the various economic and technical problems and endeavour to secure the highest economic efficiency in building and production; attach due importance to the metallurgy of ferrous metals while reserving for that of non-ferrous metals an appropriate position conformable to the state of our natural

resources. Right from now, we must intensify geological surveying and strive to train cadres and skilled workers capable of shouldering the various tasks in research, planning, and production.

The *chemical branch* should rapidly grow equal to the great role it is playing in modern industry. For the immediate future, we must concentrate our efforts on building a number of major enterprises having a direct bearing on the completion of the fundamental economic tasks of the initial period, namely those producing fertilizers, insecticides, synthetic plastics, etc. At the same time we must actively map out a long-term economic-technical plan with concrete targets set for each period so that each economic plan will definitely help our national production forward on the road of "chemistry-ization".

The orientation laid down above for the development of the various branches of heavy industry in the immediate future conforms both to the role of the latter as a "lever" for lifting small production to large-scale production and to its own long-term advance.

TO GIVE A STRONG IMPULSE TO LIGHT INDUSTRY

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

What with an under-developed economy and many years of war, our people's standard of living is still low and many urgent problems have to be solved. At present, we are not yet able to improve radically the living conditions of our entire society; however, to ensure a minimum standard of living indispensable during the early stage of industrialization, we must develop light industry, increase the production of consumer goods at a quick rate and put an end to unnecessary shortages.

On the other hand, with our abundant and skilful labour force and our available natural resources, especially our rich tropical agriculture, we can give a strong boost to light industry and quickly turn out a great variety of consumer goods both for home consumption and, partly, for export.

To play its important role in the people's life and in export, our system of light industry must develop all-sidedly and include the food, weaving, household utensils, wood-processing, paper, and cultural commodities industries. Such a light industry should be built both at central and regional level according to the economic and technical characteristics of each branch and each enterprise. At the beginning it could combine rudimentary with modern techniques, but should gradually become wholly mechanized and modernized. It should comprise not only State-owned enterprises but also a large number of collective enterprises run by workers in handicrafts and small industry. To look down upon the latter two is to show a poor understanding of our present economic situation and an inadequate grasp of the law of advance from small to

large-scale production. We must unceasingly consolidate and perfect the socialist production relations in handicrafts and small industry, reinforce leadership and management by the State, bring about true equality among the members of the co-operatives and proper relationships between the latter and the State. At the same time, we must actively seek technical improvements, boost production, widen the variety of commodities produced, and turn handicrafts and small industry into an efficient part of light industry.

In short, while carrying out socialist industrialization, we must get a firm hold on the key branches: mechanical engineering, electrical power, fuel, metallurgy, chemical engineering, building materials, foodstuffs, weaving and household utensils, wood processing, paper and cultural articles. To pay full attention to those key branches and develop them in a balanced and rational way not only helps meet the need for better living conditions and enlarged reproduction, but also contributes with agriculture to the creation of an adequate basis for an independent national economy.

TO STRIVE TO DEVELOP AGRICULTURE

Being a basic branch of the economy supplying society with such vital products as cereals and other foodstuffs, and an important base on which to expand industry, our agriculture must of necessity develop

according to a double orientation: to rapidly increase total output, which should include a great variety of products, and at the same time quickly raise labour productivity. Only by so doing can we promote an all-sided growth of agriculture, build a modern industry, convert one part of social labour hitherto serving home needs to the manufacture of goods for export and, through foreign trade, make one part of agricultural labour produce equipment and machinery for the technical revolution. This is the correct way to improve the people's standard of living, expand the rural market, and at the same time create accumulation for socialist industrialization.

In this initial stage, the task of agriculture is extremely heavy. Agricultural production should make vigorous progress so as to meet the needs of the entire people, first of all *in food*, and ensure to them an ever better diet, supply *raw materials* to light industry and goods for *export* with a view to serving the technical revolution, and satisfy the requirements of *national defence* on all fronts. In the whole country and in each region, only by determining those requirements in an accurate and concrete way and relying on the existing possibilities of our agriculture can we work out the best orientation in production, carry out regional specialization and rational planning of production, give a strong impulse to the technical revolution, and put a new face on agriculture in the whole country.

Our agriculture is a tropical one with temperate streaks and is practised over three clearly-delimited areas: *plains, midlands, and highlands*, each with its

own strong points. Forestry, livestock breeding and perennial industrial crops constitute the strong point of the highlands, whereas cereals and other food crops and short-term industrial crops constitute that of the plains. In the midlands one can grow rice, subsidiary food crops, leguminous plants, and industrial crops, and also practise large-scale animal husbandry. In the course of agricultural development, the regional administrations should turn to account their respective strong points, while the various branches of the central administration should concentrate equipment and capital in appropriate sectors so as to promote agricultural production in all three areas. These last few years, agriculture in the plains has made much progress and recorded remarkable achievements in several respects. However, if within a short time there are no leaps forward in the output of rice, subsidiary food crops and other plants, and especially in labour productivity so as to make possible a new division of labour, there cannot be substantial changes in our economy and our people's life. The midlands and highlands have made little headway in the past few years, by no means commensurate with their great potentialities. On the basis of our achievements, it is high time we brought about a deep change in orientation regarding agricultural development and boldly set up in the midlands and highlands agricultural zones producing a high proportion of marketable commodities. Only by closely combining agricultural production in the plains with that in the midlands and highlands can we bring into existence an all-sided and rich agriculture, capable of fully playing its

role as "basis" for industrial expansion. Agriculture in the plains should display vigorous growth and serve as a firm "springboard" for agricultural development in the highlands. Conversely, the latter should develop its own potentialities in order to support the former.

Besides the three above-mentioned areas, the *sea* assumes particular importance as an abundant source of marine products and a convenient line of communications and transport. In the course of socialist industrialization, while working out an orientation for our production and effecting a new division of labour, we must pay adequate attention to the exploitation of the immense possibilities of the sea, so that it could contribute effectively to improving the people's standard of living and enriching the country.

For the immediate future, the strategic task of agriculture lies in these three targets: "5 tons of paddy, one farmer, two pigs." "Five tons of paddy per cultivated hectare" does not simply mean enough food for the rice-growers but also for our whole society; it does not mean that the food question will be solved solely with rice, but also with subsidiary food crops, vegetables and other foodstuffs in appropriate proportions according to the peculiarities of each region.

"One farmer per cultivated hectare" is not solely aimed at providing adequate manpower for intensive cultivation but also at a new division of labour in order to develop agriculture and industry while reserving part of the labour force for turning out goods for export.

“Two pigs per cultivated hectare” will not only supply meat for home consumption but also manure for intensive cultivation, with part of the meat reserved for export. To bend every effort towards these three targets is to strive to turn monoculture into a multi-sided agriculture, bring the regional economies into full play and redistribute regional labour as a basis for a new, nationwide, division of labour.

In order to fulfil those strategic tasks, we must be fully aware of the orientation in the building and development of large-scale socialist agriculture in our country, and of the relationship between industry and agriculture in the stage ahead ; we must boldly perfect both our general and operational guidance of agriculture and adopt a new style of work, practical and thoroughgoing. Leading cadres should visit every co-operative and every locality and be able to assess the situation there and recommend bold and practical measures likely to supply radical solutions to their economic and technical problems. From typical individual successes one should be able to draw general conclusions with a scientific character and should not be content with mere empiricism ; however, when seeking to “multiply” these successes, one should take the fullest account of concrete conditions and adapt the experience acquired to each category of soil, plants and animals. Democracy should be broadened, innovations encouraged ; at the same time one should enforce strict discipline, both economic and technical, both in production and in distribution, in keeping with the peculiarities of each locality and each co-operative,

and combat waywardness and diffuseness, those besetting sins of the small producer. Cadres of the Party and administration, particularly at district and village level, should have a thorough knowledge of the economic and technical peculiarities relating to every plant and animal; they should be able to solve problems concerning water, fertilizers, seeds, the cultivation calendar and agricultural implements; they should possess practical knowledge concerning the management of co-operatives, and each should specialize in some given field of agricultural production, for which he would be held responsible. For the present, they must have a thorough knowledge of the new rules for co-operatives and implement them scrupulously. While endeavouring to perfect the management of agriculture and consolidate its machinery from central to basic level, we should actively build a new material and technical basis for agriculture: complete the hydraulic networks, ensure enough water for intensive cultivation; increase the supply of fertilizers, especially manure and green compost; eliminate bad seeds; equip the labour force with appropriate tools, etc.

And so in order to fulfil the two fundamental economic tasks of the initial stage — capital accumulation for industrialization and satisfaction of the people's needs — our still backward agriculture must go through a process of deep and many-sided revolutionary transformation: transformation of production relations coupled with technical improvement; all-sided agricultural development coupled with regional specialization; intensive cultivation and crop

rotation coupled with extension of cultivated acreage. Such a revolutionary transformation of agriculture cannot be the work of the peasantry alone, but must be the common concern of the working class, the whole Socialist State, all branches and all levels. Like industry, agriculture is a basic branch of the national economy, rests upon a regime of socialist collective ownership (though to a lesser degree) and contributes to enlarged social reproduction. Hence it should not be made light of, in our work of giving guidance — either general or operational — to our economy, for a slow and unbalanced development of agriculture will certainly have a bad effect on the whole cycle of social production, particularly in the initial stage when we take agriculture as the basis for priority development of heavy industry. Therefore, our State organs, both at central and at regional level, and particularly in the industrial, financial and commercial branches, should serve it even better and act on it even more vigorously so as to bring about within a short period of time fundamental changes which will foreshadow other changes in the whole of our national economy.

SIMULTANEOUS BUILDING OF THE CENTRAL AND REGIONAL ECONOMIES

To ensure its close and harmonious co-ordination with a multifarious agriculture undergoing deep transformation, our industry should include two

sectors: one run by the central administration, the other by the various regional administrations. This co-ordination takes place not only on a national level but also in each region. Agriculture is to supply industry — both central and regional — with food, labour, raw materials and market. Means of production and consumer goods for the rural areas are to be provided not only by regional but also central industry. This double relationship (between agriculture and either industrial sector) constantly evolves according to the technical level and the scope of production reached in each branch in each period. For the immediate future, while a new division of labour is being carried into effect in agriculture and centrally-run industry is still young, the co-ordination between agriculture and industry at regional level assumes particular importance. Hence, in order to achieve an *optimum balance between industry and agriculture*, one must transfer responsibilities in economic management to the various regional echelons, provide stronger assistance from the central administration and rapidly bring into existence prosperous regional economies while building up the different branches of the centrally-run economy.

To build regional economies together with a centrally-run economy is to set up a rational economic structure aimed not only at establishing the best possible relationships between industry and agriculture but also at supplying rational solutions to a whole series of other major problems and relationships in our economy, which is progressing from small production to large-scale socialist production. Indeed, the objective

development of our economy is raising problems on both the national and regional scales and questions of balanced proportion both for the whole country and for each region. Besides economic branches and enterprises which can only prosper under central management, our socialist economy also includes others that can only do so under regional management. To overlook this objective reality of our economic life, to make no distinction between national and regional problems, will hamper the action of economic laws and the expansion of our economy, which has not known the stage of capitalist development. Large-scale mechanized production can only spring from a judicious combination of concentrated and unified leadership by the central administration with the right of the various regional administrations to collective masterhood; it can only come from the building of big enterprises coupled with the conversion of small production and a re-division of labour at regional level. We should know how to bring into full play the great potentialities not only of the entire country but also of each region in order to promote a powerful development of production in many places and on various scales. Not only should we make the most of the superior features of socialism to set up large-scale modern economic bases to serve as the backbone of our national economy, but we should also know how to build appropriate economic organizations at regional level so as to turn to account all possibilities of the people and make them participate in the construction of the economy, development of production and organization of daily life.

We start from a backward economy and a low standard of living, with the consumption needs of our country and our people becoming more and more complex. The central authorities can and must only see to basic consumer needs of national import while the various regions must satisfy secondary ones in an adequate and timely way. Close coordination and clear apportionment of responsibilities between the central and regional administrations is the best way to satisfy the people's consumer needs in accordance not only with the level of development of the whole country but also with the possibilities and peculiarities of each region. For this reason the problem of *balance between production and consumption* must be posed and solved not only on a national scale but also for each region. Either of these two sorts of equilibrium has its own importance; they support and complement each other. Once major problems of balance between production and consumption are solved by the central administration, the various regional administrations are in a position to give better solutions to similar problems arising in each region. Conversely, once local problems of balance are solved, conditions are created for the central administration to settle in a better way major problems of balance with a national import.

Within each region, an equipoise between production and consumption will cause the economy to make greater headway, the standard of living to rise, and greater contributions to be made to the national economy. Because of the fact that each region must and can develop to the highest degree its latent possibilities and emulate the others in expanding its

economy according to its potentialities and requirements, production and consumption alike will grow more diversified and the people's living conditions will be bettered. To be sure, fundamental unified standards must be set for consumption in the whole country, for this is a principle of socialism and an imperative requirement of the socialist regime of collective ownership.

The advance from small handicraft production to large-scale modern production necessarily calls for a *re-division of labour*. A given technical level necessarily begets a corresponding division of labour. At present, when productive forces have grown beyond national boundaries, social labour should be distributed not only within the framework of individual nations but also to a certain extent on an international scale. In our country, the agricultural labour force, with a very low productivity, still makes up three-fourths of the total social labour force. Hence, a new division of labour means first and foremost a re-division of agricultural labour. To transfer part of food-producing labour to industrial-crop growing, livestock breeding, fishing, forestry, to turn part of agricultural labour over to industry, transport and communications, to convert unskilled labour into skilled labour, to raise low-productivity labour to a highly productive level—such are the urgent requirements of economic building, such is the essential aim of labour management in the present stage. Those steps in the re-division of labour, if timely and rational, will quicken the pace of the technical revolution and the birth of a large-scale system of production. We must be

deeply aware of the fact that both primitive accumulation and the improvement of the people's living standards can only be achieved on the basis of a re-division of social labour, a re-division of labour among the various branches of the economy, and not by maintaining the present state of agricultural labour.

In the stage immediately ahead, the new division of labour should be effected, starting essentially from the various production bases and regions. No doubt the vigorous growth of centrally-run economic branches will attract a certain number of rural workers, impart to labour a wholly new quality, and transform its structure in the upward direction of large-scale production. However, if we rely solely on the development of those branches the re-division of labour will proceed very slowly for, each year, they can absorb only a relatively small proportion of the labour force and raise the productivity of only a part of social labour, while the major part of the work force, held in the various regions, urgently calls for rational distribution and utilization. How to increase labour productivity and free part of the agricultural labour force from its old occupations? How to use this freed labour in the most advantageous way? Such problems, which crop up every day, can only be grasped and solved in time by individual co-operatives and localities. The setting up of small rural mechanical workshops have freed millions of workdays; yet, in many places, these have not been used in new occupations, and so new wealth has not been created

for society and the productivity of agricultural labour has not been raised. If these shortcomings in economic management are not overcome in time, the introduction of science and technique into agriculture will be hampered, the new division of labour hindered, and the building of the new economy slowed down.

This law of development of the division of labour in our country, which is progressing from small production to large-scale production, requires from us the greatest efforts not only to promote the growth of the centrally-run branches of the economy but also to build the various regional economies in a rational way. Only on the basis of a re-division of labour in each region coupled with the building of regional economies can we proceed to a re-division of labour for the whole of society. Conversely, the expansion of the national economy and of centrally-run economic branches will act upon the economic and labour situation in the various regions and quicken the re-division of labour there.

Two phenomena usually appear in the relationship between town and countryside: separation of town from countryside on the one hand, and urbanization of the latter, on the other. These two processes are by no means independent and separate ones, but are closely linked with the development of the economy, especially that of industry. The separation of town from countryside means in fact that of industry from agriculture, and the urbanization of the countryside is in

effect the industrialization of agriculture, the implantation of industry in the rural areas, the close coordination of industry and agriculture. To build a centrally-run economy while concurrently developing the various regional economies is the best way to associate town and countryside and quickly do away with differences between the two. By constructing centrally-run industrial bases at appropriate sites and expanding the regional economies, which include agriculture and regional industry, we shall be able to *develop both town and countryside*. Towns will appear in many places in close association with rural areas. Besides some relatively big cities which will serve as political, economic, and cultural centres for the whole country, we shall, on the strength of our economic development, build a large number of small and medium-sized towns in various places, so as to bring their influence to bear upon rural areas and help the latter progress at a fast pace in the economic, cultural and social fields. We shall have then put a new face on every region, in the highlands as well as in the lowlands, and provide all citizens, wherever they may live, with material welfare and a rich and wholesome cultural life.

The simultaneous building of the central and regional economies also creates a *firm economic basis for the people's national defence*. The strength of people's war in our country lies in the power displayed by the entire people standing up to oppose the enemy, organized into political and military forces and using appropriate tactics in all three strategic areas: hill-forest, plain, and urban. Each province is a strategic unit, both

operationally and logistically, both for combat and for production. Hence we must not only see to the building of a modern heavy industry but also strive to construct solid regional economies; not only bring into existence great productive forces but also know how to distribute them geographically, in conformity with our military strategy. By doing so, we shall be able, in any kind of war and under any circumstances, to maintain and expand our potential in both combat and production and foster the people's strength with a view to a protracted struggle.

The above-mentioned law of economic development in our country is fashioning *many relationships between the central and regional economies* and raising many new problems in economic management.

The more the regional economies expand, the heavier their managerial duties, while the content of centralized management by the central administration grows also richer. As our economy develops, many regional problems will assume national import, many questions of balanced proportion and field of production of a regional character will take on national dimensions. Thus, the central economy will be strengthened step by step thanks to the blossoming of regional possibilities and innovations. However, the content of regional management will grow ever richer as the economy develops: while questions of balanced proportion and field of production that have gone beyond the bounds of regional management are turned over to the central administration, a whole series of new problems relating to those matters will arise from the local economic life

And so an ever-changing, ever-developing content is supplied by economic life to the management of both the central and the regional administrations. One should neither fear that by spreading to the various regions the centrally-run economy may weaken, nor that centralization may check the growth of regional economies. Previously we had taken steps towards the apportionment of economic responsibilities between the central and provincial administrations, but this was not clearly set forth. We had not yet taken full account of this reality, this law: our socialist economy must of necessity comprise a centrally-run economy and regional economies. The distribution of managerial responsibilities to the various regions aims at creating conditions for the latter to expand agriculture and regional industry, carry out a new division of labour and, on that basis, make a greater contribution to the development of the central economy as well as give timely solutions to problems raised by the life of the local people, in accordance with the line and policies laid down by the central authorities.

Owing to this apportionment of managerial responsibilities in all fields, there will be, within our unified economic structure, a centrally-run economy and regional economies, a centrally-run industry and regional industries, a national plan and regional plans, a national budget and regional budgets.

To regionalize economic management, to strive to develop the regional economies, is by no means tantamount to turning each region into an

independent economic unit. The central administration takes in hand the unified and concentrated leadership of the whole economic system through the national plan comprising the main balances and indices, through the establishment of major policies and basic standards for both production and consumption, and through the allocation of resources and capital. The central economy includes the most important branches and acts as a leading force and a lever in regard to the whole of the national economy. Basing itself on the line, policies, and common orientation and plan laid down by the central administration, each region will build and manage its own economy. A component part of the national economy, each regional economy is at the same time a rational and balanced structure within the compass of a given region. While embodying the common orientation, plan and policies worked out by the central administration, it reflects the innovations and creativeness of that region, its traits and peculiarities.

The relationships between the various regions are those of socialist cooperation between the various parts of a nationwide system of division of social labour. They take on many aspects: exchange and assistance as regards technique, raw materials, and consumption; cooperative efforts for building economic and cultural works of common interest, etc. These relationships are placed under the guidance of the central authorities; they should not run counter to the State plan, but, on the contrary, should complement and enrich it.

For the provinces to have all necessary conditions for developing their economies, we must, besides delegating to them managerial responsibilities in the economic, cultural, and educational fields, ensure for them adequate manpower, resources, finances, and a market, so as to meet their requirements for economic development and a large-scale re-division of labour. Naturally, the optimum dimensions to be given any region are not a hard-and-fast, immutable frame, identical for all provinces. While delimiting anyone of the latter, we should carefully weigh all factors: territory, population, industrial and agricultural resources, means of transport and communications, etc. so as to achieve a harmony conducive to a balanced expansion of the regional economy.

The relationship between the centrally-run economy and the various regional economies is a multi-sided and complex one, which should be embodied in whole series of regulations and practical measures, for instance on planning, revenue and expenditure, allocation of resources and products, etc. In order to carry into effect the line and policies on economic development laid down by the Party and the State, we should not be content with a number of general principles and slogans but, on the contrary, make a thorough study of organizational problems, rules and regulations and effect a clear apportionment of work and responsibilities so as to avoid both unnecessary duplications and the absence of people specifically in charge, both bureaucratic centralization and anarchistic dispersal.

IMPROVING ECONOMIC MANAGEMENT

Once the line and orientation for economic development has been laid down, the setting up of an appropriate management system assumes tremendous importance, for it may decide the success or failure of the line itself. Our present system and machinery of economic management still present many inadequacies and are not yet equal to our tasks of economic building, thereby affecting the implementation of the Party's line and policies and slowing down somewhat the pace of economic transformation and construction. And yet many of our comrades are not fully aware of our shortcomings in this field; they have not fully realized the importance of economic management, and have not seriously tackled the work of economic organization.

To manage the economy is to manage a living organism which develops according to objective laws. A management system can only be considered appropriate when it fully reflects the laws governing the evolution of the economy as a whole and also its peculiar manifestations in each region, each sector, each unit, and in each period. Born of objective reality and varying with the economic juncture, it tolerates neither waywardness, schematism nor bureaucratism. It requires leaders of all branches and at all levels to be thoroughly acquainted with economic life and alive to the emergence of all new factors. The strength of the dictatorship of the proletariat comes precisely from its ability to comprehend the law of

development of things and advocate measures that meet the exigencies of this evolution.

At present in the North, when the development of production and the re-division of labour are in their initial stage, the regime of economic management must show extreme flexibility and conform to both the universal economic laws of socialism and those which govern the advance from small to large-scale production; it must reflect to the greatest extent both unified central leadership and the collective masterhood of the various regions and basic units. We must step up planning work while judiciously utilizing market relations and making a wider application of cost accounting. Material incentives must be brought into play while political and ideological education should be intensified and the socialist consciousness of the masses heightened.

In socialist economic management, mention should be made first of all of planning work, that especial advantage of the socialist economic system. To neglect planning work and make light of the law of planned economic development is to divorce oneself from the essence of the socialist economy and to abolish the role of the State of the dictatorship of the proletariat as organizer and manager of the economy. However, the problem facing us at present is : how, in our planned economy, can we and should we effect planning work? To what extent should we utilize market relations and such levers as credit, price, wages and profit? There lies one of the fundamental questions of economic management in our country at present.

Because we start from small-scale production, we are faced with economic problems of both national and regional import. And so comprehensive plans should be worked out at three levels: central, regional and basic. This is an objective necessity which accords with the present level of development of our economy and the essential tasks of the initial stage of economic expansion and accumulation. Planning authorities at each level are entrusted with tasks and powers aimed at enabling them to solve their own specific economic problems while contributing to the greatest extent to the development of the national economy. The central plan points out the orientation to be given the whole of the national economy, determines the pace and tempo of the key branches, defines the major balances and stages in economic development, and sets the major tasks and indices for the whole country. Under the general leadership and operational guidance of the central planning authorities, each region and basic unit will work out its own plan of development aimed at fulfilling the tasks and indices set by the central plan; at the same time it must show the greatest initiative and imagination in turning to account all potentialities, fulfilling all tasks and solving all problems existing at regional or basic level. Each planning echelon is a unit for production and cost accounting, for accumulation and enlarged reproduction. Besides economic and technical indices fixed for the whole country, it can and must have its own indices. Although entrusted with different tasks and functions, the three planning echelons form an organic whole in which

the leading role is played by the central planning authorities.

Our national economy is going through a process of fast revolutionary change. In both production and consumption, there constantly appear new requirements, potentialities and balances, which we can comprehend only through actual practice. Hence, we must on the one hand *hold firm to the long-term plan* which outlines the development of the national economy over a relatively long period and contains major projects for the building and expansion of large-scale production, and on the other, *pay the greatest attention to short-term plans*, which are concrete operational plans for achieving a specific target, settling specific questions, and giving timely solutions to problems arising in the process of plan-implementation.

Without a long-term plan, ranging over five to ten years for instance, one cannot visualize the development of the whole of the economy and carry out all necessary preparations such as accumulation of capital, training of cadres and workers, scientific and technical research, fundamental investigations and geological surveys, delimitation of economic zones and planning of production, etc. But in our present economic conditions, we must attach the greatest importance to our short-term, yearly, plans and see to their monthly, even daily, implementation, for these practical activities bear tangible fruits. To follow closely the development of the economy, to get a thorough grasp of the situation in the basic units, to discover new factors and correct all defects in good time — this must be the regular style of work of all

economic services. In that sense, the direction of the economy and of production may be likened to commanding a war operation.

At present, an important part of our socialist economy still lingers in a state of dispersed handicrafts; many requirements of social life, especially daily necessities, are too numerous and diverse for our State to fully foresee and satisfy. This situation demands that our State, while directing the economy, should *skillfully combine the plan with the market* and supplement the former with the latter. We can and must not only regulate—through the State Plan, which may be considered the second programme of the Party and is a law enacted by the State of the dictatorship of the proletariat—the fundamental economic relationships and essential balances, but also utilize the mechanism of the market with a view to controlling economic indices and adjusting certain economic activities of secondary importance not included in the reckonings of the Plan. We must not only devote the greatest attention to planning work and to the indices of the Plan, but also strictly control the activity of the market so as to promote its positive role while checking its negative influence on planned economic management.

The practice of economic building in the other socialist countries as well as in our own proves that in economic management, we must *correctly utilize such levers as price, wages, profit and credit*, and fully enforce the regime of cost accounting and the socialist mode of doing business. The

commodity-money relationship is a product of history which is closely bound up with a given level of development of production. On the basis of private ownership, its development goes with class differentiation and accelerates the division of society into the rich and the poor. But once the levers of the economy are in the hands of the proletarian State, once the exploiting classes have been abolished, once the small producers have taken the road of collective work, then a judicious and rational development of the commodity-money relationship coupled with a re-division of labour and the technical revolution will become a positive factor in promoting the growth of production and organizing a new life. Therefore, to bring into play the law of value, practice cost accounting and use these levers: price, profit, wages and credit, are extremely important economic problems. The law of value and the practice of cost accounting make it possible to gauge the economic effectiveness of economic and technical measures, check up the quality of work in each enterprise, region, branch, and at each level, mobilize all latent economic possibilities and encourage innovations, thrift and industriousness in the interest of the State and the nation. The work of economic building in such a country as ours, which is still poor and where labour productivity is low and financial resources limited, demands that all the more attention be paid to business efficiency, so as to be able to satisfy our immediate needs while effecting enlarged reproduction. We must, not only on a national scale but even within each branch, at each level and in each basic

economic unit, accumulate profits for enlarged reproduction, and all branches, levels and units must show definite progress after each cycle of production. However, we should not view profits and losses with the petty mind of the small individual producer. In our present conditions, the greatest profit lies in expanding production, multiplying branches and trades, increasing the quantity of products, and raising labour productivity in each branch and in the whole of our national economy. On that basis, and only on that basis, can we speak of profits and reconcile profit-making with the socialist nature of our economy. On the one hand, we must in so far as is possible make profits in each branch and each period; on the other we should take the development of the whole of our economy over a long period into consideration in order to examine the question of profits and losses in a comprehensive way.

As we advance from small to large-scale production and from a natural to a commodity economy, the problem of *circulation and distribution* assumes all the more importance vis-à-vis the process of social reproduction. Being an intermediate link between various sectors of production and between production and consumption, binding the various economic branches and sectors into a unified organism and joining our independent national economy to those of other countries, circulation with its many branches must actively serve production, expand economic exchanges, reinforce the policy of prices, improve buying and selling, and reduce circulation costs. Only in this way can we stimulate the new division of labour and the process of

enlarged reproduction, contribute to accumulation and satisfy the people's needs better. The cadres of the trade services are not "vulgar merchants"; they must be considered the "housewives" of society, the "commissaries" of the people, who look after the economic interests of all members of society and ensure their right to be masters.

Being the hub for the distribution of national income, the clearing centre and the "nerve centre" of the whole of our national economy, the financial and banking services must not only collect capital but also create conditions for its quicker accumulation and concentration, effect a judicious distribution of national income, and bring about a rational relationship between accumulation and consumption in agreement with the special characteristics and requirements of each stage of economic development.

Our country is still poor, labour productivity very low. To establish a correct relationship between primitive accumulation and immediate consumption is a very arduous task. Without the former, there can never be a qualitative leap in economic expansion, a heavy industry and a large-scale production system which will serve as a basis for a prosperous economy and a life of abundance. Hence, to "tighten our belts", reduce all expenditures that are not really indispensable, and resolutely reserve funds for accumulation is an imperative necessity and bears witness to our people's high political consciousness in building socialism. However, the very nature of the socialist economy and the necessity of raising labour productivity

and expanding production demand that we should pay even greater care and attention to the people's welfare, meet all their basic needs, and be determined to put an end to all unnecessary shortages and complications in their daily life.

Besides, the financial and banking services must through their activities strengthen their control and supervision over the various branches, regions and production units, urge all branches and echelons to perfect their economic planning and production orientation, drastically save labour, resources and money, and resolutely combat embezzlement and waste. These two evils should be looked upon as unpardonable offences, for they not only drain us of our material wealth but also impair the new production relations and affect the thoughts and feelings of the new, socialist, man.

To fulfil those tasks, economic cadres of all branches and echelons, especially those of the trade, financial and banking services, should study hard so as to gain a thorough understanding of the economic line and policies of the Party and the State, acquire fundamental knowledge of circulation, distribution and credit, fully grasp the importance of this system of levers, and strive to expand and strengthen it for use in economic direction and management.

One of the outstanding features of economic management in our country at present is the following: on the one hand, we must manage a socialist economy progressing from small to large-scale production, from dispersal to concentration; on the other, we

have to run modern, strictly organized, and highly concentrated enterprises. Hence, besides a common management regime for the whole of our national economy, we must work out an appropriate management system for enterprises, which rests on the following basic principles: to fulfil the political tasks of the enterprise, thoroughly master technique and create conditions for its improvement, observe production discipline in all respects — planning, materials and equipment, finances, labour — and ensure the workers' right to collective masterhood and to adequate living conditions. Those fundamental principles of management express the concentrated and unified character of modern industry and the collective masterhood of the workers' masses, stimulate and ceaselessly raise labour productivity, and help improve the living standards of the working people. Such is the purpose of the management of enterprises.

To shoulder our tasks of economic management, development of production, and organization of social life, we must *build a powerful machinery* which can meet the requirements of economic management and adapt itself to the peculiarities of each branch and each region, which is systematically oriented towards the base and thoroughly acquainted with every economic and technical problem. We must guard against modelling it after an administrative service, which will divorce it from its economic tasks and prevent it from meeting the exigencies of productive techniques; otherwise there may arise important problems without anyone empowered to settle them, while in other cases there may be duplication of responsibilities and

powers; there may be a glut of desk personnel coupled with a dearth of managers, controllers and supervisors, which will result in impaired managerial efficiency. Between the operative parts of this machinery, there must be established working relationships and correct rules and regulations aimed at clearly delimiting powers and responsibilities, ensuring respect for the masterhood of each branch and echelon, subject to the overall sovereignty of the State, and guaranteeing the various management echelons—on the basis of general economic and technical standards and within the framework of the State plan—the right to allocate labour, money and resources with a view to fully exploiting all potentialities and successfully accomplishing all production tasks.

In the relationships between the various branches and echelons, great attention must be paid to control work: economic control, technical control and personnel control. Control work and the regime of economic contracts should be made a management routine, which will allow us to correct in time all errors and shortcomings in our practical managerial work.

One important task of economic organization is to correctly determine the *relationships between the Party, the State and the masses* in economic management. Being the leader and the general staff of the army of economic builders, the Party must work out the fundamental line and policies, establish major principles and measures, mobilize the masses for a powerful offensive on the economic front, and control the activities of State organs. The Party's leadership is a historical necessity; it ensures a correct orientation to our economy, safeguards

the interests of the various strata of the people, and ceaselessly strengthens the role of the latter as masters. Both in the revolution in general and in economic construction in particular, our Party has no axe to grind. The whole of the national economy as well as each factory and field is the property of the people in different forms of collective ownership and different economic and technical conditions. This objective reality requires that our Party should work out different methods of leadership fitted for each case (industry, agriculture, factories, cooperatives, etc.) so as to firmly maintain the leadership of the Party, uphold the managerial functions of the administration, while ensuring the direct exercise by the masses of their right to be the masters.

Symbol of the people's sovereignty, the State is the organ of power which manages the national economy in their name. Hence, for the Party's economic line and policies to be carried into effect, one must bring into play the managerial and organizational functions of the State. Basing themselves on laws, statutes, rules, and through the medium of their specialized, technical, and professional agencies, the various echelons of State power directly manage the economy, give guidance to production and distribution, and harmonize the material interests of the various social strata in accordance with the line laid down by the Party. To build a strong State apparatus, respect the managerial functions of its various echelons and their role as "organs of power", and ensure to them every condition and adequate powers for managing the economy—such is the responsibility of the Party organs at all

levels. Our Party's success in economic direction lies not only in its having charted a correct course and mobilized its ranks to tackle economic and technical work seriously, but also in its having created a strong administrative system capable of shouldering its managerial tasks and translating the Party's line and policies into practical deeds of the masses.

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

Being the "school of communism", the school of economic management, the school for the education of the working masses, the *trade-unions* must drive home to the workers the political tasks of their enterprises and the positions and importance of the latter in regard to the system of production, the people's life, and the destiny and future of the country. They must ceaselessly raise the workers' consciousness and capability of being the masters and urge them to effectively participate in all productive activities and in the life of their enterprises. The organs of economic management must pay due regard to the opinion of the trade-unions, for this means that they are listening to the voice of a mass political organization and respecting the

right of the masses to be the collective masters. One important task of the trade-unions is to mobilize and guide the workers to participate fully in the emulation movement so as to invest it with a genuine mass character and show that the workers are the real masters in their enterprises. Socialist emulation, a product of the collective economic system and the new democratic regime, embraces a rich content—political and moral, economic and technical. It is an appropriate way to mobilize and educate the masses, and a powerful motive power for stimulating production, improving technique, and increasing labour productivity. It judiciously reconciles the interests of the State with those of each collective and individual.

The *Working Youth Union*, the shock brigade on the front of production, science and technique, must hold a place worthy of its role in the managerial machinery, especially at the basic level. Party and State organs must rely on it to fulfil their new and heavy economic duties and solve complex scientific and technical problems. In the course of those seething social activities, our young people are tempered and educated and turned into true collective masters of society, both in production and in daily life.

Thus, in the whole of the national economy as well as in each economic unit, there must be constant and close co-ordination between the Party, the State and the people. Only on that basis can the latter's sovereignty be safeguarded fully and lastingly and the socialist regime be truly consolidated.

To advance to socialism without going through the stage of capitalist development is for the working people the shortest way to freedom and happiness. However, we shall have to face many difficulties and hardships, for we are starting from scratch, having inherited very little from the old society. Besides, this is a new road in history.

This revolutionary road is beset with difficulties. But in the light of Marxism-Leninism, thanks to the rich experience gained in the brother countries as well as in our own, our Party has gradually got a full grasp of the law of development of revolution and perfected its line and policies. Moreover, after ten-odd years of socialist revolution in varying circumstances, we have accumulated precious experience in the building of the economy and the transformation of society. Our cadres, both managerial and technical, have visibly matured; their ranks, in particular, have expanded. The new production relations occupy a dominant position in society and are playing a highly positive role in economic development and in the resistance to American aggression, for national salvation. Our people's industrious labour has laid a number of material bases for future progress. Lastly, we have received substantial assistance from the brother countries and benefited by their experience in all fields: economic, technical, etc. Those are *fundamental advantages* which will enable us to advance with firm steps. In the period ahead, without a shadow of doubt, we shall achieve even greater successes in socialist revolution. We shall increase even further the economic potential

of the North so as to improve the people's standard of living and, together with our 14 million fellow-countrymen in the South, carry out our iron resolve: to win complete victory over the American aggressors.

Our generation feels boundless pride for having not only defeated "two big imperialisms — the French and the American" but also opened the way for the building on Vietnamese soil of a socialist fatherland, strong and beautiful, independent and free, where democracy and happiness reign, thus fulfilling the wishes of Uncle Ho and of our entire people.

**THE PARTY, THE ORGANIZER
OF ALL VICTORIES**

THE HALL OF THE ORIGIN
OF ALL VICTORIES

VICTORY OF MARXISM-LENINISM CREATIVELY APPLIED TO THE CONCRETE CONDITIONS OF OUR COUNTRY

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

Our country is neither very large in area nor very numerous in population; our society stagnated in feudalism for a long time then was enslaved by imperialism for nearly one hundred years, in which even the name of Viet Nam was erased from the map. Yet within the space of a quarter century, our people have risen up and carried out an uninterrupted series of revolutionary processes: the August Revolution,

the war of resistance against French colonialism, the socialist revolution in the North and the resistance against American aggression, for national salvation. By their nature and scope, by their historic importance not only from the national but also the international point of view, these revolutionary performances have elevated our country and our people to the level of the new times, which have seen the triumph of lofty ideals: national independence, democracy and socialism.

The primary essential factor which decided all those historic successes was the founding of, and leadership of the revolution by, our Party, *a new-type proletarian party holding firm the invincible banner of Marxism-Leninism; a proletarian party which faithfully and fully represents the vital interests and legitimate aspirations of the working class, the toiling people, and the entire nation; a Marxist-Leninist party with a close-knit organization, a tradition of unity and oneness of mind, and intimate ties with the masses.*

Armed with the revolutionary science of Marxism-Leninism and heir to over a hundred years' precious experience of the world proletariat, our Party has led the Vietnamese revolution along the right path, thoroughly fulfilled the tasks of the people's national democratic revolution in the North and taken the latter on to the stage of the socialist revolution, while striving to complete the people's national democratic revolution in the whole country.

Our Party's glorious successes in the people's national democratic revolution are due to the judicious

and creative manner in which it has solved a series of very basic problems on strategy and tactics :

— To establish and unceasingly consolidate the leadership of the working class and its vanguard, *the Marxist-Leninist party* ;

— *To correctly combine two strategic tasks, fighting against imperialism and combating feudalism, the latter task being carried out step by step in close co-ordination with the former and serving it efficiently ;*

— To rally the large forces of the peasantry, successfully build a firm *worker-peasant alliance*, the mainstay of the revolution and the key guarantee of the exclusive leadership exercised by the party of the working class ;

— On the basis of the worker-peasant alliance, the Party has set up a broad *National United Front*, which brings together all patriotic and progressive forces and directs the spearhead of the revolution against the common enemy of the nation ;

— *To make skilful use of the enemy's internal contradictions* to divide his ranks, neutralize all forces that could be neutralized, isolate the most dangerous foe, and create more favourable conditions for the progress of the revolution ;

— To make a flexible and accurate application of revolutionary methods, to utilize all forms of organization and struggle suited to each period, *to consider it a fundamental task to build the political forces of the masses and, on that basis, to set up revolutionary armed*

forces. Whenever a revolutionary situation has prevailed, the Party has used both political and armed forces, combined military with political struggle, attacked the enemy in both the rural and urban areas, and won successes leading step by step to complete victory;

— To consolidate and strengthen *the people's democratic power*, the great achievement of the revolution, and use it as an efficient instrument for waging the war of resistance and building the new society ;

— To strengthen *international unity* on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

Over the past ten-odd years, while struggling side by side with our Southern fellow-countrymen in order to complete the people's national democratic revolution in the whole country, we in the North have invested the people's democratic State with the historic role of the *dictatorship of the proletariat* in order to take the North on to a transition to socialism through the simultaneous accomplishment of a triple revolution : revolution in production relations, technical revolution, and ideological and cultural revolution, with *the technical revolution as the keystone*. Socialist revolution is still quite a novelty to us ; but the facts of the past ten-odd years allow us to affirm that the basic orientation of the North's advance to socialism, as advocated by our Party, is a wholly correct one.

The great wealth of experience of the Vietnamese revolution over the past forty years is that of the successful application of Marxism-Leninism in a

colonial and semi-feudal country. The history of our Party over that period is that of the creative application of the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism to the concrete conditions of our country. Born and growing up in a society the majority of which is made up of peasants, our Party has drawn into its ranks a large number of members sprung from the peasantry. Yet it has constantly and wholly preserved its character as a revolutionary party of the working class, first and foremost because it is imbued with Marxist-Leninist ideology and shows absolute loyalty to Marxism-Leninism, and because its political and organizational line is a Marxist-Leninist one, that of the working class. Like a beacon, Marxism-Leninism, the most radically revolutionary doctrine and the only one that is scientific, has shown our Party how to solve all problems of the Vietnamese revolution and work out correct revolutionary lines and methods, thereby defeating the reformism of the bourgeoisie and the narrowly nationalistic tendency, and the claim to "stand above classes", of the petty bourgeoisie, foiling the provocations and sabotage attempts of the Trotskyites and other counter-revolutionary elements, overcoming political waverings and Right and "Left" deviations within the Party, and successfully performing all revolutionary tasks in all periods.

Our Party attaches great importance to the study of the revolutionary experience of the brother countries and parties, considering it an absolute necessity for a proletarian party wishing to discharge its responsibilities. But it always

takes the concrete practice of the Vietnamese revolution and the living realities of Vietnamese society with its original features — historical, sociological, economic, national traditions, etc. — as a starting-point in applying the principles of Marxism-Leninism, the universal laws, and the experience of the brother countries regarding both the national democratic revolution and the socialist revolution. The tremendous victories reaped by the Vietnamese revolution are precisely due to the independent and creative manner in which its line and methods have been elaborated.

TO STRIVE TO REINFORCE THE LEADERSHIP OF THE PARTY IN THE NEW STAGE

Compared with our past revolutionary tasks, our present ones are much more heavy and complex. On the one hand the Party must exert the greatest efforts to complete the national democratic revolution in the whole country and lead the struggle of our entire people against American aggression to total victory, with many hardships and sacrifices lying ahead; on the other, it must give a strong impetus to socialist revolution and construction in the North, an almost wholly new undertaking. For this tremendous work, we can rely on fundamental advantages accruing from our achievements over the past ten-odd years. Yet this is only an initial step. The Communist always squarely faces reality, and knows how to look into the future. Obviously, at present in the North, handicraft labour still makes up a major part of social labour.

And so we are still a long way from our ideal and from the people's aspirations about socialism. To bring into existence a modern industry and agriculture and an advanced culture and science, our Party and our people will have to exert the most extraordinary efforts and overcome countless difficulties.

The leadership of the Party is the factor that decides all successes. Hence, to fulfil our present revolutionary tasks, the key question is *to strive to reinforce it*.

Our Party is a party in power. The historical responsibility of such a party, far from becoming any lighter, grows, on the contrary, all the heavier. As everybody knows, the fundamental problem of all revolutions is that of power. However, in the revolutionary undertaking of the Party, in the class struggle waged by the proletariat, viewed in its entirety, the conquest of power is not the final objective; the seizure of power does not mean the end, but only the beginning, of the revolution.

The absolute necessity for the proletariat to seize power is due to the fact that, without overthrowing the ruling class and setting up the dictatorship of the proletariat, the latter will not be able to see the class struggle through, i. e. to abolish not only the exploiting classes but even the sources of exploitation, not only class antagonisms but even class differences, and not only to eradicate the causes of poverty and destitution but also create a life of abundance and happiness for the people; in short, to build a wholly new society — communist society — a classless society, in

which material welfare and a rich spiritual life are enjoyed by all.

All through this period of social transformations of such scope and depth, of organized and planned changes in agreement with the law of objective development of history, the role of the party of the working class as the force leading society assumes ever greater importance. The Party is the most active element of society, the best organized and most ideologically and politically conscious one; it has a clear view of the trend of the time, the prospect and objectives of the struggle; it alone can organize and rouse the masses, concentrate, co-ordinate, stimulate all activities and efforts of all component parts of the social apparatus and focus them on the completion of the historic task of building a new society.

In order to strengthen its leadership in the present stage, *the Party must continue to carry out thorough studies in order to develop and perfect its political line and make it more concrete.*

Determined at the Third Congress of the Party and developed by subsequent Central Committee plenums, this political line remains our fundamental orientation. Practice proves that our Party has followed the right course. However, dialectical materialism teaches us never to rest content with our present grasp of things. Society and life never stop changing and developing, especially now that we are in the initial stage of a period of transition. And so, we must carry out a constant and profound investigation of the facts of life and, on the strength of actual socio-economic processes,

of the experience gained by the masses, and of an examination of our own achievements and deficiencies, effect deep analyses, sum up our experience and make theoretical generalizations so as to ceaselessly supplement and develop the Party's line and policies and make them more concrete.

The objective laws of social development must always remain the starting-point for the Party's line. The Party's correct course in the national democratic revolution and in war is due to its thorough grasp of the laws of revolution and those of people's war. In socialist revolution and the building of socialism, it is even less permissible to make light of objective laws. Engels advised us "constantly to keep in mind that socialism, since it has become a science, demands that it be pursued as a science."¹ The dictatorship of the proletariat and the revolutionary fervour of the people are extremely important motive forces without which one can never talk of building socialism. But it would be a very serious blunder to think that they are enough for building socialism without having to take any account of objective laws and economic facts, which are sometimes very "obstinate and intractable". While emphatically stressing the role played by subjective factors, man, the vanguard party, the masses, Lenin repeatedly reminded the Communist parties never to base their policies on their wishful thinking, never to take their sentiments as a starting-point for revolutionary strategy and tactics. His political activity in its entirety affords us a shining example in

1. Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow 1958, Vol. I, p. 653.

this connexion. One well-known instance is when he advocated a transition from war communism to the New Economic Policy. In the elaboration of this policy and its implementation, he took great pains to persuade Communists full of revolutionary zeal but ignorant of economic laws that, far from meaning a restoration of capitalism, it was the only policy that would enable Russia to defeat capitalism and embark on the transitional stage to socialism.

Our Party has grown fully mature in comprehending the laws of the national democratic revolution and those of people's war, but has made only the initial steps in grasping those of socialist revolution and socialist building. Only by exerting extraordinary efforts and achieving exceptionally rapid maturity in this respect will it be able to discharge its responsibilities as leader of society. The triumph of the revolution and revolutionary creativeness always result from a judicious combination of the general and the particular in the application of objective laws. Because our country, where small-scale production is predominant, is advancing direct to socialism without passing through the stage of capitalist development, we are bound to face a whole series of entirely new problems. To hold fast to the dictatorship of the proletariat and to carry out the triple revolution in close co-ordination, with the technical revolution as the keystone — such is the basic orientation for socialist revolution and socialist construction in our country. But how will the laws of the technical revolution, of socialist industrialization, of the revolution in production relations, and of the ideological and

cultural revolution, as well as those governing whole series of economic relationships, operate in conditions prevailing in our country? Our Party must carefully ponder over those problems. We must study even more fully and thoroughly the principles of scientific socialism, seek to get a good grasp of the realities of the Vietnamese revolution and learn from the experience gained in the brother countries. In particular, we must sum up the experience of the years of socialist revolution and building so as to raise the Party's theoretical level, throw light on practical problems and, on that basis, develop and perfect the Party's line and policies even further, and impart to them an ever more scientific character, thereby making them ever more effective.

To raise the Party's and the State machinery's ability for practical organization is at present a crucial and urgent problem in our endeavour to increase the Party's fighting capacity and strengthen its leadership of society.

To chart a correct course is of decisive importance, but it is not enough. We must, besides, engage in a vast organizational work to muster and fully utilize all social forces and all material and moral potentialities for the fulfilment of concrete tasks.

In the people's national democratic revolution, our Party has not only followed the right course but also evinced great organizational abilities. In both clandestine and legal action, armed and political struggle, normal situations and times of crisis, both before and after the appearance of revolutionary situations, our Party has carried out organizational work of, one may

say, a scientific standard ; it has mobilized, marshalled, and brought into full play all latent possibilities among the masses and all revolutionary potentialities, big and small ; it has devised and skilfully combined the most varied forms of propaganda, organization, and struggle, in keeping with the relation of forces between us and the enemy in each period.

In the past decade, our people have had to concentrate on fulfilling their duties to the great fighting front ; in the last few years, they have had, besides, to cope with a savage war of destruction which has upset, to a certain extent, our social life. But under the leadership of the Party, they have none the less recorded important achievements in socialist building, economic and cultural development, and the organization of daily life. This proves that our Party not only has followed a correct line but has also, on the plane of practical organization, begun to show its maturity in the new stage of the revolution. However, in view of the exigencies of socialist building, shortcomings and flaws still remain in both our knowledge and organizational abilities. Whereas economic construction calls for diligence, accuracy, planning, co-ordination, synchronization, efficiency, and so on, signs of embarrassment, slackness, sluggishness and inefficiency in many parts of our machinery for managing the economy and production and meeting the people's needs have revealed our weaknesses in practical organization.

To advance direct to socialism without passing through the stage of capitalist development means that we have not gone through the school of large-scale mechanized production. This is the main reason

for the weaknesses shown by our Party and our State in organization and management.

With its dispersed, scattered, diffuse, wayward and anarchistic character, small production has left us nothing but harmful working styles and habits which clash with the organizational requirements of a large-scale socialist system of production. Starting from small production, we face a choice not only between two lines of economic development—the capitalist and the socialist—but also between two methods of organization: that of handicrafts and that of large-scale industry. An erroneous line would cause the orientation of the revolution to deviate and lead to the abolition of the dictatorship of the proletariat. But neither can there be socialism, genuine socialism with a large-scale mechanized system of production, if we commit mistakes in organization and management, if we introduce into our organizational and managerial activities small-producer conceptions and methods to which we have been accustomed for many generations.

We are possessed of fundamental advantages: a correct political line, the incisive strength of the dictatorship of the proletariat, a firm worker-peasant alliance, a broad national union, the immense power of the new production relations, the people's revolutionary fervour, abundant natural resources, the devoted help of the brother countries. Then what do we lack most? Knowledge in economics, science and technique, and organizational and managerial abilities.

For dozens of years, in the national democratic revolution and in war, we have been schooled in courage, daring, perseverance and dauntlessness. This is an immense advantage, a very precious asset, but it cannot make up for what we are lacking badly, namely the ability to organize the building and expansion of the economy, the development of culture, and services working for the betterment of the people's living conditions—the basic tasks incumbent upon a party in power, upon the State of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

At present, many of our comrades at all levels, from the central echelon down to the basic units — factories, State farms, co-operatives — and in both Party and State organs, are insufficiently aware of the importance of organization. They divorce politico-ideological work from organizational activities; they substitute politico-ideological generalities — even “desk work” in the case of some comrades — for organization, a painstaking work which calls for great efforts, thorough study and investigation, much pondering and experimentation in the search for the right methods, a job which requires one to get down to brass tacks, closely watch the execution of assignments, and, in a timely way, redress defects and solve new problems arising from changes in the situation, etc., — in short a task, an activity beset with hardships and difficulties.

Lenin said, “We must fully realize that in order to administer successfully, besides being able to convince people, besides being able to win a civil war, we must be able to do practical organizational work.

This is the most difficult task, because it is a matter of organizing in a new way the most deep-rooted, the economic, foundations of life of scores of millions of people. And it is the most gratifying task, because only after it has been fulfilled (in the principal and main outlines) will it be possible to say that Russia has become not only a Soviet, but also a socialist, republic." ¹

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

On the other hand, in the socialist revolution, following the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the conquest of power, the working class and the labouring people, led by the Party, face a task of grandiose creation: to organize, to build a new society, a society without exploitation of man by man, a society which develops in a vigorous and balanced way in all aspects of economic and cultural life. Socialism and communism is a system of production and distribution which is extremely scientific, complex, elaborate, and grows ever more rational. It ensures an increasingly

¹ Lenin, *Selected Works*, Vol. 2, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1967, p. 650.

powerful growth of production and labour productivity on the basis of a constant renovation of technique and a continuous improvement of production relations. It is the best-organized society, the highest social organization in history. That is why the triumph of our cause depends a great deal on the organizational ability of the working class, represented by our Party, and of the State of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the main instrument for the building of the new society.

The resistance to American aggression, for national salvation, and the socialist revolution are setting our people and our Party many great and urgent tasks. Our entire Party must make rapid progress in order to overcome the contradiction which has developed in our present advance between, on the one hand, the necessity of vigorously pushing our revolutionary work forward and carrying out ever larger and more complex construction, and, on the other, the still inadequate organizational ability of our Party and managerial capacity of our State. It is high time a revolutionary change was brought to our conception of the role of organization, and a vigorous improvement to the Party's organizational work and the State's managerial style, in all departments and branches and at all levels.

The leadership by the Party of the whole system of the dictatorship of the proletariat is a matter of principle, one that assumes decisive significance regarding the very fate of that dictatorship. For this reason, we must ceaselessly strengthen the leading role of the Party in all fields, and raise the quality of

its guidance work. The Party gives leadership to the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat by working out a correct line in all fields, by promoting the role of State organs and mass organizations and controlling their activities, by conducting political and ideological work within the Party and among the masses, by urging Party members to show exemplary zeal in implementing the Party's line and policies and carrying into effect decisions taken by the State and the mass organizations.

The strengthening of the leadership of the Party cannot be separated from that of the role and efficiency of the administration in managing the economy, the State, and all facets of social life. For the Party to be in power means that it has become *the real leader of the whole of society*, that it has at its disposal the State of the dictatorship of the proletariat, an extremely powerful instrument for, on the one hand, suppressing all opposition from hostile forces, and on the other — and this is a most important aspect — mobilizing and organizing the people for socialist construction and participation in the management of all spheres of social life. The Party cannot exercise its leadership over society without using the State machinery. Hence, one should not think there is any contradiction between reinforcing the Party's leadership and raising the role and efficiency of the State apparatus. The strength and fighting capacity of a party in power lies indeed in the efficiency and vigour of the State apparatus under its leadership. Being the brains of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Party

cannot slacken its leadership over government organs, but neither can it charge itself with government work. Either to downgrade or relax the leadership of the Party is to weaken the dictatorship of the proletariat. But to burden the Party with governmental jobs is to saddle it with work that is alien to its function; far from strengthening its leadership, this will weaken it. To do things in place of the various government departments and prevent them from fully playing their organizational and managerial role means to directly impair the leadership of the Party. To increase the Party's organizational ability means first and foremost to raise its capacity to lead and utilize the machinery of the State with all its specialized, professional and technical agencies for directing economic and cultural construction and meeting the people's needs in conformity with the Party's line and policies.

Our economy is rapidly advancing from small to large-scale production. This requires that the leaders should, on the one hand, have a thorough grasp of economic laws, and on the other, keep an eye on the various economic processes and watch out for any new happenings in economic life so as to make all necessary changes and improvements in organization and management likely to communicate the maximum speed to economic expansion. The best organizer, one with a mastery of the science and art of organization, is one who goes about his organizational work in a flexible way and responds to new happenings with timely changes in his own system of organization and mode of action.

To ceaselessly develop socialist democracy is the most important condition for strengthening and consolidating State power ; at the same time it is the most effective measure for tightening the ties between the Party and the masses when the former is in power.

Because of the seizure of power by the Party, there has happened a qualitative change in the relationship between it and the masses. The State, the people's organ of power, now becomes the broadest mass organization through which the Party maintains direct and permanent contact with the people (as Lenin said in regard to the Soviets) concerning the most fundamental tasks, the most important and most vital aspects of their life. Either in the overthrow of the old regime or the building of the new, revolution is always the work of the masses. Under the leadership of the Party, the working class and the labouring people are masters of society and undertake the building of a new one through the dictatorship of the proletariat, of which the State is the most powerful and effective instrument. Hence to make light of the role of the State is to downgrade that of the masses and encroach on their sovereignty. To uphold it means to exalt the part played by the masses in the management of the country and of society, to make them participate in the building of a new society in the best organized way, and to bind the Party and the masses together through the broadest organization. There is and there must be no antagonism between the sovereignty of the masses and that of the organs of State power. Under the

dictatorship of the proletariat, the only master of society is the people, the toiling masses, who include the working class, the collective peasantry, and the socialist intelligentsia. State power is the instrument, the organization, through which the people exercise their right as masters of society, on the level of the State. The strength of the proletarian party in power, that of the dictatorship of the proletariat in both the repression of hostile forces and the building of the new society, lies first and foremost in the fact that, through an ever fuller development of socialist democracy, the Party and the State organs are closely bound to the masses in all facets of social life and ensure their ever broader participation in the shaping of the new society.

It is to be regretted that a number of comrades have not grown fully aware of the true nature of the relationships between the Party, the State and the masses. In some places, unwarrantable acts have damaged relationships between the Party and the masses, the State and the people, the Party and the State, and vice versa. These shortcomings must be redressed speedily and resolutely. One must fully understand that for a party in power, the greatest danger to avoid is not only to adopt an erroneous line but also to indulge in bureaucratism, commandism, and arbitrariness, which divorces the Party from the masses and weakens the dictatorship of the proletariat. The strength of the Party lies in its close ties with the masses. State power is strong because it truly belongs to the people and is exercised by the people and for the people. The stronger the State,

the more labouring people it enlists in the management of the country, and the stronger the Party grows as leader of society. With a fully-developed socialist democracy resting upon a socialist economy endowed with a solid material and technical basis, our socialist regime will stand as firm and unshakable as a rock. Such are the orientation and objectives of our Party.

TO CEASELESSLY CONSOLIDATE AND BUILD UP THE PARTY

To increase the Party's fighting capacity and strengthen its leadership in all fields of social activity, we must *ceaselessly consolidate it and build it up so as to make it ever stronger*. The Party must get an ever firmer grasp on its theoretical weapon, Marxism-Leninism, master ever more thoroughly the law of development of socialist society, and grow ever more mature in applying this knowledge to realities so as to work out its line and policies in a judicious and imaginative way. The Party must be strong in the whole of its structure, from top to bottom, in its committees at all levels and in all its specialized departments; its entire body must be vigorous, from the nerve centres to every component cell, in order to ensure that its line and policies be thoroughly grasped at every echelon, both by the leading centres and the various branches, both by Party members and mass organizations and the people at large. The entire Party must make the greatest efforts, every cadre and

member must exert himself to the utmost so as to fulfil brilliantly ever greater and heavier tasks.

In this work of strengthening and building up the Party, the *raising of the quality of the cells and basic organizations* assumes particular importance. The cell is the Party's basic organization, the tie between the Party and the masses, through which its line and policies are implemented and in which its militants and cadres are trained. The bonds between the life of the Party and that of society in all fields are made ever closer thanks to the presence of cells everywhere: factories, construction sites, State farms, co-operatives, government services, State stores, research institutes, schools and colleges, hospitals, army units, etc. The Party's ceaseless growth keeps pace with the uninterrupted development of society and the rising revolutionary tide of the masses. This is reflected in the cells and basic organizations. In social life, in our people's life at present, whenever a problem of some importance arises, the people always ask for the Party's advice and listen to its voice. It is through the cells and basic organizations that the Party maintains direct and daily contact with the masses. It has become an indispensable factor not only in their revolutionary and creative work but also in their daily life. It is present in their thoughts, feelings, and most sacred aspirations. Whether a cell is strong or not, whether some particular action by a cell or one of its members is good or bad, right or wrong, has a direct and immediate effect on the people's material and moral life.

Therefore, in building up the Party, we must concentrate our efforts on consolidating the cells and basic

organizations so as to reinforce their leading role and fighting capacity in all fields. The whole fighting strength of the Party is in the last analysis embodied in the ability of the cells to translate its line and policies into actions by the masses aimed at successfully fulfilling practical revolutionary tasks. To this end, these last few years we have given a vigorous impulse to the movement for building "four-good" cells and basic organizations¹. This work is based on the political tasks of each period and is bound up with their execution. A cell cannot be recognized as a good one if within its domain, production is not progressing, labour productivity not increasing, the people's democratic rights are restricted, obligations towards the State not fulfilled, the people's life not stabilized and gradually bettered in every respect, etc.

We must improve all the cell's activities in order to render its leadership more effective. Its meetings should have a concrete and rich political content, and should debate the Party's line and policies, the tasks incumbent upon the region or unit which is its domain, the way in which these tasks should be accomplished, the production work and daily life of the people, the apportionment of work and responsibilities among the Party members and cadres, the control of the execution of decisions taken by the cell and the part played by each member, etc. The mode of activity of

- ¹ — good fulfilment of production tasks ;
- good implementation of laws and political directives issued by the Party and the Government ;
- good study of Marxism-Leninism ;
- good mass work. (*Translator's note*)

the cell and basic organization should be amended so as to fully utilize and develop the power and capabilities of administrative and specialized bodies and of mass organizations for the fulfilment of concrete tasks in agreement with the Party's line and policies.

The Party and the cell can only be strong if each member is a good Communist. The Party should be composed of the best and most enlightened elements of the working class, the collective peasantry and the socialist intelligentsia, those who are representative of the development and progress of society, who are absolutely loyal to the cause of the working class and the Party and closely bound to the masses, those who fight selflessly, perseveringly, and untiringly for the interests of the working class, the labouring people and the nation, and for the triumph of the socialist and communist ideal. Every member should strive for the effective implementation of the Party's line, policies and resolutions, and be exemplary in combat and production. In carrying into effect the Party's policies and the cell's decisions, he must ceaselessly temper himself in regard to his political stand, ideology, morals, and style of life, while studying hard in order to raise his professional and technical standard. He must see to the people's material and moral well-being and show respect for their right to be the collective masters: he should not arrogate to himself any privilege or prerogative vis-à-vis the masses; he must evince total devotion to the public interest and complete selflessness, and be at the same time the leader and the servant of the people, as recommended by President Ho Chi Minh.

We must, through the mass movement, discover, educate, foster and admit to membership in the Party new forces, especially the best elements among the young people, those who are full of revolutionary zeal, ready to devote themselves to the ideal of the Party, and capable of creative initiative. In token of our gratitude to the founder and great teacher of our Party, the Central Committee has decided that the members to be admitted this year will be named "the Ho Chi Minh batch". With the admission of young members beside their experienced elders, the Party will continue to be a symbol of our people's ever-rising revolutionary tide, and the strength of the cells—the bastions of the Party—will be equal to the new political tasks. While admitting new, truly excellent forces, we must resolutely expel from the Party retrograde and degenerate elements, detested by the masses and unworthy of being members of a vanguard revolutionary party. There are not many such elements, but if they are not driven out of the Party, its fighting capacity will be impaired and its relationships with the masses damaged.

To consolidate and strengthen its close ties with the masses is the law governing the existence and development of the party of the working class. This must be done directly and daily through the cell and basic organization. The cell and all its members must remain in constant touch with the masses, thoroughly understand their thoughts, feelings, and aspirations, educate, unite, and organize them, give them guidance and make them participate in the effort to achieve the Party's objectives. We must strive to consolidate and strengthen the *trade-unions*, so as to make them truly

representative of the wishes, fighting potential and creative power of the working masses and cause them to participate effectively in the management of the State, society, and the economy. We must see to the introduction of young elite workers of both sexes into the leading bodies of the trade-unions. The latter must exert every effort to educate, mobilize and organize the working masses, and give a strong impulse to the socialist emulation movement, so as to boost labour productivity, enhance the workers' collective masterhood in the management of their enterprises, and improve their material welfare.

To educate the young, to expand and consolidate the Working Youth Union, which now bears the glorious name of President Ho Chi Minh, is an extremely important task of the Party. The Working Youth Union must constantly remain the worthy right hand of the Party, the inexhaustible source replenishing its ranks, the deserving continuator of the revolutionary work of the Party and the people. Great store should be set by the role and the force of the *women*. Their contribution to the revolution and to our present society is truly immense. The Party, the cells and the basic organizations must spare no effort in educating and uniting them and helping them to fully participate in political and social life and in the building of the new society.

In order to weld the Party and the masses into a single whole, another important measure is for the cells and basic organizations to hold periodical meetings in suitable forms, in the course of which the Party will perform self-criticism before the masses.

and listen to their criticisms and suggestions. Criticism of the cell by the masses is very important and very necessary for the consolidation and building up of the Party. The cells and Party committees at all levels should give encouragement and guidance to the masses for voicing their candid opinion of the Party. For the admission of new members, the appointment of members of Party committees at the level of the cell and basic organization, etc., we must ask the masses for their views to help make our choices and decisions thoroughly well-grounded.

Once a correct line and judicious policies have been worked out, the decisive factor in bringing about the triumph of the revolution is the organizational work aimed at their implementation, the key question being *the possession of an army of cadres displaying staunchness and ability in every respect.*

The resistance to American aggression, for national salvation, and the building of socialism confront us with ever greater and heavier tasks. Hence the Party must have at its disposal a host of good cadres, capable of representing the political line of the Party in the new stage, and in sufficient numbers to meet not only immediate, but also long-range, needs. This army must include cadres of all branches and specialties so as to satisfy the requirements of the revolution in all fields.

The quality of the cadres is shown in the results they obtain in performing the tasks entrusted by the Party in any period of the revolution. Whether they have fulfilled their revolutionary duties, whether

they have correctly and thoroughly carried into effect the Party's line and policies, is the yardstick measuring their quality and competence. Every cadre who wishes to discharge his responsibilities must have a high revolutionary mettle and adequate revolutionary knowledge. Being a revolutionary fighter of the proletariat, the cadre must first of all be absolutely loyal to the Party, to its revolutionary line, to the revolutionary cause of the class and the nation, to the communist ideal. Inspired by pure revolutionary fervour and deep attachment to the masses, he must fear neither hardships nor sacrifices and must exert the most courageous efforts to overcome all difficulties and fulfil all tasks. Without these revolutionary virtues, he can neither have a correct grasp of Marxism-Leninism, nor comprehend the essence of the Party's line and policies, nor show any creativeness in executing his revolutionary tasks. The army of cadres of our Party has taken shape and developed in the course of the people's protracted revolutionary struggle; as a whole, forged in the two great wars of resistance and in the socialist revolution, it has evinced fine revolutionary virtues. In the present stage of the revolution, our Party must continue to foster these fundamental merits while combating and preventing in time all manifestations of degeneration and regression which might appear among cadres of a party in power.

However, in order to fulfil the tasks of the revolution, a revolutionary spirit is not enough. Revolution is conscious action and requires that the cadre should possess revolutionary knowledge and understand

the laws of the objective development of society. Socialist revolution is the most radical revolution in the history of mankind ; it does not confine itself to the destruction of the old social order but means also the organization and building up of a new society in all its complexity, especially its economic life. In order to be able to fulfil their duties, the cadres of the Party should definitely be thoroughly proficient in many fields of knowledge : politics, economics, culture, science and technique, and be possessed of organizational and managerial abilities. Otherwise, they will be groping and improvising, and will be unable to perform their tasks speedily and successfully and to avoid errors and shortcomings harmful to the cause of the revolution. Therefore, whatever his assignment, a cadre must be armed with the necessary knowledge ; he must seek to gain proficiency in his trade, and strive to master science and technique. Only then can he discharge his responsibilities, and prove able to lead the masses and impel the revolution vigorously forward.

In the socialist revolution, the Party's fundamental political task is to keep firm to the dictatorship of the proletariat and carry out the three revolutions, the keystone being the technical revolution. The Party's fighting capacity, the fine qualities and the competence of its members and cadres, should find expression in the successful accomplishment of those duties. The Party's army of cadres should definitely include those capable of organizing the masses, giving them guidance, and making them participate in the daily and hourly struggle to realize the ideals of socialism,

evincing in this work the highest resolve, the greatest spirit of self-sacrifice, and all necessary knowledge for the completion of their assignments.

To meet the needs, both immediate and long-range, of economic construction and cultural development, our Party and our State must step up the training of large numbers of intellectuals in both social and natural sciences, animated by unqualified loyalty to the revolutionary cause of the Party. In its structure and nature, our intelligentsia has undergone fundamental changes. Our present intellectuals are socialist ones, closely bound to the workers and peasants. The overwhelming majority come from worker and peasant families and have received their training under the socialist regime. The older intellectuals, educated by the Party and tempered by a long revolutionary process, have shown visible progress in their political and ideological stand and have rendered great services to the people. But the intellectuals, including those sprung from the working class and the peasantry, have weaknesses which they should overcome both through their own efforts and thanks to education and help from the Party, so that they could devote all their talents and energies to serving the great revolutionary cause of the people.

Our Party hold the intellectuals in great esteem, for knowledge is an indispensable force, an indispensable weapon of the working class and the labouring people in their struggle to emancipate themselves and build socialism and communism. The working class is bound to have its own numerous intelligentsia. Besides, the Party must help the workers and peasants

gradually acquire a knowledge of modern science and technique so as to boost production, push the technical revolution forward, and organize a civilized life. We must cast off biases against the intellectuals, culture, science and technique. Every cadre, Party member, youth, and worker should study hard and seek to raise his level of knowledge in order to do his job well and ceaselessly progress. We must advance to the point where for members of Party committees at any given level, besides political standards, certain criteria will be set in terms of competence in economic management and science and technique. To give guidance to scientific and technical work, Party committees should have qualified staffs including experts in the various branches and departments of economics, science and technique, while Party committees and leading bodies in the various ministries, specialized agencies, and research institutes should be reinforced. Scientific and technical cadres should be trained in ever larger numbers, ranging from skilled workers to chief engineers to savants.

The law governing the development of the revolution, and that of the Party as well, requires that the latter should associate in a judicious way veteran cadres with younger ones so that their good qualities could complement each other while their weaknesses could be better overcome thanks to mutual help, for each of these two categories of cadres has its own strong and weak points. Our Party must take solicitous care of its veteran cadres while seeking to foster, train, and boldly promote large numbers of young

people with high revolutionary qualities, great capabilities and potential energies, who have proved their worth in various revolutionary movements.

The strength of a Marxist-Leninist party lies in its unity and oneness of mind, in its *ideological and organizational unity*. Of all the fine traditions of our Party, this is the finest. That our Party has successfully faced all trials in all periods and brought the revolution to the present triumph is due to its unfailing unity and cohesion. As Lenin said, without organization the proletariat has nothing; organized and united, it will have everything. After the Party has seized power, its unity assumes all the more importance, for without unity of will, mind and action within the own ranks of the Party, the force leading the march of the whole of society, the fruits of the revolution could not be safeguarded and the most arduous and grandiose task ever undertaken in history, namely the building of a wholly new society, socialist society, could never be accomplished.

Furthering the tradition of unity and oneness of mind forged by forty years of hard struggle and continuous successes, and scrupulously acting upon President Ho Chi Minh's sacred testament, we are resolved to "preserve the unity of the Party as we would the apple of our eye". The Party will never tolerate any manifestation of factionalism, considering it the gravest crime against the revolution. Being the vanguard of the working class and the most active element of society, the Party has but one will, one single will.

The unity of the Party rests on Marxist-Leninist ideology, whose purity it constantly seeks to preserve, on its correct political line which every day is translated into conscious action by the masses, and on the enlightenment of all its members concerning its ideal, aims and tasks. Its ideological unity is firmly ensured through democratic centralism, its basic organizational principle. However, the Party is a revolutionary fighting army. Ideological unity by itself is wholly insufficient, for "ideology by itself can realize nothing." Turning ideology into action must of necessity be done through organization. Besides, without organizational unity, ideological unity could not come into existence, could not be maintained. This does not mean that there is no freedom of thought within the Party. On the contrary. Democratic centralism requires and ensures the right for all members to discuss and decide all Party affairs and to put forward, within the Party organization, all ideas on all problems of concern to the revolution. Within the framework of the Programme and Rules worked out by the entire Party, the full exercise of the democratic rights of all members and the full blossoming of their intellect make up one of the most important guarantees of the Party's vitality. The smothering of ideas is wholly alien to a proletarian party, to Marxist-Leninist ideology. However, freedom of thought can absolutely not mean turning the Party into a debating club. The Party is an army which, on the battlefield, must act as one man. Hence, the principles whereby the minority should submit to the majority, a lower echelon to a superior authority, a part to the whole and all

Party members to the Central Committee — the highest leading organ between two Party congresses — are fundamental principles of democratic centralism. To violate them means to impair the iron discipline of the Party, to sabotage its unity. Lenin said: "Whoever brings about even the slightest weakening of the iron discipline of the party of the proletariat (especially during its dictatorship) is actually aiding the bourgeoisie against the proletariat."¹

The Party's leadership constantly rests upon *the principle of collective leadership*. Personal arbitrariness is totally alien to its nature. No individual, even one endowed with exceptional gifts, can ever understand, can ever comprehend all things, all events, in all their aspects and ceaseless mutations. Hence the necessity of a collective intellect. Only collective decisions taken on the strength of a collective mind can avoid subjectivism, which leads to errors with often dangerous consequences. Collective leadership is the highest principle in the Party's leadership. This by no means lessens the personal responsibility of the leaders. At present, some comrades in a number of leading organs are not paying due regard to the principle of collective leadership; on the other hand, certain comrades rely on the "collective" to look after everything, and put the blame on the "collective" for every one of their own errors and failures, without admitting their individual responsibility. We must put an end to this state of affairs.

¹ Lenin, *Selected Works*, Vol. 3, Progress Publishers, Moscow 1967, p.357.

Besides the above ideological fundamentals and organizational principles, unity and oneness of mind within the Party depends in no small measure on how comrades treat each other and how they settle their differences of opinion. Pursuing the same ideal and aim, for which they are engaged in a life-and-death battle, having together faced countless hardships and shared weal and woe, the Communists feel boundless mutual love and affection. No feeling can be more sacred than comradely attachment, which binds the Communists together in their struggle for their common ideal and aim. There can be no concessions on matters of principle. But, in the solution of complex problems, while not tolerating any injury to principles, they should behave towards each other in a way that conforms to both reason and sentiment and, if need be, wait for each other to come round in case of differences of opinion: such things are necessary and contribute to unity and cohesion within the Party. We have gained profitable experience in this matter, which we should continue to turn to account.

Self-criticism and criticism is a fundamental method for strengthening the unity and cohesion of the Party and a law governing its development and progress.

The development of society—socialist society included—is an intricate process full of contradictions. An unceasing struggle unfolds between the old and the new, between progress and backwardness. As the situation evolves, new tasks confront the Party, calling for new ways to tackle problems, new approaches in organizational, political and ideological work

aimed at fulfilling these tasks. Ideologically and politically, the Party is a unified whole, but its cadres and members do not have a uniform grasp of things. In face of any shift in the situation and tasks, some comrades are quick to perceive the evolution of events and decide which way to act; others take longer to understand, or understand only imperfectly; others still are truly sluggish, their minds fail to grasp the new situation and tackle the new tasks, and they refuse to leave the beaten track. Besides, on account of various complicated factors many Party members are still under the influence of non-proletarian ideologies. Hence, it is only natural that a struggle between the old and the new, between progress and backwardness, should take place continuously within the Party itself. Self-criticism and criticism, coupled with efforts to raise the level of knowledge of Party cadres and members, is the basic method for resolving those contradictions and strengthening the unity of the Party, for educating cadres and militants, developing their good qualities and making up for their weak points. Lenin said that only a party that is courageous enough to effect its self-criticism and publicly admit its errors and shortcomings, that knows how to discover the causes of these defects and resolutely strives to redress them, only such a party deserves to be called a revolutionary party, only such a party constantly remains in close touch with the masses and is thereby in a position to win victory for the revolution. President Ho Chi Minh used to urge us to engage in self-criticism and criticism, especially criticism from below, so as

to bring about increasing vigour for the Party and continuous progress for its cadres and members.

In order to shoulder the ever heavier revolutionary tasks of the new stage, all cadres and militants should ceaselessly strive to *consolidate their proletarian stand and elevate their revolutionary morals*. The life and work of President Ho Chi Minh is a shining example of communist ethics, which all of us are resolved to follow in order to temper ourselves. The model behaviour of comrades who fought selflessly, perseveringly and courageously, to their last breath, for the communist ideal — Comrades Tran Phu, Ngo Gia Tu, Le Hong Phong, Nguyen Van Cu, Phan Dang Luu, Hoang Van Thu, Vo Van Tan, Nguyen Thi Minh Khai and many others — serves as a lesson which helps us cultivate our revolutionary virtues.

Our Party is the vanguard of the working class; it represents the most dynamic element of society in its development; so it can have only one ideology, that of the proletariat, of Marxism-Leninism. Strengthening our proletarian ideology, we are *resolved to combat petty-bourgeois ideology*, whose most common manifestations are, in the political field, rightist and "leftist" waverings, essentially the former; in the ideological field, individualism in many hues; in the methodological field, subjectivism, one-sidedness, etc. While it is essential to overcome petty-bourgeois ideology, we must at the same time *resolutely oppose all influences of bourgeois ideology which may infiltrate the Party, and sweep away all vestiges of other non-proletarian ideologies*.

All manifestations of non-proletarian ideologies are alien to our Party's ideology. We must firmly eliminate them, as we would microbes seeking to invade a healthy organism.

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In short, the strength of our Party manifests itself in all fields. The Party must be strong both in its line and in the implementation of this line; it must be strong politically, ideologically, and organizationally; strong in the building of the State apparatus and competent organs of economic management; strong in maintaining close ties with the masses, ceaselessly consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, and broadening socialist democracy; strong in its thorough understanding of, and firm grasp on, the law of development of society; strong in winning continuous successes for the revolutionary cause of the class and the nation, of which the Party is the organizer and leader. The source of its strength is its unity and oneness of mind on the basis of the ideology of Marxism-Leninism and the organizational principles of a new-type proletarian party.

We are determined to build up the Party and make it ever stronger so that it can successfully fulfil the historic mission entrusted to it by the class and the nation.

**TO STRENGTHEN INTERNATIONAL UNITY
AND INTENSIFY THE STRUGGLE FOR PEACE,
NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE, DEMOCRACY, AND
SOCIALISM**

We are observing the 40th founding anniversary of our Party at a time when the world revolution is surging powerfully and facing prospects of ever greater victories.

After the Second World War, socialism grew beyond the boundaries of one country and became a world system. Owing to the extremely great successes it has won, the socialist camp has continuously and fully played its role as the decisive factor in the evolution of human society, as the citadel of the revolution and the pillar of world peace. The powerful upsurge of the national liberation movement in the countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America has brought about the collapse of the bulk of the system of colonial enslavement. It is fighting on to break the fetters of colonialism old and new and dealing decisive blows at the

rear base of imperialism. The unprecedentedly powerful struggle waged by tens of millions of workers and toiling people in the imperialist countries, spearheaded against the reactionary rule of the State monopoly capitalists and their warlike policy, is a huge force battering the very lair of imperialism.

Together with the broad world peace movement, those three great revolutionary forces are attacking imperialism repeatedly and from many sides, tipping the scale fundamentally in favour of peace, national independence, democracy and socialism. On the strength of the alliance of those forces, the people of the world are fully in a position to foil all dark designs and bellicose ventures of the warlike imperialists headed by the United States.

The period following the Second World War has also witnessed a high tide of socialist revolution and is the most seething epoch in the history of world revolution. In our camp, over a billion people, starting from different socio-economic conditions, are making great strides on the road of socialist construction and turning formerly backward countries into ones with a fine political regime, modern industry and agriculture, advanced culture and science, and powerful national defence. The independence of these countries and the happiness of their people are ensured, and humanity finds in them a shining example and a source of hope.

Under the influence of socialism, the national liberation movement has expanded immensely in both scope and depth and has assumed a new quality. Its outstanding feature is that the struggle to eradicate

colonialism old and new and all reactionary forces serving imperialism is organically linked with the effort to transform society in the direction of a non-capitalist development. Thanks to leadership by a truly revolutionary party, a correct line and appropriate revolutionary methods, firm support from the workers and peasants and other progressive strata of the population, and active help from the socialist countries, the national democratic revolution in many newly-liberated countries can progress to socialist revolution through different modes of transition, bypassing the road of capitalist development.

In present day imperialist countries, due to the rapid transformation of capitalism into State monopoly capitalism and intensified exploitation and oppression of the working class and toiling people, social contradictions have become ever more exacerbated. This makes it possible for the working class to reinforce its unity of will and action and, on that basis, rally broad masses of toiling people and other democratic strata into a united front opposing the rule of the State monopoly capitalists and the hold of the American imperialists, and struggling for democracy, social progress, peace and national sovereignty, thus creating the premises for a revolutionary tide which will result in victory for the socialist revolution.

Those three great streams will merge into the tidal wave of socialist revolution in our era, carry mankind into the orbit of socialism, and push the world's peoples forward to complete the transition from capitalism to socialism on a worldwide scale.

Over the past twenty-five years, desperately facing the growing successes of socialism and attempting to oppose the ever more vigorous struggle of the working class and the oppressed peoples, the imperialists, led by their American chieftain, while resorting to terror and demagogy at home, have left no stone unturned in their endeavour to counter-attack the world revolutionary movement. They have reinforced their armies, engaged in the arms race, revived West German and Japanese militarism, frantically prepared for a new world war, sought to surround, threaten and sabotage the socialist countries, and at the same time plotted in every way to divide the socialist camp and the revolutionary forces in the world. As regards the colonial and dependent countries, they have shifted to new colonialism and provoked many "special wars" or "limited wars" in the hope of suppressing the national liberation movement.

But the time is gone by when the imperialists ruled the roost; all their frenzied counter-revolutionary actions cannot stave off their collapse. Imperialism has suffered defeats at the hands of the revolutionary forces of the world and has been forced to withdraw from one position after another, and those who have fared worst of all are the American imperialists, the imperialist chieftain now acting as a world gendarme. Without a shadow of doubt, the world revolution is now in an offensive posture which grows steadier and stronger with every passing day. Carrying out an offensive strategy, the forces of socialism, national liberation, democracy and peace are capable of foiling every warlike policy and defeating every kind of war

the imperialists may provoke in each region, eventually frustrating the whole of their bellicose plan; they will drive the imperialists back step by step, knock imperialism down chunk after chunk, and speed up its total collapse, thereby securing lasting peace for the world and victory for national independence and socialism on an ever wider scale.

In order to stamp out the wars kindled by the American imperialists and thwart the plan for a new world war hatched by the imperialist warmongers, in order to win ever greater successes for peace, national independence, democracy and social progress, it is necessary to set up a united front of the world's peoples against American imperialism. The core of this front should be constituted by the socialist countries, the international communist and workers' movement, and the national liberation movement; at the same time the front should attract all peace and justice-loving forces and mobilize all potentialities of the world's peoples for this common aim: to isolate the American imperialists and their allies and servants, the war-maniacs, to check and smash all their aggressive schemes and actions, to defend peace and continue to carry the world revolution forward in an uninterrupted victorious advance.

The arduous and fierce class struggle now taking place on a worldwide scale urgently calls for the restoration and consolidation of the unity of the socialist camp and the international communist and workers' movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. Only then is it

possible to bring together all revolutionary forces in the world to oppose imperialism, frustrate all schemes for military aggression and all divisive manoeuvres of the imperialists against the socialist countries, and baffle all their attempts to suppress and sabotage the international communist and workers' movement.

The war of aggression against Viet Nam is an important part of the global strategy pursued by the American imperialists, the most warlike of them all. By this war, they hope to perpetuate the division of our country, turn the South into an American neo-colony and military base, at the same time push back socialism and use Viet Nam as a testing-ground for the strategy, tactics, and new weapons to be employed for quelling the revolutionary movement and preparing for a world war. In their criminal war in Viet Nam, the American imperialists have shown their true colours as extremely barbarous neo-fascists. However, they have been bogged down in a quagmire and have suffered pitiful failures and are being severely condemned in the world and in the United States itself. Their dominant position in the capitalist world has grown ever more wobbly and is visibly on the wane. The Vietnamese people's resistance to American aggression, for national salvation, is the crest of the wave of struggle of the world's peoples battering imperialism headed by American imperialism. It contributes an important share to solving the fundamental contradictions of the world in this era, defending socialism, national independence and peace, and giving a strong impulse to the struggle of the world's peoples for freedom, justice, human dignity and man's right to existence.

Our people are infinitely proud to stand on the forefront of the revolutionary battle fought by the world's peoples against American imperialism, the most dangerous foe of mankind. We pledge to do our utmost to defeat the aggression of the American imperialists and their agents and bring our patriotic war of resistance to a victorious end, so as to fulfil our sacred national duty and our lofty internationalist responsibilities and be worthy of the confidence of our brothers and friends the world over.

Ever since its foundation, our Party has considered solidarity with the international proletariat and the revolution in the colonial and semi-colonial countries a most important duty, a basic principle, and one of the decisive factors in the victory of our own revolution. This correct internationalist line has been consistently followed by our Party in the entire course of the revolution. It has, on the one hand won us ever greater support and assistance from the world revolutionary movement, and on the other, inculcated in our people the noble feelings of proletarian internationalism, preserved them from bourgeois and petty-bourgeois nationalism, and frustrated the perfidious divisive manœuvres of the imperialists and their valets. Besides, it has urged our people to contribute actively to the revolutionary struggle of the world's peoples.

Acting upon President Ho Chi Minh's last recommendations, our Party will bend all its energies, as it has always done in the past, towards restoring and safeguarding unity and cohesion within the socialist camp and among the brother parties on the basis of

Marxism - Leninism and proletarian internationalism. We will continue to consolidate and tighten the unshakable bonds of friendship between our country and those of the socialist camp, especially the Soviet Union and China, and strengthen co-operation and mutual assistance in all fields with the brother countries.

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

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

We devote our greatest efforts to strengthening brotherly solidarity among the peoples of Indochina in their struggle against the common enemy, American imperialism, reinforcing the solid friendship between our country and the Kingdom of Cambodia, and setting up neighbourly 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 fight on shoulder to shoulder with the brother countries and progressive people the world over against the aggressive and warlike policy of the imperialist warmongers headed by the American imperialists, and play an active part in the common struggle for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

We also stand ready to establish relationships with all countries in the world which respect our sovereignty

and independence, on the basis of equality and mutual benefit.

Over the past forty years, every historic stage of the Vietnamese revolution—particularly in the period from the August Revolution to the present war of resistance against American aggression, for national salvation—is closely bound up with the active support and wholehearted assistance of the brother socialist countries, the international communist and workers' movement, the national liberation movement, and peace- and justice-loving people in the world.

Our people feel eternal gratitude to the brother socialist countries, especially the Soviet Union and China, for their immense and priceless help, considering it a noble token of proletarian internationalism. We also extend heartfelt thanks to the other brother parties for their solidarity with our people and their active assistance to our protracted struggle. We sincerely thank the international proletariat, the nationalist countries and progressive people the world over, those of the United States included, for their unfailing sympathy and support to our just cause.

and mutual assistance in the fields of culture and mutual
benefit.

Over the past forty years, every nation in the
world has been torn by particularly in the period
of the August Revolution to the present war of
resistance against American aggression for national
independence and unity with the active support
and wholehearted assistance of the Soviet Union and
other countries. The international communist and workers
movements, the national liberation movements and
peace-loving people in the world.

Our people feel great solidarity with the peoples
of all countries, especially the Soviet Union and
other countries for their successes and progress. We
are also proud of the great achievements of the
people of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam in
the last ten years. We extend hearty greetings to the
people of all countries for their solidarity with our people and their
active assistance to our national struggle. We
also thank the international communist and workers
movements and peace-loving people of the world
over those of the United States and other
imperialist countries and support to our just cause.

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