

**THIRD CONGRESS
OF
THE VIET NAM FATHERLAND FRONT**

(DOCUMENTS)

HANOI

FOREIGN LANGUAGES PUBLISHING HOUSE

1972

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(Documents)

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PUBLISHER'S NOTE

The Third Congress of the Viet Nam Fatherland Front was held in Hanoi in December 1971. It bears a historic character owing to the present political conjuncture in our country as well as in the world.

We publish in this booklet the translation of a number of documents of the Congress. The reader will get an idea about the policy of national union of the Fatherland Front and its methods of action, and about the strategy of US imperialism, the enemy number one of our people. This booklet also deals with the question of the United Front of the Indochinese Peoples and of the common Front of the world peoples against US imperialism.

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OPENING SPEECH BY PRESIDENT TON DUC THANG

Today, in the jubilant atmosphere full of enthusiasm at the big victories of the resistance against US aggression, for national salvation, and the building of socialism, we are holding the Third Congress of the Viet Nam Fatherland Front in Hanoi capital city.

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Fatherland Front, I cordially convey my best salutations to the delegates who have come here to attend the Congress.

Our Congress is very happy to welcome the delegation of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation and the delegation of the Viet Nam Alliance of National, Democratic and Peace Forces who have come from the frontline of the country resplendent with military victories, bringing to us the dear and intimate sentiments of our 17 million countrymen in the heroic South.

All along many past decades, our Front has always enjoyed the solicitous care, fostering and leadership of President Ho Chi Minh. Bowing respectfully before

the portrait of President Ho Chi Minh, we express our boundless gratitude to him and promise to him to constantly uphold his banner of great unity, and to resolve to fully implement his sacred Testament.

Ten years have elapsed since the Second Congress of the Viet Nam Fatherland Front.

Over the past ten years, under the clearsighted leadership of the Viet Nam Workers' Party, our people united as one man have overcome countless difficulties and hardships, recorded many great and fundamental successes in the resistance against US aggression, for national salvation, and the building of socialism.

On this occasion our Congress conveys to our countrymen and combatants in the heroic South our heartiest and dearest feelings. Our countrymen in the South have always upheld their ardent patriotism, their noble spirit of sacrifice, fought tenaciously and valiantly for the independence, freedom and reunification of the country. The South is really worthy of being the Brass Wall of our Fatherland!

We warmly praise our compatriots and combatants in the heroic North who have defeated the savage war of destruction of the US imperialists, wholeheartedly fulfilled their duty of the great rear to the great frontline, and worked with self-abnegation, industry and thrift in the building of socialism.

We warmly hail the peoples of heroic Laos and Cambodia for having resolutely stood up to fight against the US imperialist aggressors and the clique of their henchmen, recording very glorious exploits.

We warmly welcome the brilliant achievements of the peoples of the fraternal countries in the building of socialism and communism. We warmly welcome the success of the world peoples in the struggle for peace, national independence, democracy and social progress.

We sincerely thank our brothers and friends in all continents for their precious sympathy, support and assistance to our people.

Together with the development of the revolutionary struggle of our people, the Viet Nam Fatherland Front has not ceased to build up, develop its great role, unite and mobilize the entire people to strive for the glorious cause of the nation.

We warmly welcome the political parties, mass organizations, the Viet Nam Fatherland Front Committees at all levels, all the personalities and cadres of the Front who have zealously contributed to the building, consolidation and broadening of the Front, and endeavoured in the struggle for the realization of the task of Front members.

This Third Congress of the Viet Nam Fatherland Front will review the activities of the Front during the past ten years, sum up some experiences and set forth clearly the task and work of the Front in the period to come, and appoint a new central committee of the Front.

With the independent, sovereign, correct and creative line of the Party, the invincible strength of national unity, constantly upholding the spirit of

self-reliance, and enjoying the sympathy, support and great assistance of the brotherly socialist countries and the whole progressive mankind, our people are certain to completely defeat the US imperialist aggressors and the clique of their henchmen, and succeed in building socialism in the North.

On behalf of the Presidium, I declare the Third Congress of the Viet Nam Fatherland Front open and wish the Congress splendid success.

LETTER OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE VIET NAM WORKERS' PARTY

To the Third Congress of the Viet Nam Fatherland Front

On behalf of all the members of the Viet Nam Workers' Party, we convey to the Third Congress of the Viet Nam Fatherland Front our warmest and most cordial greetings.

Ten years ago, the Second Congress of the Viet Nam Fatherland Front put forth the task of uniting the entire people, continuing to strive for the implementation of the Political Program of the Front with a view to liberating the South, defending the North, building socialism in the North and proceeding to the peaceful reunification of the country in order to build a peaceful, reunified, independent, democratic and prosperous Viet Nam, actively contributing to the revolutionary cause of the world's people.

Since then the Vietnamese revolution has recorded great successes of strategic significance.

Under the glorious banner of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation, our countrymen and

combatants in the heroic South have waged a sacred war of resistance against the US aggression, for national salvation, defeating one after another all the war strategies of US imperialism. They have made glorious exploits, endeavoured to wipe out as much mobile strategic force of the enemy as possible, and to smash the enemy's "pacification" program while pushing forward the political struggle in the urban centres. As a result, they have inflicted an important defeat on the US "Vietnamization of the war" policy, driving the aggressors and the traitors into a very critical situation, an impasse with no way to escape from utter failure.

In close co-ordination with the resistance of our people and combatants in the blood-sealed South, the people and combatants in the heroic North have defeated the air and naval war of destruction of US imperialism and recorded many brilliant achievements in the building of socialism. Through far-reaching economic, political and social changes, the North of our country is being built into a steady base for the revolution of the entire country. It has striven and is striving to fulfil its heavy task of the great rear to the great frontline, while accomplishing its internationalist duty to the fraternal peoples of Laos and Cambodia.

The Viet Nam Fatherland Front has made many worthy contributions to the revolutionary cause of our people. Imbued with the teaching of great President Ho Chi Minh, all the members of the Front have continued to unite broadly the patriotic and socialist-orientated forces among the population to push ahead the North and contribute to the fulfilment of the national

people's democratic revolution throughout the country. The Front has continued to strengthen the militant solidarity between our people with the peoples of the fraternal socialist countries, with the Lao and Khmer peoples, and the people of the world in the struggle against imperialism, old and new colonialism, headed by US imperialism, for peace, national independence, democracy and social progress.

On this occasion, we express our joy to have been able to join the other members of the Front in tending the forest of national unity to make it ever greener and more fruitful. We wish also to welcome the political parties, mass organizations and other groups as well as the individual personalities in the Front who have greatly contributed to the mobilization of the various strata of our people to zealously take part in the patriotic emulation movement, make all-out efforts in the resistance against US aggression, for national salvation, and in socialist construction, with the determination to surmount all difficulties and hardships in the accomplishment of our national and international responsibilities.

The Viet Nam Workers' Party has always assessed that revolution is the work of the broad masses of the people. If all strata of our people uphold their patriotism and closely unite within the broad National United Front on the basis of the worker-peasant alliance under the leadership of our genuine Marxist-Leninist Party, achieve unity of actions with a view to attaining the objectives of the revolution in each stage, and with the sympathy, support and assistance of the

people of the fraternal socialist countries and the world's people, we can surely overcome all difficulties, defeat all enemies and fulfil all revolutionary tasks.

Practice of the revolution in our country has clearly shown that at present, the Viet Nam Fatherland Front, with its patriotic and socialist-orientated character, is one of the factors of victory of the revolution in our country, very worthy of the heroic Vietnamese nation and the solicitude of our great President Ho Chi Minh, the founder of the National United Front in Viet Nam. By its practical contributions to the struggle for the independence and reunification of the Fatherland, and by mobilizing the people to endeavour in socialist construction in the North, the Viet Nam Fatherland Front is providing a firm political base and a steady prop for the People's Democratic State. The important role and effect of the Viet Nam Fatherland Front have once again demonstrated the judiciousness of this word of President Ho Chi Minh:

"Unity, unity, great unity
Success, success, great success."

The world situation is very favourable to the Vietnamese revolution. The balance of forces between us and the enemy is changing in our favour and to the detriment of the enemy. Never has aggressive US imperialism met such a crisis in economy and isolation in politics as now. On the contrary, our people are growing stronger and stronger in both position and force. The national united fronts against the US aggressors and their henchmen in Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia and the united front against US imperialism

of the Indochinese peoples are encircling and decimating the enemy; the united front of the world's people in support of the Indochinese peoples' resistance against aggressive US imperialism is taking shape. Our people are sure to win in the fight for independence, freedom and socialism, although we know that many more hardships and trials have to be overcome before attaining our goal.

In spite of its heavy setbacks, US imperialism remains extremely bellicose and stubborn. The Nixon administration is feverishly carrying out its "Vietnamization of the war" policy, intensifying and expanding the war of aggression in the whole of Indochina. To resist US aggression and save the country is the primordial task of our nation. This requires that our entire people redouble their efforts to put into practice the sacred Testament of President Ho Chi Minh, persist in our struggle on the three fronts, military, political and diplomatic, step up the resistance against US aggression till complete victory, with the determination to liberate the South, defend and build up the socialist North, and proceed to the reunification of the country, in order to build a peaceful, reunified, independent, democratic, strong and prosperous Viet Nam, and make a worthy contribution to the revolutionary cause of the world's people.

The Third Congress of the Viet Nam Fatherland Front is convened at a time when the people in the North are upholding their vigilance, standing ready to fight and fight valiantly, resolved to smash every new military adventure of the US imperialists and their henchmen. At the same time, they are bringing into

full play their sense of being collective masters, emulating to boost production and practise thrift, achieve a vigorous change for the better in the national economy and strengthen our forces in every field with a view to meeting adequately and in time all the needs of socialist construction in the North and aiding the great frontline.

Every Congress of the National United Front marks an important success of the revolution in our country. We are firmly confident that on the basis of the experiences gained in the past period, the Front Congress this time will adopt practical resolutions on the new situation and tasks with a view to continually consolidating and expanding the Front, further strengthening the political and moral unity of the people in our country, with the determination to defeat completely the US aggressors and their henchmen, successfully building socialism in the North and accomplishing the internationalist duty of our people.

For our part, our Party pledges to continue, as before, together with the other political parties, mass organizations and personalities in the Front, to unite cordially, to engage in long-term co-operation, and together shoulder the common revolutionary cause, actively contributing to the realization of the Political Program of the Front and the resolution of the Front Congress.

We wish the Third Congress of the Viet Nam Fatherland Front splendid success.

With our cordial salutations of determination to win.

The Central Committee
of the Viet Nam Workers' Party

RESOLUTION OF THE THIRD CONGRESS OF THE VIET NAM FATHERLAND FRONT

I. ALL FOR THE COMPLETE DEFEAT OF THE US AGGRESSORS AND FOR THE SUCCESSFUL BUILDING OF SOCIALISM

Since the Second Congress of the Viet Nam Fatherland Front (held in April 1961), our people have gone through a period of the most glorious revolutionary struggle in national history. Thanks to the clear-sighted leadership of the Viet Nam Workers' Party, the resistance against US aggression, for national salvation, and the building of socialism in the North have recorded great and fundamental victories.

In the great frontline, under the glorious banner of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam, our fellow-countrymen and fighters in the South have heroically struggled, tenaciously waged people's war, successively frustrated the US "special war" and "limited war" and are foiling the programme for "Vietnamizing the war".

of the Nixon clique. Since the beginning of this year, the peoples of Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia have scored resounding and strategically important victories, dealing a telling blow at the "Nixon doctrine" and creating a new conjuncture most favourable to the fight of the peoples of the three Indochinese countries.

In the socialist North, our army and people have upheld revolutionary heroism, defeated the extremely barbarous war of aggression by US air and naval forces, and at the same time stepped up the building of socialism, strengthening the economic and defence potential, and fulfilling the duty of the great rear base towards the great frontline.

The great and all-sided victories of the Vietnamese people together with the glorious victories of the fraternal peoples of Laos and Cambodia have smashed the prestige of the US aggressors, the most cruel enemy of mankind, and contributed to bringing out the superiority of the world revolutionary forces, pushing forward the national-liberation movement, and defending the socialist camp and world peace.

The Congress warmly hails our fellow-countrymen and fighters in the whole country, particularly the people and army in the heroic South who have overcome countless hardships and sacrifices, stubbornly and ingeniously stepped up the armed and political struggles, and brought our sacred resistance war to glorious victory. The Congress highlights the love for the country and for socialism, the spirit of diligence in labour and of heroism in combat of the people and

army in the heroic North to consolidate our socialist Fatherland.

The Congress warmly hails the heroic Lao people who, under the clear-sighted leadership of the Lao Patriotic Front headed by Chairman Prince Souphanouvong, have most valiantly and tenaciously struggled, and registered many great and fundamental victories in the struggle against the US imperialists and their lackeys.

The Congress warmly hails the heroic people of Cambodia who, under the leadership of the National United Front of Kampuchea with Head of State Samdech Norodom Sihanouk at its head, have resolutely stood up against the US aggressors and their henchmen, and recorded extremely glorious victories! The Congress is firmly confident that the age-old militant solidarity among the three Indochinese peoples, tempered in the struggle, will certainly create an invincible force that ensures the final victory of the resistance against US aggression, for national salvation, of the three peoples.

The Congress sincerely thanks the Soviet Union, China and the other fraternal socialist countries for their many-sided, great and effective support and assistance; and the peace- and justice-loving world's people, including the American progressives, for their strong and extremely valuable sympathy for and support to our people's just struggle.

The US defeat is self-evident. However, the warlike forces headed by Nixon are very obdurate and perfidious, and have not as yet given up their design of aggression against Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia. They

feverishly carry out the "Vietnamization" of the war, clinging to the Saigon traitorous group headed by the dictatorial fascist Nguyen Van Thieu so as to continue turning South Viet Nam into a US new-type colony and military base. At the Paris Conference, they obstinately stick to their stand of aggression, refuse to seriously meet the fair and the reasonable seven-point peace proposal of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam. They continue violating the independence and sovereignty of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and prepare for new military adventures against the people in the North.

Under such circumstances, the urgent and primordial task of our people is to strengthen our unity, millions as one man, to act upon the sacred Testament of President Ho Chi Minh, persist in and step up the resistance against US aggression, uphold the determination to fight and to win final victory, liberate the South, defend the North, ultimately reunify the country peacefully, and make worthy contributions to the cause of world revolution. In whatever situation, however arduous it may be, our people are determined to fight shoulder to shoulder with the fraternal peoples of Laos and Cambodia, chase the US aggressors out of the Indochinese peninsula, unceasingly strengthen the militant solidarity among the three peoples in the struggle against the common enemy, as in the future lasting co-operation to build their respective countries in their own way in conformity with the spirit of the Joint Declaration of the Summit Conference of the Indochinese Peoples.

The Congress holds that the strengthening of the force of the socialist North in all fields is a firm guarantee for the victory of the resistance against US aggression, for national salvation. Under the leadership of the Viet Nam Workers' Party, following up the victories scored on the economic plane, our people must uphold the spirit of being collective masters, step up the three revolutions: in production relations, in technology and in ideology and culture, with the technological revolution in the key role, aimed at endowing the North with modern industry and agriculture and advanced culture and science. For the time being, our people must follow the course and fulfil the economic tasks worked out by the 19th Congress of the Viet Nam Workers' Party Central Committee: to galvanize the movement for production and thrift, closely co-ordinate all aspects of production, construction and combat, economy and national defence; continue bringing about a vigorous change in national economy, and bring socialist building a step forward.

II. TO STRENGTHEN UNITY, TO BUILD UP THE VIET NAM FATHERLAND FRONT, TO UNCEASINGLY BRING INTO FULL PLAY THE ACTIVE ROLE OF THE FRONT IN THE REVOLUTIONARY CAUSE OF OUR PEOPLE

The Congress is filled with elation in noticing that, over the last ten years, the Viet Nam Fatherland Front has broadly united all patriotic and socialist-orientated

forces, promoted the invincible strength of our great national unity to the utmost, served as a solid prop to the people's power, and pushed our revolutionary cause steadily forward in winning victory after victory.

The Congress highly values the achievements of the Viet Nam Fatherland Front in mobilizing and encouraging all strata of our people, nationalities, religious communities to close their ranks, resolutely step up the resistance against US aggression, for national salvation, and the building of socialism, in strengthening the militant solidarity between our fellow-countrymen in both zones North and South, among the three Indochinese peoples, as well as in strengthening the solidarity and friendship between our people and the peoples of the fraternal socialist countries and the people throughout the world.

The Congress warmly hails the Front committees at all levels, the various political parties, mass and Front member organizations, and patriotic personalities, that have worthily contributed to consolidating and broadening the National United Front, unceasingly strengthening the revolutionary will and action of the strata of people, thus making active contributions to the wonderful achievements of our revolution.

As assessed in the Resolution of the 19th Congress of the Viet Nam Workers' Party Central Committee: "The Viet Nam Fatherland Front, the political and moral bloc of unity of our people, is the force that unites and co-ordinates the activities of political parties and Front member organizations, upholds the revolutionary heroism of our people resolved to fight

the US aggression, for national salvation, and to build up socialism through industry and thrift. Under the leadership of our Party, the Front has unceasingly worked for our great national unity, for the building of a peaceful, reunified, democratic and prosperous Viet Nam."

The Viet Nam Fatherland Front, with its patriotic and socialist-orientated character, is one of the factors of victory of our revolution, most worthy of the heroic Vietnamese people and of the meritorious services of great President Ho Chi Minh.

The achievements of the Viet Nam Fatherland Front are due to the correct leadership of the Viet Nam Workers' Party, to a firm basis: the worker-peasant alliance, to the tradition of unity and patriotism, to the ever-rising socialist consciousness of the people and to the collaboration among the Front member organizations on the basis of the judicious working principles of the Front.

In order to further promote the role of the Viet Nam Fatherland Front in the new situation, the Congress has defined the general task of the Viet Nam Fatherland Front as follows: Under the leadership of the Viet Nam Workers' Party, on the basis of strengthening the worker-peasant alliance, to cement the unity among the various strata of the people, political parties, mass organizations, nationalities, religious communities, and patriotic personalities, unceasingly consolidate and broaden great national unity, uphold the heroism of our people, bring into full play the right to be collective masters and the revolutionary

enthusiasm of the people, mobilize the entire people to take part in the patriotic emulation movement, determined to completely defeat the US aggressors and their lackeys, successfully build socialism, liberate the South, defend the North, proceed to peacefully reunify the country, build a peaceful, reunified, independent, democratic and prosperous Viet Nam, and to worthily contribute to the revolutionary cause of the world's people.

The concrete tasks and guidelines are :

1. To strengthen unity, mobilize the entire people to uphold revolutionary heroism, the determination to fight and to win, to persist in and step up the resistance against US aggression, for national salvation, to final victory.

To resist the US aggression and save the country is the primordial task of our people. To defeat the US aggressors is to seriously act upon the sacred Testament of President Ho Chi Minh and also to meet the urgent demands of our present-day life and the future happiness of generations to come.

The Front committees at all levels and the Front member organizations should make the people clear about the line of resistance against US aggression, for national salvation; unceasingly uphold the determination to fight and to win, sharpen revolutionary vigilance, ready to smash all US-puppet military adventures against the North and wholeheartedly fulfil the duty of the great frontline. They should mobilize the people to take an active part in building the armed forces, carrying out people's national defence, step up regional military work, fulfil satisfactorily all combat duties and services, ensure communications and transports,

carry out well military service and policies for the rear base: towards army men's and war martyrs' families, disabled fighters and invalids...

2. To mobilize the various strata of the people to do their best in production and thrift, to continue steadily transforming national economy and stepping up socialist building.

On the basis of raising the socialist consciousness of the broad masses of the population, the Viet Nam Fatherland Front should mobilize and encourage everybody to bring into full play his or her revolutionary zeal in production as well as in the defence of the country, so as to turn the North from a small-scale production into a socialist large-scale production. In close co-ordination with the organizations and government bodies concerned, the Front should help, in a practical way, workers, collective peasants, socialist intellectuals and other working people emulate in raising labour productivity and working efficiency, and devote their energy, intelligence and talent to the building of socialism; help the mountain people catch up with the plain dwellers; help the various religious followers strengthen their unity in the common interests of the Fatherland, and help all traders and industrialists to progress and actively contribute to the building of the country.

3. To mobilize and educate the people to take an active part in building and consolidating state power, develop socialist democracy and strengthen people's dictatorship.

To bring into full play the people's invincible power in the resistance against US aggression, for national

salvation, and in the building of socialism, the Front should take an active part in developing socialist democracy. Together with government offices, particularly with people-elected bodies in the centre as well as in other localities, the Front should create, on its own initiative, favourable conditions for the various strata of the people to exercise their right of collective masters, take a real part in managing the state and society; help people-elected bodies control administrative and professional organs, enhance the respect and observation of the constitution and laws, of the State, collective and individual interest; mobilize the people to seriously carry out military service to defend the country and obligation to work, make contributions and study to build the Fatherland; be determined to struggle against manifestations of bureaucracy, authoritarianism dictatorship, autocracy, and get rid of bad habits, prejudices and differences among the various nationalities and religious communities in order to ensure national unity.

4. To take an active part in building up a new culture and new men.

It is the responsibility of the Front to take an active part in the ideological and cultural revolution aimed at building up a new man, a socialist-minded man. The Front committees at all levels and Front member organizations should step up their activities to ensure the unchallenged triumph of the revolutionary ideologies of the working-class and to root out all ideologies and manners of the old order, of the exploiting class and of the small producers.

In the meetings at the grass-root organizations of the Front, political parties and mass organizations should sincerely practise criticism and self-criticism to help each other make progress: uphold examples of "good men and good deeds," encourage the people to bring into full play revolutionary heroism in production and fighting.

The front should pay more attention to training the young generation, making the youth and pioneers of our country worthy of being the Ho Chi Minh generation, the future masters of the country.

5. To continue strengthening the solidarity and friendship between our people and the world's people.

The Front committees at all levels and the Front member organizations should continue educating and permeating the people with the lofty internationalism of Marxism-Leninism, with the independent and free line of our Vanguard Party; and at the same time to step up other international activities to strengthen the militant solidarity between the peoples of Viet Nam and the peoples of Laos and Cambodia, and those of the fraternal socialist countries and the world's people in the common struggle for peace, national independence, democracy and social progress.

To satisfactorily fulfil the above-mentioned tasks, the Front committees at all levels should make the Front line and policies clear to the cadres and people, and further collaborate with government bodies; at the same time, it should attach more importance to building the organization, strictly carrying out the five

working principles in the Front, improve the style of the Front and gather more and more trustworthy people able to participate in the Front work. The Front at all levels together with the mass organizations should draw experiences to improve the Front work and mass work at the grass-root level where the people are mobilized to carry out the lines and policies and contribute to formulating Party and Government policies.

Facing us is an extremely important historic period of our nation.

The Congress calls on the Front committees at all levels, political parties, mass organizations, the people's armed forces, the fellow-countrymen of various nationalities, and religious as well as patriotic personalities, in this great moment of history, to close their ranks around the Viet Nam Workers' Party, to encourage the entire people to further promote political and moral oneness of mind, to be determined to completely defeat the US aggressors and to successfully build socialism, to materialize the Political Platform of the Viet Nam Fatherland Front and to fulfil the last wish of President Ho Chi Minh in his sacred Testament: "to build a peaceful, reunified, independent, democratic and prosperous Viet Nam, and to make worthy contributions to the cause of world revolution."

Let our entire people unite themselves and march forward enthusiastically, confidently and valiantly!

The resistance against US aggression, for national salvation, and the building of socialism will certainly materialize!

Long live a peaceful, reunified, independent, democratic and prosperous Viet Nam!

Long live the great unity of our entire people!

Long live the Viet Nam Workers' Party!

President Ho Chi Minh will live for ever in our work!

Hanoi, December 17, 1971

The Third Congress of the Viet Nam
Fatherland Front

APPEAL OF THE THIRD CONGRESS OF THE VIET NAM FATHERLAND FRONT

Compatriots,

Combatants throughout the country and overseas
Vietnamese,

Dear compatriots and combatants,

“Solidarity, solidarity, great solidarity;

Success, success, great success!”

For over ten years now, the Vietnamese nation, acting upon the above-mentioned teaching of revered President Ho Chi Minh and carrying out the resistance against US aggression, for national salvation, has scored many glorious victories on the three fronts: military, political and diplomatic, and successively frustrated all US war strategies. The “myth” about the “inexhaustible wealth,” the “invincible power” of the US has been debunked. The US global strategy has been dealt a staggering blow.

Fired with the determination to build the North into a revolutionary base of the whole country, the Northern army and people have overcome many

hardships, endured many sacrifices, gloriously triumphed over the US war of destruction, recorded many brilliant achievements in the building of socialism and continually fulfilled the duty of the great rear base towards the great frontline.

These highly significant victories stem from the independent, free, judicious and creative revolutionary line of the Viet Nam Workers' Party and President Ho Chi Minh; from the militant solidarity, the love for the Fatherland and socialism of our people. These victories are also the fine result of the fraternal friendship and militant solidarity among the peoples of the three Indochinese countries full of resolve to defeat the common enemy — the US aggressors. These victories are inseparable from the sympathy, support and the effective and many-sided assistance of the fraternal socialist countries; from the active support and sympathy of the peace and justice-loving people in the world for our people's just struggle.

The Third Congress of the Viet Nam Fatherland Front warmly commends our fellow-countrymen and fighters throughout the country upon the above-mentioned victories. It expresses its boundless admiration for our fellow-countrymen and fighters in the heroic South who have dealt thunderblow after thunderblow at the US-puppet troops, registering wonderful and world-shaking victories.

On behalf of the Vietnamese people and the Viet Nam Fatherland Front, the Congress wishes to convey wholehearted thanks to the Lao and Khmer peoples, to the peoples of the socialist countries and the world

people, including the American progressives, for their sympathy, support and assistance to our people's resistance against US aggression, for national salvation.

The US defeat is self-evident. More than ever before, they find themselves in a severe and all-sided crisis, mainly because of their war of aggression in Viet Nam. But "even death cannot make them mend their ways," they persist in implementing "Nixon's new Asia doctrine" and "Vietnamizing the war" so as to prolong and expand it and find a way out on a position of strength. At the four-party Paris Conference on Viet Nam, they have deliberately evaded answering the reasonable seven-point proposal of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam, refused to talk seriously in order to find a correct solution to the South Viet Nam problem. Though furiously opposed, they keep using the Nguyen Van Thieu puppet regime and, through this dictatorial Vietnamese traitor, realizing their perfidious plot for turning South Viet Nam into a US new-type colony and military base.

The wheel of history, however, never turns back. How can the US materialize their dark design in their losing position? In the flush of their victories, our people, batch after batch, are moving up to the front, in the determination to fight as long as there is any single US aggressor on their land!

The Third Congress of the Viet Nam Fatherland Front calls upon all our fellow-countrymen and fighters throughout the country, each in his or her position, to uphold the tradition of national solidarity,

promote revolutionary heroism, fight shoulder to shoulder with the Laos and Khmer peoples, and push forward the resistance against US aggression, for national salvation, to an early final victory.

The Congress calls upon the Northern fellow-countrymen and fighters to do their best so as to fulfil the duty of the great rear base towards the great front-line, actively build the army, strengthen national defence, be ready to smash all US military adventures and push vigorously and steadily the building of socialism forward. Let all cadres, workers, civil servants collective peasants, socialist intellectuals, combatants in the people's armed forces, fellow-countrymen of various nationalities and religions, patriotic personalities and Chinese residents perform the "movement to score exploits, make criticism and self-criticism," turn the movement to step up production, practise thrift, protect public property, uphold the determination to fight and to win, be ready to fight and to fight well into a high tide of seething, continuous, and widespread patriotic emulation in order to satisfactorily fulfil the State plan and the Resolution of the 19th Congress of the Viet Nam Workers' Party Central Committee. This is a necessary step to consolidate our forces in all fields so as to completely defeat the US aggressors, give full and timely help to the great frontline, improve step by step the Northern people's living conditions and continue the building of the socialist North.

In South Viet Nam, under the clever leadership of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the

Republic of South Viet Nam, let our fellow-countrymen and fighters march forward, in the flush of their victories, "to fight until the US quit and the puppets topple." Guided by the glorious patriotic banner of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation, let the people in the enemy-occupied areas, workers, pupils and students, journalists, writers, artists, patriotic personalities in urban centres push forward their struggle for national rights and democratic freedoms, for the rapid and total withdrawal of US troops, advisers and military personnel from South Viet Nam, for the renunciation of the Nguyen Van Thieu administration by the US, against "pacification," terrorist raids and the herding of the people, and for the restoration of peace! Let the officials in the puppet administration and army realize the perfidious designs and the losing position of the US-puppets, end their collaboration with the later, aim their guns at the enemy of the nation and actively contribute to the common struggle of the entire people!

Let overseas Vietnamese turn their thoughts to their beloved Fatherland, go all out to contribute to the cause of national liberation and of building the Fatherland!

We are living in a glorious time, a time of revolutionary movements sweeping throughout the world. Standing on the first frontline against imperialism, old and new colonialism, our people are defeating US imperialism, the international gendarme, the enemy No. 1 of mankind. For the first time in their history, our people are successfully building a new, beautiful society, a socialist society.

Carrying out two strategic tasks — to resist the US aggression, for national salvation, and to build socialism — our people are advancing vigorously.

Elated at their great achievements and proud of their glorious historic role, our people are determined to act upon the sacred Testament of President Ho Chi Minh, achieve the liberation of South Viet Nam, defend and build the socialist North, proceed to the peaceful reunification of the Fatherland, successfully build a peaceful, reunified, independent, democratic and prosperous Viet Nam, thus making worthy contributions to the cause of world revolution.

Let our fellow-countrymen and fighters throughout the country and overseas Vietnamese close their ranks and march valiantly forward!

Hanoi, December 17, 1971

The Third Congress of the Viet Nam
Fatherland Front

LETTER OF THE THIRD CONGRESS OF THE VIET NAM FATHERLAND FRONT TO THE SOUTHERN FELLOW- COUNTRYMEN AND FIGHTERS

Dear Southern fellow-countrymen and fighters,

In the jubilant and inspiring atmosphere due to the resounding exploits in the battlefields of South Viet Nam and other Indochinese countries, and to the great achievements of the socialist construction in North Viet Nam, the Third Congress of the Viet Nam Fatherland Front has met and wound up in success in Hanoi capital city.

In boundless joy and stirring feeling, the Congress has extended a rousing welcome to the Delegation of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation and the Delegation of the Viet Nam Alliance of National, Democratic and Peace Forces, our blood-sealed brothers bringing from the great frontline the deepest sentiments and the valiant exploits of our Southern fellow-countrymen and fighters to the Congress and the Northern fellow-countrymen.

Filled with pain and boiling with anger, we have listened to the accounts of the unforgivable savage crimes by the American aggressors against our Southern fellow-countrymen: killing, arson, relocation of the population under "pacification" plan, stepped-up carpet-bombing, spraying of toxic chemicals and gases, dropping of new-type bombs to destroy men, animals and plants, bloody raids to "pacify" the towns, "pacification" of prisons and camps, mass pressganging which does not spare even the children, forced into "people's self-defence pioneers brigades" — a new kind of thugs to replenish the US-puppet forces. The rostrum of the Congress has rung with stern denunciations of Nixon's "Vietnamization" of the war scheme to prolong the aggressive war and continue the sowing of suffering and mourning for millions of families in the South of our country.

The South goes ahead and returns late. For over a quarter century, the South bears the brunt of the storm to annihilate and decimate the American aggressors, liberate the South and defend the North. By courageously facing the enemy and inflicting upon the US imperialists and their stooges setback after setback, withstanding the trial of four years of "special war," four years of "limited war" and three years of "Vietnamization of the war," our heroic Southern fellow-countrymen have shown the world's people that the US is not to be feared, thus fanning a high tide against the US aggressors throughout the world and greatly stimulating the struggle of the world's people for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

To our Northern fellow-countrymen, the Southern Brass Wall remains the pride of the nation, a lofty example for the whole country. "The South is constantly in my heart," this famous word of revered Uncle Ho is shared by twenty millions of our Northern fellow-countrymen. The brilliant exploits of the South in Road 9-Khe Sanh, Ngoc Binh Rua, Tay Ninh, U Minh forest last year, and the great victories to worst the enemy's grip, rid of the thugs and wrest back the right to be masters have checked and paralysed the adversary's "pacification" plan. The tenacious and ebullient struggle of the various strata of the townsfolk, workers, employees, students, pupils, women, intellectuals, patriotic bourgeois, religious followers against the elections of the Lower House and the puppet president, and the war economy policy, for welfare and democracy... has brought about a broad front resolute to drive away the US aggressors, topple Thieu, end the aggressive war and restore peace. All these great achievements have created a solid position from which the Southern revolution springs to obtain more and greater successes, smash Nixon's "Vietnamization" of the war strategy and achieve an independent, peaceful, democratic, neutral and prosperous South Viet Nam.

Our Northern fellow-countrymen are determined to fulfil their duty of great rear base, actively build armed forces, consolidate national defence, heighten vigilance, stand ready to shatter all US new military adventures against the North, while pushing ahead production, practising thrift, and realizing President Ho Chi Minh's teaching: "Everybody should redouble

his efforts in gratitude for our blood-sealed Southern fellow-countrymen" so as to strengthen the economic and military potential of the North and meet all the requirements of the great heroic frontline in the most satisfactory, complete and rapid way.

Dear Southern fellow-countrymen and fighters,

This Congress of the Viet Nam Fatherland Front is pervaded with a determination to fight and to win the US aggressors. It is a Congress of the determination to build socialism, the Congress of the iron will to completely defeat the US aggressors and their stooges!

Turning our thoughts to the blood-sealed South, we are determined not to shun from any obstacle whatever the sacrifice and hardship involved in order to struggle shoulder to shoulder with our Southern fellow-countrymen and fighters and materialize President Ho Chi Minh's sacred Testament: "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 until total victory."

With the unity of mind and action between North and South and the solidarity with the fraternal Lao and Cambodian peoples, we will certainly defeat the US aggressors, liberate the South, defend and build the socialist North and proceed to the peaceful reunification of the country.

Hanoi, December 17, 1971

The Third Congress
of the Viet Nam Fatherland Front

**LETTER OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE
OF THE SOUTH VIET NAM
NATIONAL FRONT FOR LIBERATION**

**To the Third Congress
of the Viet Nam Fatherland Front
Hanoi**

On the occasion of the Third Congress of the Viet Nam Fatherland Front, on behalf of the South Viet Nam people, the Central Committee of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation conveys to the Congress, esteemed Uncle Ton and our blood-sealed compatriots in the North, our heartiest feelings and warmest greetings.

More than 16 years ago, the Viet Nam Fatherland Front was founded to continue the glorious cause of the Viet Minh Front and the Lien Viet Front, marking a new step in the development of our Vietnamese people's great national unity. Since then, under the clearsighted leadership of the Viet Nam Workers' Party and our venerated President Ho Chi Minh, the Viet Nam Fatherland Front has united more and more broadly

and closely all strata of our people, actively contributing to the resistance against US aggression, for national salvation of our entire people, taking it from one success to another, contributing to the building and defence of the socialist North and making it stronger and stronger, and to the strengthening of the broad solidarity of our people with the world's people.

These brilliant victories are inspiring the people throughout our country and are contributing to encouraging the world people's struggle against the US imperialists and the cliques of their henchmen.

In response to the sacred call of our venerated President Ho Chi Minh, the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation has, for many years now, unceasingly upheld the banner of unity and combat, rallied more and more people of all strata into an anti-US front, mobilized the people in South Viet Nam to give full scope to the ardent patriotism and the spirit of dauntless struggle of the nation, step up their attacks and uprisings, thus winning very great victories on the military, political and diplomatic fronts, dealing crushing blows at the US aggressors' policy of "Vietnamization of the war" and steadily marching toward final victory.

At present, for all its heavy defeats on all battlefronts of Indochina, the US imperialists remain very stubborn, bellicose and perfidious. Labouring under the illusion of a military victory to maintain US neo-colonialism in the Indochinese countries, the US imperialists are, on the one hand, striving to mislead

opinion and elude the fair peace initiative of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam, while on the other hand feverishly carrying out their "Vietnamization of the war" policy in South Viet Nam through extremely savage and brutal methods, continuing to prolong their war of aggression in Cambodia, intensifying their "special war" in Laos, and sending their aircraft to bomb many areas in the North of our country, perpetrating many more crimes against our people and the peoples of the other countries in Indochina.

But, however perfidious and cruel the US imperialists may be, they certainly cannot save their "Vietnamization of the war" policy and the "Nixon doctrine" from utter failure in face of the invincible strength and the determination to fight and to win of our people and the Lao and Khmer peoples.

At this junction, the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation, more than ever before, is resolved to mobilize and unite all the people and combatants in the South so as, together with the people in the blood-sealed North, to scrupulously implement the sacred Testament of our venerated President Ho Chi Minh, to persist in and step up the fight to defeat completely the "Vietnamization of the war" policy, to liberate the South, defend the North, and proceed to the reunification of the country, thus making a worthy contribution to the revolutionary cause of the world's people.

On this occasion, the people and the National Front for Liberation of South Viet Nam express their admiration for and deep confidence in the growth and strength

of the great rear, firm base of great frontline. They wish to express their boundless gratitude to President Ho Chi Minh, the great leader of the entire nation, who had constantly shown his great solicitude for and followed every step of the revolution in the South, and express their boundless gratitude to the Viet Nam Fatherland Front and their brothers and sisters in the North who have wholeheartedly assisted the people in the South in their endeavours to defeat the US aggressors.

May the Third Congress of the Viet Nam Fatherland Front be crowned with splendid success!

We wish Uncle Ton Duc Thang good health and a long life!

We wish our countrymen in the North more and greater successes in the building and defence of the socialist North and in the accomplishment of their duty of the great rear toward the great frontline.

South Viet Nam, December 10, 1971

For the Central Committee of the
South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation
President of the Presidium
Lawyer

NGUYEN HUU THO

**LETTER OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE
OF THE VIET NAM ALLIANCE OF
NATIONAL, DEMOCRATIC
AND PEACE FORCES**

**To the Presidium
of the Central Committee
of the Viet Nam Fatherland Front
Hanoi**

On the occasion of the Third Congress of the Viet Nam Fatherland Front, the Central Committee of the Alliance and all the members of the Alliance at various levels wish to convey to the Congress our warmest greetings and most respectful salutations.

The Third Congress of the Viet Nam Fatherland Front is an important event in the political life of the armed forces and people of the heroic North after ten years of very glorious and pride-worthy revolutionary struggle of our Vietnamese nation in the cause of resistance to US aggression, for national salvation, and of building a prosperous North Viet Nam.

Over the past ten years, continuing the task and the glorious traditions of the Viet Minh Front and the Lien Viet Front, the Viet Nam Fatherland Front and its members have actively pushed forward all activities, given full scope to their major role in uniting and mobilizing all strata of the people, thus taking a worthy share in the glorious revolutionary cause of the entire nation. The people in the South Viet Nam urban centres have always turned their thoughts to the blood-sealed North with boundless gratitude and confidence. In the face-to-face struggle against the enemy right in their last hide-outs, we, the urban population in the South, regard the great and fundamental successes scored by the heroic people in the North as a great source of inspiration and encouragement, urging us to make every effort in our struggle against the enemy — the US and its puppets — in token of our gratitude for the great services rendered us by the great rear which has been day and night doing its utmost to give the greatest help to the South in order to defeat the enemy.

An indispensable magic weapon in the leadership and organization of all victories of the Vietnamese revolution, the Viet Nam Fatherland Front founded by our great Uncle Ho and enjoying the direct leadership of our esteemed Uncle Ton, has played an important role in promoting the various patriotic emulation movements, in strengthening national unity, and made glorious contributions to the resistance against US aggression, for national salvation of our entire people, thus fully implementing the sacred Testament of President Ho Chi Minh.

Through a protracted and arduous struggle, our army and people have recorded very important victories of strategic significance, firmly standing in a position of offensive and victory, and holding the initiative in our hands. The defeat of the US imperialists and their lackeys is a foregone conclusion. They are in a losing, downgrade position. Master and servant are facing greater isolation and a more critical situation than ever before in all fields, military, political, diplomatic as well as economic and financial. However, very stubborn and perfidious by nature, they have not given up their aggressive design against our country. They are making frantic attempts to carry out the "Vietnamization of the war" policy, continue to prolong and step up the war of aggression throughout Indochina, committing countless crimes against the people of South Viet Nam and other parts of Indochina. The extremely brutal fascist dictatorship of Nguyen Van Thieu is strangling the moral and material life of the urban population in South Viet Nam. Hatred and anger against the US and its puppets is overbrimming. An oppressive atmosphere of death and suffering is prevailing in the society of South Viet Nam. Unable to bear such a life any longer, the shock force of struggle of the pupils, students and workers... has over the past few years, together with the press, intelligentsia, progressive personalities, clergymen, religious sects, officers, soldiers, and nationalist-minded public employees of the Saigon administration have risen up against the US and its puppets. A powerful, broad and persistent movement against the US-Thieu clique is seething in South Viet Nam cities, gaining in scope and strength.

with every passing day, assuming more and more diversified forms, and is driving the US-Thieu clique into a position of irretrievable failure.

Learning from the spirit of close unity and valiant struggle of their dear countrymen in the North, the urban population of all strata in the South as well as our Alliance of National, Democratic and Peace Forces, pledge to strengthen our solidarity with the National Front for Liberation and, in the spirit of broad national concord, ally ourselves with all forces and individuals in the city, to unite our actions and rise up to chase the Yankees out, overthrow Nguyen Van Thieu, so as to wrest back peace, welfare, independence and democracy, and ultimately to reunify our Fatherland.

For the time being, we pledge to make every effort in our own specific conditions to expose the extreme bellicosity of the US - Thieu clique, resolutely to foil the "Vietnamization of the war" policy which is meant in essence to prolong and expand the war with new military adventures. More concretely, we will struggle against all acts of persecution, repression and intimidation, demand economic interests and democratic rights, actively resist the "new economic measures," resolutely oppose forcible conscription by the US-Thieu clique, urge the latter to respect the right of self-determination of the Vietnamese people, withdraw promptly and unconditionally all the troops of the US and its allies from South Viet Nam, end all support to the bellicose Nguyen Van Thieu ruling clique, leave the South Vietnamese alone to settle the South Viet Nam problem, and let the various political and social forces

and various religious communities and nationalities in the South desirous of peace and national concord set up, by any means they see fit, an administration in Saigon standing for peace, independence, neutrality and democracy, that will seriously negotiate with the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam with a view to quickly restoring peace for the country and winning back independence and sovereignty for the nation.

We are confident that this Congress of the Viet Nam Fatherland Front will help further strengthen national unity, stimulate still more vigorously our people throughout the country, and further promote the determination to fight and defeat the US aggressors and to build the North ever more steadily.

May the Congress be crowned with splendid success.

We wish the best of health for esteemed Uncle Ton, the leading members in the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Fatherland Front and all delegates to the Congress.

December 12, 1971

For the Central Committee
of the Viet Nam Alliance of National,
Democratic and Peace Forces
Lawyer TRINH DINH THAO, Chairman

**MESSAGE OF SAMDECH NORODOM
SIHANOUK, HEAD OF STATE, CHAIRMAN
OF THE NATIONAL UNITED FRONT
OF KAMPUCHEA**

Peking, December 14, 1971

**To H.E. Ton Duc Thang
President of the Democratic Republic
of Viet Nam, President of the Presidium
of the Central Committee of the Viet Nam
Fatherland Front**

On the occasion of the Third Congress of the Viet Nam Fatherland Front I wish to convey to Your Excellency my warmest congratulations and the congratulations which the Khmer people and all the members of the National United Front of Kampuchea, with their friendship, fraternity and admiration, send to the great and heroic Vietnamese people and the glorious Viet Nam Fatherland Front. The Viet Nam Fatherland Front has the indisputable and uncontested right to receive the gratitude of the peoples of all countries of the Third World which have been or are living

under the oppression of old and new colonialism and imperialism. Indeed, the Vietnamese people, the founder of the Front, have conducted and are conducting victoriously a great struggle first against the French colonialists, then against the Japanese imperialists, and finally against the US imperialists. They have endured the heaviest sacrifices and have developed the most brilliant capabilities of their intelligence, talent and unparalleled heroism on the frontline of the historic struggle for freedom and justice of the peoples of the Indochinese countries and the peoples of all countries in the Third World.

Before history, the Vietnamese people and the Viet Nam Fatherland Front have made an extremely great and precious contribution to the complete liberation in the near future of the Third World, victim of the colonialist and imperialist powers for centuries now and at present victim of the worst and most dangerous enemy — US imperialism. The Khmer people who have the signal honour to fight on the frontline against US imperialism, are very proud of having such an intimate comrade-in-arms as the fraternal Vietnamese people. On this happy occasion, the Khmer people cordially thank the Vietnamese people and the Viet Nam Fatherland Front for having accorded them vigorous and complete support and many-sided assistance, thus contributing in a fraternal and cordial spirit to the cause of liberation of the Khmer fatherland. Also on this occasion, the Khmer people very sincerely wish that the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and the Viet Nam Fatherland Front will record wonderful suc-

cesses in all fields of socialist construction, in the building and defence of their country in spite of horrible natural calamities and no less fierce air attacks of US imperialism. We fully rejoice at the countless successes of the Vietnamese people and we wish to express our respect for venerated President Ho Chi Minh, the main architect of the unparalleled victories in the history of mankind.

With these sentiments, I ask you to convey to the Viet Nam Fatherland Front the unshakable militant solidarity of the National United Front of Kampuchea and the heartiest wishes of all of us patriotic Khmers that we will soon come to the day of our common and final victory over the US imperialists and the cliques of their henchmen.

Please accept the assurances of my very respectful and fraternal considerations.

NORODOM SIHANOUK

Head of State, Chairman of the
National United Front of Kampuchea

**MESSAGE
OF PRINCE SOUPHANOUVONG,
CHAIRMAN OF THE CENTRAL
COMMITTEE OF THE LAO
PATRIOTIC FRONT**

**To the Third Congress
of the Viet Nam Fatherland Front
Hanoi**

On the occasion of the Third Congress of the Viet Nam Fatherland Front, on behalf of the Central Committee of the Lao Patriotic Front and the Lao people, I wish to convey to the Congress and through it to the fraternal Vietnamese people my warmest greetings.

Over the past past ten years since its Second Congress, under the clearsighted leadership of the Viet Nam Workers' Party, the Viet Nam Fatherland Front has rallied and mobilized the great force of the Vietnamese people throughout the country to resist the US imperialist aggression and build socialism in the North. At the same time, the Front has unceasingly

strengthened the militant solidarity and wholehearted mutual assistance of the three fraternal peoples of Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia in the fight against the common enemy—the US imperialist aggressors. A close comrade-in-arms sharing weal and woe with the Vietnamese people, the Lao people greatly rejoice at and are very inspired by the resounding victories of the Vietnamese people, and consider them as their own.

On this occasion, I wish to express our profound gratitude to the Viet Nam Fatherland Front and the Vietnamese people who have always reserved for the fight of the Lao people a considerable and effective support and assistance. Once again, I want to reaffirm the full support of the Lao Patriotic Front and the Lao people to the resistance against US aggression, for national salvation of the Vietnamese people. The US must stop its war of aggression in application of the Nixon doctrine in South Viet Nam. It must withdraw immediately and unconditionally all the troops of the US and its satellites from South Viet Nam, must accept the seven-point solution of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam on the South Viet Nam issue.

I wish to reaffirm the solemn pledge of the Lao people made at the Summit Conference of the Indochinese Peoples that the Lao people will strengthen their solidarity and fight shoulder to shoulder with the fraternal Vietnamese and Cambodian peoples, persist in and step up the resistance till final victory in order to make the Indochinese countries genuinely independent and peaceful.

I am firmly confident that the Vietnamese people will surely strengthen and broaden the solidarity of all strata of the people, all nationalities and the various forces in the country, bring into fuller play their revolutionary ardour in the emulation to materialize the sacred Testament of great President Ho Chi Minh, and succeed in liberating the South, defending and building the socialist North, and ultimately reunifying the country. Your Congress, held in the atmosphere of the repeated great and all-sided victories, marks an important turning-point in the resistance against US aggression, for national salvation of the Vietnamese people.

May the Congress be crowned with brilliant success.

Sam Neua, December 12, 1971

PRINCE SOUPHANOUVONG

Chairman of the Central Committee of the
Lao Patriotic Front

POLITICAL REPORT OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE VIET NAM FATHERLAND FRONT*

In the light shed by the political line of the Viet Nam Workers' Party and the Programme of the Viet Nam Fatherland Front, the Second Congress of the Viet Nam Fatherland Front (April 1961) laid down important tasks aimed at uniting the whole nation, resolutely resisting the US imperialist aggressors and their henchmen, defending the Homeland's independence and freedom, stepping up the socialist revolution in the North so as to build a plentiful and happy life for the people and turn this land into an ever more powerful one worthy of being the revolutionary base of the whole country.

Ten years have elapsed since that Congress. The last decade has been a period of glorious revolutionary struggle of our nation. Under the invincible banner of our

* Report submitted to the Congress by Hoang Quoc Viet, Presidium member of the Central Committee of the Front.

vanguard Party headed by venerated and beloved President Ho Chi Minh, our entire nation has united closely, made great efforts and gained many big and fundamental successes in their struggle against US aggression, for national salvation and in socialist construction in the Northern part of the country.

We greatly rejoice to learn that over the past ten years the Viet Nam Fatherland Front has grown constantly, stepped up its activities in every field and exerted its great influence to unite and mobilize the people of all strata, thus worthily contributing to the glorious revolutionary cause of the nation.

Our Front is now facing very great tasks. For the sake of our nation's independence and freedom and our people's welfare and happiness, and in view of our noble international obligations, the Front must do its best to strengthen unity, mobilize all sections of the people and heighten their resolve to materialize President Ho's sacred Testament in order to completely defeat the US aggressors and their quislings, liberate the South, defend and build the socialist North, and proceed to the peaceful reunification of the country.

Today, in the jubilant atmosphere of the Congress, I am very happy, on behalf of the Viet Nam Fatherland Front Central Committee, to report on our people's successes, the Front's activities during the last ten years and its new tasks in the time ahead.

My report comprises three parts :

1. Big successes of our people's struggle against US aggression, for national salvation, and our socialist construction in the North.

2. The constant growth of the Viet Nam Fatherland Front and its more and more active role in the nation's revolution.

3. All for the complete triumph over the US aggressors and the successful building of socialism.

I. BIG SUCCESSES OF OUR PEOPLE'S STRUGGLE AGAINST US AGGRESSION, FOR NATIONAL SALVATION, AND OUR SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION IN THE NORTH

1. Sabotaging the Geneva Agreements on Viet Nam, the US imperialists have carried out an open aggression against our country and conducted the most cruel colonialist war in human history against our nation. In response to the sacred appeal of President Ho Chi Minh "Nothing is more precious than independence and freedom", our people throughout the country, rising up resolutely millions as one and enhancing their tradition of undaunted struggle, have repeatedly foiled all enemy military and political plans and written the most glorious pages in our history.

Under the glorious banner of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation, the heroic and staunch South Vietnamese people and armed forces have endured innumerable sacrifices and hardships, given full play to the overall strength of people's war, thus successively driving into bankruptcy the "special war" and

"limited war" strategies of the US imperialists. Particularly since the spring of the year Mau Than (1968) our people and armed forces on all the South Vietnamese battlefields have launched widespread offensives and simultaneous uprisings which inflicted heavy losses in men and material on the enemy, shook the United States and resounded throughout the five continents, and moved the fight against US aggression, for national salvation, into a new phase.

In close co-ordination with the fight of their Southern countrymen and combatants, our people and armed forces in the North, upholding their revolutionary heroism, have foiled the war of destruction conducted by the US Air Force and Navy, successfully defending the fruits of, and carrying on with, socialist construction and fulfilling their obligations as the great rear toward the heroic great fighting front.

In its posture of all-round defeat the US government, by the end of 1968, was forced to stop unconditionally the bombing of North Viet Nam, de-escalate the war, gradually disengage American expeditionary and satellite troops and sit down at the Paris conference for a negotiated settlement of the Viet Nam problem. Nixon, however, has shown more and more of his obduracy, bellicosity and perfidy since he took office. The US imperialists, while making what they claim to be their "peace initiatives", the aim of which is to hoodwink the public, have actually been hectically carrying out a programme to "Vietnamize" the war aimed at prolonging and intensifying the war of aggression in South Viet Nam and, at the same time, extending the war to Cambodia and Laos, thus making the

flames of war rage all across Indochina. In this state of great emergency a summit conference of the Indochinese peoples was convened in April 1970. And, ever since, in execution of the historic Joint Declaration adopted at that historic conference, the Vietnamese people and the fraternal peoples of Laos and Cambodia have closed further their ranks with the determination to stand together to inflict complete defeat on the common enemy. The concerted resistance of the 50 million Indochinese people has recorded great victories, most remarkable being the ones along Highway 9, in Khe Sanh, Southern Laos, Northeastern Cambodia, Snoul, etc., early this year. No less important are the ones scored later in U Minh and Tay Ninh (South Viet Nam) in the Plain of Jars, Xieng Khoang, Saravane, the Bolovens Plateau and Salaphoukhoun (Laos), in Krek and the vicinity of Phnom Penh, and most recently along Highway 6 (Cambodia) which resulted in the complete flop of Operation "Tchenla 2" conducted by the enemy. These victories have combined to foil to an important extent the "Vietnamization", "Laosization" and "Khmerization" programmes as well as the "Nixon doctrine" which advocates the use of Indochinese to fight Indochinese and Asians to fight Asians. On the other hand, they have opened up very splendid vistas for the fight of the three Indochinese peoples.

The co-ordinated fight put up by the people of Viet Nam and the fraternal Lao and Khmer peoples has shattered the prestige of the US, the chieftain of imperialism, the arch enemy of the whole mankind. It has broken a major link of the counter-revolutionary global strategy of US imperialism. On the other hand, it has

enhanced the superiority of the forces of revolution in the world, accelerated the advance of the national liberation movement, and contributed to the defence of the socialist camp and the safeguarding of world peace.

The defeat of the US aggressors, militarily and politically speaking and in both strategy and tactics, is very heavy. It is the defeat of neo-colonialism under different guises.

Our victories and the enemy's setbacks have proved clearly to the world that US imperialism, for all its ferocity can be overwhelmed if it ever jeopardizes the sacred right to live of a heroic nation that knows how to unite, that is provided with correct leadership and that is resolved to fight through to the end for the independence, freedom and reunification of the country.

This Congress warmly commends our compatriots and combatants throughout the country for their one-mindedness, their valiant fight and their resounding victories. Turning our thoughts and minds to the South, the blood of our blood, the pride of the whole nation, we express our boundless love for the defenders of the Iron Wall of the Fatherland who, for decades have been fighting and enduring sacrifices and hardships for the revolutionary cause of the nation.

We warmly acclaim the heroic people of Laos who, under the wise leadership of the Lao Patriotic Front with Prince Souphanouvong as Chairman, have fought with great courage and endurance against the US imperialists and their quislings and have won great, fundamental victories.

We warmly acclaim the heroic Khmer people who, under the wise leadership of the National United Front of Kampuchea with Samdech Head of State Norodom Sihanouk as Chairman, have resolutely risen up in arms against the US aggressors and their flunkies and have performed extraordinary feats of arms.

2. Besides the great victories we have recorded in the struggle against US aggression, for national salvation, we have, over the past ten years, made many brilliant achievements on the front of socialist construction in the North. Following the basic completion of the socialist transformation of agriculture, private capitalist industry and commerce, and handicraft and small trade, the society of the North has recorded deep changes. Exploitation of man by man has been eliminated along with the re-education of the exploiting class and the building and gradual perfection of the socialist relations of production. Political and moral identity has become the main feature of society in the North, where all strata of the population, treating one another as brothers, with affection and solidarity, are endeavouring to defend and build up the country.

On the basis of these revolutionary changes and in the light of the general line charted by the Third Congress of the Party, which has been correctly and creatively applied by the Party's Central Committee in the first stage of transition to socialism, our people have begun the socialist industrialization to lay step by step the material and technical foundations of socialism. We have successfully carried out the first 5-year plan

(1961-1965) by turning out 90 per cent of the goods for home consumption while putting aside considerable capital for later investments.

Early in 1965, the US imperialists started a large-scale war of destruction against the North. Acting upon the resolution of the 11th Session of the Party's Central Committee, our people promptly geared all the economic activities of the North to the war by simultaneously fighting in defence of the socialist North, giving devoted assistance to the South, and boosting production with the resolve to maintain and develop the national economy in a way suitable to the needs and conditions of the war. And, even in the flames of war and although an important part of the manpower engaged in agriculture had been channeled to other work, agricultural production in the main was maintained and could even make new progress. Centrally-run key industries maintained a level of active production, while local industry was vigorously developed with the emergence, within a short time, of thousands of new units. The technical personnel had a swift replenishment, and a sharp increase was recorded in material, equipment and other material means, which satisfactorily met the needs of production and construction. Communications were enlarged in many respects, and roads and waterways were kept open to traffic all the time. Education, cultural activities and health service made headway.

The new successes of our people in the socialist construction of the North are of a great strategic importance, because they are a decisive contribution to the victory of the struggle against US aggression, for national

salvation waged by our entire nation. They are an expression of the superiority and the great vitality of the socialist regime, since war is the most crucial test to any regime. The enemy once claimed he would bomb us back to the Stone Age. But, in these four years of the war, which saw 100,000 air attacks by the enemy, the socialist North stood firm, developed incessantly, with fast growing economic and defence potentials, with the life of the people always at the normal, with law and order secured and with the nation-wide solidarity, tested in the fight, proving its invincibility.

Our economy, besides these great, basic successes, still has certain shortcomings, with which responsible organs of the Party and Government are striving to do away. In view of the innumerable difficulties we have met with over the past years, every one of us may take legitimate pride in the achievements our people have made in economy and culture.

This Congress enthusiastically commends the workers, collective farmers, the socialist intelligentsia, the people's armed forces, and the other strata of the people who, always proving their love for the country and socialism, have worked devotedly and fought bravely to make our beloved socialist country stronger and stronger every day.

3. It is a great joy for us to witness a vigorous development of the world people's revolutionary movements in the last decade. Over 1,000 million people in the 13 socialist countries, strong with their political and economic assets, are advancing steadily, vigorously

and fast, on the road to build a new society. The socialist camp, with its stupendous achievements, is exerting more and more its influence as the decisive factor for the development of man's society. Meanwhile, hundreds of millions of oppressed people in Asia, Africa and Latin America have risen up and, in the process, have shattered most of the colonies of imperialism. Now, they are struggling resolutely to abolish colonialism and neo-colonialism. In the capitalist countries, the working class, other labouring people, and the forces of democracy and progress are uniting more and more closely in the confrontation with state monopoly capitalism, against US imperialist control, for national sovereignty, democracy, social progress and peace. These three great currents, together with the broad peace movement, are launching repeated offensives on imperialism, winning many more and greater and greater victories for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

The most striking and most concentrated expression of the international anti-imperialist movement is the world people's front in support of the Vietnamese people and the other peoples of Indochina, against the US imperialist aggressors. A heartfelt support and a great, effective assistance has constantly been granted by all the fraternal socialist countries to our people in the struggle against US aggression, for national salvation and in the building of socialism. Many nations in Asia, Africa and Latin America, now struggling to defend or wrest back independence, regard as their own our people's struggle against US aggression, for national salvation, and in this spirit, have lent us an active

hand to defeat the US aggressors. The whole progressive mankind is on our side. Even in the United States, broad sections of the population, disregarding the ruthless repression by the authorities, have risen up fearlessly again and again to demand that the US government put an end to its war of aggression against the Indochinese countries and bring immediately all US troops home. The movement in support of Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia is unfolding stirringly on all the continents in a great variety of forms to show the world's solidarity with, admiration to, and confidence in, the peoples of Indochina, and their extreme indignation at the obduracy and bellicosity of the US imperialist aggressors. This, indeed, is a very great encouragement and inspiration to the entire Vietnamese people as well as to our neighbours and brothers in Laos and Cambodia.

The Vietnamese people will eternally be grateful to the Soviet Union, China and the other fraternal socialist countries for their great, multiform and efficacious support and assistance. We are sincerely grateful for the vigorous sympathy and support of the communist and workers' parties and the peace-and-justice loving people all over the world. We sincerely thank the progressive people of the United States. We, Vietnamese, vow to do whatever we can to discharge fully our duty to our Fatherland and fulfil our noble internationalist obligations.

II. THE CONSTANT GROWTH OF THE VIET NAM FATHERLAND FRONT AND ITS MORE AND MORE ACTIVE ROLE IN THE NATION'S REVOLUTION

The Viet Nam Fatherland Front, under the clear-sighted leadership of the Viet Nam Workers' Party and beloved President Ho Chi Minh, has made great efforts and laudable contributions to the victories of our people over the last ten years.

Basing itself on the line and policies worked out by the Third Congress of the Party, it has focused its efforts on the mobilization of the entire people to fulfil successfully the two strategic tasks of the Vietnamese revolution — *the fight against US aggression to save the country, and the building of socialism.*

Devoting themselves to the sacred task of fighting the US aggressors to save the country and to the noble ideal of socialism, the political parties, mass organizations and Front committees at all levels have motivated the people of all walks of life to bring into play their patriotism, their attachment to socialism, their sense of being collective masters, their spirit of self-reliance, and to overcome all hardships and difficulties in the struggle for independence, freedom and socialism.

Living up to the requirements and the tasks assigned by the Party and State to each stage of the revolution, the Front and member organizations, through their political and ideological work, have contributed in time to the agitation and mobilization of the people. From the country to the towns, from the plains to the

mountains, a high revolutionary tide has surged up thanks to the many patriotic emulation drives, like the "Three Heights" (1) in industry, the "Three Objectives" (2) in agriculture, the "Three Readinesses" (3) among the youth, the "Three Responsibilities" (4) among the women, the "Three Resolves" (5) among the intellectuals, the "Three Skills" (6) among the old folk, etc. Millions of people have thus been drawn, with

(1) *Three Heights* : high productivity, high quality, high economy.

(2) *Three Objectives* : harvesting 5 tons of paddy, raising two pigs and using the labour of one man per tilled hectare per year.

(3) *Three Readinesses* : to stand ready to fight, to fight courageously ; to enlist in the armed forces, to overcome all difficulties to increase production, work and study in all circumstances ; to perform whatever task and go wherever the Fatherland requires.

(4) *Three Responsibilities* : to do extra work in place of men enlisted ; to assume all household duties and give encouragement to husbands and sons so that they go to the front with their minds at peace ; to stand ready to fight and serve the fighting forces in case of need.

(5) *Three Resolves* : to efficaciously serve production and combat ; to push ahead the technical, cultural, and ideological revolution ; to build and enlarge the ranks of the socialist intelligentsia.

(6) *Three Skills* : in setting the house in order, participating in production, and practising thrift ; in promoting people's anti-aircraft defence, helping the soldiers and militiamen in fighting and in combat preparations ; in propaganda and agitation work for a strict implementation of State policies, solidarity and mutual aid, and the building of a new life in the villages and town quarters.

great enthusiasm, into the struggle against US aggression, for national salvation, and socialist construction with the appearance of many more "Hero" collectives and individuals and "Emulation Fighters" in production and combat.

In time of great difficulties, like during the US war of destruction or during the great floods not long ago, the Front and its member organizations have urged the people to promote mutual love and assistance and enhance solidarity — solidarity between the army and the civil population, between the country and the towns, among all nationalities, and among religious communities. Thanks to this, many problems have been solved in production and everyday life.

Continuing the revolutionary work of its predecessors — the Viet Minh Front and the Lien Viet Front — the Viet Nam Fatherland Front has played very well its role as a supporter of the people's democratic regime. The political parties, mass organizations and Front committees at all levels maintain close contacts with various strata of the people and urge them to foster their revolutionary militancy and strive for the attainment of all the objectives of State plans for economic and cultural development, in order to meet all the needs of the socialist transformation and the strengthening of national defence. At the same time, in co-operation with the administration, the Front sees to it that everybody strictly observes the policy regarding disabled and sick army men, and the families of servicemen still active or killed in action, thereby drawing the people into the task of building the rear area in service of the fighting front.

The people's confidence in the Front can also be seen in their approval of the recommendations it has made during the elections to the organs of State power at all levels. Thanks to the Front's patient explanations, the people have understood better the line and policies of the Party and the State laws, and have thus gradually enhanced their political consciousness and their sense of responsibility to the Fatherland and society.

The Front, in its effort to survey the implementation of the State policies and law, has acted as a spokesman for the people to express their aspirations. In this capacity it has proposed amendments to policies and made suggestions to the authorities to help ensure the people's right as the supreme master of the country and, at the same time, to strengthen the socialist law.

The Front, either at central or local levels, has also made special efforts to consolidate the militant solidarity between the people in the North and the South. The US imperialists and their henchmen have devised no end of cruel and perfidious means to perpetuate the partition of our country and undermine the blood-sealed unity among the people in the North and the South. But, decidedly they can never prevent the North and the South from helping each other. This is because, it has been instilled into the heart of every single Vietnamese patriot that "Viet Nam is one country, the Vietnamese are one nation", that "this truth is unalterable although rivers may dry up and mountains may erode". With the mobilization, encouragement and guidance of the Fatherland Front, the "North-South

sworn brotherhood" and "Everyone doing the work of two for the sake of the blood-sealed South" movements have gained the enthusiastic, practical participation of the people of all walks of life in all localities. Named after one South Vietnamese locality or another, the many building projects, production or combat plans, industrial establishments, construction sites, crop fields, orchards breeding-ponds, cultural homes, schools, and libraries we have here are a magnificent expression of the North-South solidarity and the iron-clad determination of our people to pool their efforts to defeat the aggressors and traitors.

The rousing welcome given by the Front and the people here to the many delegations from the South — delegations of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation and the Viet Nam Alliance of National, Democratic and Peace Forces — has had the effect of strengthening the militant solidarity of the people and front organizations in the two zones. The National Front for Liberation, the other patriotic organizations and the People's Liberation Armed Forces of South Viet Nam, through their delegates, have brought us many tokens of their ardent love for their compatriots in the North, and their staunchness in the defence of the Iron Wall of the Fatherland. This has brought about an atmosphere of great revolutionary optimism in our society, and deepened the love the people in the North and the South have for each other.

In the flush of the victories of the people and armed forces in the whole country in the last few years, the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation and the

Viet Nam Fatherland Front have promoted their co-operation even more vigorously on the political and diplomatic fronts, and further encouraged the people in both zones and overseas Vietnamese in their resolute struggle for the defeat of the US aggressors, the liberation of the South, the defence of the North, and the ultimate peaceful reunification of the country.

While doing its duty to the nation the Viet Nam Fatherland Front has never ceased working for the *strengthening of the solidarity between the Vietnamese people and the people all over the world* in the common struggle for peace, national independence, democracy and social progress.

Through the Viet Nam Fatherland Front, the people and armed forces of Viet Nam have realized the pride they can justly take in being recognized by broad sections of the world public as a heroic nation on the front line of the battle against US imperialism. Hence their greater determination to win complete victory for the nation's struggle against US aggression, thereby accomplishing both their sacred national duty and their noble internationalist obligations. The Viet Nam Fatherland Front and its member organizations have stepped up their activities in the international arena in order to help the world people have a better understanding of the just and certainly victorious struggle of our people. In this process, they have enlisted ever more support and assistance from the world people for the Vietnamese revolution.

Closely following the revolutionary movements in other countries in the world and giving them firm

support, we have taken in time many measures to consolidate and broaden our friendly relations with international democratic organizations, with the fronts and other progressive organizations and democratic personalities in various nationalist and capitalist countries, including the United States, to help strengthen and enlarge the world people's front against US-led imperialism.

The Front has also made valuable contributions to the development of the fraternal friendship and militant solidarity among the three Indochinese peoples. The Viet Nam Fatherland Front and its member organizations have actively contributed to the successful holding of the Indochinese Peoples' Conference in Phnom Penh in March 1965 at the initiative of Samdech Head of State Norodom Sihanouk. When Nixon started expanding the war to the whole of Indochina, a Summit Conference of the Indochinese Peoples was convened in April 1970 and was crowned with success, marking an important development of the militant solidarity among the three fraternal peoples of Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia. The Joint Declaration issued at this historic conference is, indeed, the programme of the Indochinese peoples' front, a banner for the three fraternal nations to follow into battle for the defeat of the common enemy, US imperialism.

We note with great joy that the long-standing militant solidarity among the peoples of the Indochinese countries, tested in struggle, has a great resultant force, and has provided the three nations here with a new offensive posture to take their anti-aggression fight

from one victory to another, and finally to complete victory. This militant solidarity is a solid basis for long-term co-operation in the future for the three peoples to exist side by side in concord, mutual love and respect, and in devoted assistance to one another, to defend and build up their respective countries in their own way.

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Taking a look back at the difficult road we have covered in the past decade in the nation's revolution we realize with great joy that the political parties, Front member organizations have unceasingly consolidated and replenished their ranks and stepped up their political and social activities, to rapidly promote the people's revolution.

The Viet Nam Democratic Party, through the "Intensive Training and Better Contribution" movement, has pushed ahead political and ideological education, mobilized its cadres and members as well as all sympathizing business circles to strengthen solidarity, heighten their combativity and take part more enthusiastically in the struggle against US aggression, for national salvation, and in socialist construction.

The Viet Nam Socialist Party has helped its members and sympathizing intellectuals increase their political knowledge and professional capability, thereby stepping up the patriotic emulation movement, and unceasingly stimulating the socialist intelligentsia to play a still more active role.

The *working class*, the leading force of the Vietnamese revolution, has *rapidly grown up* and has always taken the lead in all fields of activity.

In all these years of peaceful construction as well as in war, workers and public servants have amply shown their creativity and courage in production, their staunchness and resourcefulness in fighting and service to the front. They have made tremendous efforts to carry out all State-assigned plans and have thus made a decisive contribution to the victory of the whole nation.

The *Viet Nam Federation of Trade Unions* and its Trade-Union committees at all levels, representing broad sections of the population, have organized workers and civil servants of all branches to educate and train them. Trade-Union members are urged to exert themselves more intensively in material production, office work and combat, to help lay the material and technical basis for socialism, develop education and culture, consolidate national defence, ensure the security of factories, public institutions, schools and hospitals, to better serve agricultural production, and enhance the worker-peasant alliance--the basis of the great national unity. Through their activities, comprehensive and varied in forms, trade-union organizations have consolidated and developed incessantly to become a staunch member of this nation-wide unity.

The *collective peasantry* has become the master of the new countryside. Thanks to the abolition of exploitation of man by man there has been greater unity and oneness of mind in the countryside, where equality has been achieved among co-op members, between men

and women, among the various nationalities and religious communities, and where industriousness and courage — the traditional traits and great assets of the Vietnamese peasant — are being incessantly promoted in production and fighting.

Agricultural co-operatives, through the various drives for the improvement of management and technique and for other objectives, have in the main been further consolidated to become the chief production centres in the countryside. The collectivized socialist agriculture, overcoming many difficulties caused by the enemy and nature, is gradually building its material and technical foundation, with the creation of many more side-trades. There is now a good prospect for the all-round development of agriculture in our country. In the years of the fight against the US war of destruction in particular, agricultural co-operatives, besides maintaining production and ensuring a normal life for their members, made laudable contributions, in the forms of material and manpower, to the struggle against US aggression, for national salvation, and to socialist construction.

In response to the call of the State, *handicraft workers* have also embarked on the road of collectivization. Making a good use of locally available material and manpower and the experiences handed down from one generation to another, they have stepped up production, turning out large quantities of articles for home consumption and export.

The *intellectuals in the North*, working side by side with the working class, the collective peasantry, and the other sections of the labouring people, have seen

their ranks swell fast in the last ten years. In their enthusiastic response to the "Three Resolves" movement, they are actively putting their knowledge of science and technology at the service of the Fatherland and the people, untiringly endeavouring to perfect themselves as patriotic and socialist-minded intellectuals.

The Viet Nam Writers and Artists' Union, the Viet Nam Journalists' Association, the Viet Nam Historical Sciences Association, the Viet Nam General Association of Medical Workers, the Viet Nam Eastern Medicine Association, the Viet Nam Lawyers' Association... have promoted all their social and professional activities, helped unite, organize and assist the broad masses of intellectuals to devote all their energy and talent to the resistance against US aggression, for national salvation, and the building of socialism.

The *Viet Nam People's Armed Forces*, the shock force of the nation in the armed struggle, a mainstay of the people's democratic State, have upheld the banner of "Determination to Fight and Defeat US Aggression", fought staunchly and are ready to make every sacrifice for the independence, freedom and reunification of the country, for socialism and our internationalist duty.

Under the direct leadership of the Party and President Ho Chi Minh and the great care of the people, the people's armed forces, steeled in the crucible of the past resistance against the French colonialists and the current resistance against US aggression, for national salvation, have grown by leaps and bounds, won glorious victories, bringing into full play the fine nature

and tradition of a revolutionary army: "to be loyal to the Party and the people... To fulfil any missions, overcome any difficulty and defeat any enemy."

In close co-ordination with the armed forces and people in South Viet Nam, the heroic people's armed forces have together with the entire people defeated the US war of destruction against North Viet Nam, making an important contribution to the resounding victories of strategic significance of the armed forces and people throughout the country.

The young generation of our country, broadly united in the *Viet Nam Youth Federation* and solicitously educated by the Party and Uncle Ho, has unceasingly developed its role as the shock brigade of the revolution and forged ahead under the motto "The youth is present wherever it is needed and whenever difficulties crop up", worthy of being "the valiant young generation of the heroic Vietnamese nation". In the "Three Readinesses" movement, the youths of North Viet Nam, one after another, have volunteered to go to the frontline to destroy the enemy and record exploits or displayed high courage in production labour, in ensuring communications and transport, endeavoured in learning and training, considering all this as a glorious duty, a great aspiration and a legitimate pride of the youth.

The youth in the universities, united in the *Viet Nam Students' Union*, have zealously carried out studies while serving production and fighting, and consciously assumed the task of training themselves into scientific

and technical cadres and economic managers of the country. The activities of millions of youths and students in general schools, middle-level vocational schools, higher learning establishments and complementary schools have contributed to the great war-time achievements of culture and education in our country.

As the Communist school of the youth, the *Ho Chi Minh Working Youth Union* has rallied and stimulated millions of its members and other youths, men and women alike, to "live, fight, work and study following the example of the great Uncle Ho", taking the battlefields, the factories, the paddy fields and the communication lines as the drill grounds for the youth thence have emerged so many beautiful flowers of revolutionary heroism in our country.

The Vietnamese women have given increasing scope to their important role and great abilities in the common revolutionary cause of the nation.

The *Viet Nam Women's Union*, a broad political organization of the Front, is the rallying point to unite women of all strata, ages and nationalities. The Union has launched the "Three Responsibilities" movement, stimulating millions of women in town and country to march forward vigorously, replace their husbands and sons who have gone to the front, and shoulder many important tasks in all branches and in the rear, proving themselves to be worthy of the commendations of the Party Central Committee and President Ho Chi Minh: "The Vietnamese women are courageous and enterprising in the fight against US aggression, for national salvation."

Over the years of patriotic war against US aggression, and of socialist construction, the ranks of women cadres have grown at a steady pace, reflecting the growth of the women's movement and marking a new development in the realization of equality between men and women.

Living up to President Ho's praise — "the older they get, the greater their revolutionary will" —, our old folks have zealously served the Fatherland and socialism.

The "Three Skills" movement among the old folks has developed widely, deeply and all-sidedly, and has made effective contributions to boosting production and fighting and to serving the fight, as well as ensuring strict observance of the State policies. Our elderly people have also helped promote the solidarity and mutual assistance among the people, educated the youngsters and children and helped in the building of a new way of life in the villages and town quarters.

In order to be worthy of the title "good nephews and nieces" of Uncle Ho, Vietnamese children, small in age but great in will, are striving to put into practice the "Five Teachings of Uncle Ho" (1), zealously taking part in the "Thousand Good Deeds" movement, doing their small share together with their grandparents, parents, brothers and sisters in the national salvation

(1) *Five teachings of Uncle Ho*: to love the Fatherland and the people; to study well and work well; to unite and observe discipline; to observe the rules of hygiene; to be modest frank and courageous.

fight against US aggression and in the building of socialism.

In the past ten years, the *industrialists and traders* in North Viet Nam have striven to follow the socialist path, accepted the policy of peaceful transformation and have continually enhanced their patriotism, putting their technical and professional knowhow in the service of the Fatherland and the people and contributing to the fulfilment of the State plans.

In the mobilization of the industrialists and traders, the *Industrialists and Traders' Union* in the towns has fulfilled well its task as patriotic member of the Viet Nam Fatherland Front.

In their efforts to carry out the Party's policy on nationalities, "to make the mountain areas catch up with the plains and the minority peoples catch up with the majority people", the people of various *nationalities* in the highlands have developed their tradition of solidarity, overcome many difficulties and are changing the face of the mountain areas.

The success of the agricultural co-operation movement combined with the completion of democratic reforms and other movements have created conditions for the mountain areas to expand production and improve the life of the people of national minorities, at the same time has laid new groundwork for strengthening the great unity of the nationalities in Viet Nam and realize political and economic equality among the various ethnic groups.

In the past years, the bulk of the farmers in the mountain areas have taken the road of collectivization.

Culture and education there have also developed continually. The material and cultural life of the people of national minorities has been greatly improved compared with the past. Vestiges of the colonial and feudal systems are being wiped out gradually. Prejudices among the nationalities have been basically eliminated. In particular, during the years of resistance against US aggression, for national salvation, the people of various nationalities in the mountain areas have become still more united and upheld their determination to stick to their fields and boost production, to fight and serve the fighting, and have recorded many outstanding achievements.

The *religious people* have seen more and more clearly the colonialists' policy of misusing religion and the policy of our Party and government of really respecting the freedom of belief. That is why they have further enhanced their unity and made continual progress, eagerly striving for the common interests of the nation.

The Viet Nam Unified Buddhists' Association, the National Liaison Committee of Vietnamese Patriotic and Peace-Loving Catholics, the Viet Nam General Association of Protestants and the Viet Nam Union of Caodaists have not ceased to develop their active role in uniting and mobilizing their believers and clergymen to take part in the resistance against US aggression, for national salvation, and in the building of a new life.

The movement of various religious communities to swear brotherhood for patriotic actions is a fine image of the solidarity among the religions in our country, a

vivid reflection of the policy of uniting the various religions within the Viet Nam Fatherland Front. Upholding such slogans as "Fight US aggression to save our country and religion" and "Only when our country is independent can there be freedom of belief", the patriotic emulation movements in the areas predominantly inhabited by religious people have brought good results, which helped enhance the solidarity between religious and non-religious people. Concord has developed unceasingly among people of various religions in their patriotic actions and in the building of the new regime.

Overseas Vietnamese, though living far from their homeland, have always turned their thoughts to the Fatherland, preserved and promoted the fine traditions of the nation and done everything in their power to support the revolutionary cause of our people.

Those who had returned home have over the past years striven to overcome all difficulties and quickly stabilized their life and zealously joined the high tide of production and fighting of the people.

Chinese residents, who had long settled in Viet Nam, who were freed by the revolution from oppression and exploitation, and who have been enjoying extensive rights in all fields, have become more and more attached to the Vietnamese land and consider it a duty and right to unite with the Vietnamese and take part in the revolutionary struggle in Viet Nam. Over the past ten years or more, Chinese residents have zealously implemented the policies of the Vietnamese Party and Government, emulated one another in production,

fighting and work, giving a brighter hue to the tradition of Sino-Vietnamese solidarity and actively contributing to the triumph over the US aggression and the building of socialism.

Together with the political parties and mass organizations, the *Front committees at all levels* have increased their activity, united and mobilized broad masses of the people to strive for the carrying out of the Front Programme and the fulfilment of the economic, political, military, cultural and social tasks. The guide-line of solidarity—and—struggle and the five principles of work in the Front have become increasingly effective. The policies towards various strata of the people have been applied correctly and in a way conforming to reason and sentiment in accordance with the Front's Programme. The political and ideological work of the Front has been improved in the light of the characteristics of the various social strata and localities. The Front committees at all levels have effectively relied on the people to mobilize and educate the people and persuade them to help one another to advance together.

Very diversified forms of activity like congresses of resistance against US aggression, for national salvation, festivals of nationalities, conferences of zealous members of the Viet Nam Democratic Party, swearing of brotherhood between North and South Viet Nam, between the various religious communities, between the various production units, army units or educational establishments and public offices, have further consolidated and broadened the national unity and enhanced the militant friendship among the various

members of the Front. In the recent years, the Front work has made substantial progress in many provinces, districts and villages, thereby strengthening the co-operation among the various branches, strata and administrative organs in the mobilization of the people for production, fighting and serving the fight, as well as in the organization of life and the implementation of the Party policies and State laws.

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Under the clearsighted leadership of the Viet Nam Workers' Party and President Ho Chi Minh, our Fatherland has seen really momentous and deep changes. After liberation from the rotten colonial and feudal regime, our people, closely united, are steadily advancing towards the fine socialist regime.

In these glorious historic achievements, the Front committees at all levels, the member organizations of the Front and the democratic and patriotic personalities have done their worthy share.

It is very heartening to note that the solidarity and unity of mind of our people in the present revolutionary stage has reached one of the highest peaks in the four thousand years of our history of building and defending the country.

It is precisely thanks to the strength of solidarity among the various strata of the people, nationalities, religious communities, among the various member organizations of the Front, between the people and the

army, between the people in the South and the North, that our people have overcome innumerable difficulties in the building of socialism, defeated the US war of destruction and constantly met all urgent needs of our countrymen and combatants in the South.

With regard to the question of international solidarity, thanks to the correct foreign policy, our people have unceasingly enhanced their solidarity with the Lao and Khmer peoples, while unceasingly increasing solidarity with the peoples of the fraternal socialist countries and the world's peoples.

Those great blocs of solidarity — national and international solidarity — have given our people a very firm position and tremendous strength in the fight against the US aggressors. With this strength our people in the North together with our countrymen and combatants in the South have defeated the US imperialists' war of destruction against the North, frustrated the "special war" and are repeatedly foiling, one after another, all their moves in the "limited war" strategy in the South, in our march forward to win complete victory for our resistance against US aggression, for national salvation. A truth is being vindicated: *"a nation with a population not very large and a territory not very vast but guided by a correct political line, closely united, fighting valiantly and enjoying the approval, sympathy and active assistance of the socialist countries and the world's peoples, is sure to defeat any imperialist aggressors, including US imperialism."*

Through various stages of the revolution, our National United Front has not ceased to grow and strengthen and has made big contributions to the revolutionary cause as mentioned above. This is due to the following reasons:

1. A correct line of leadership

Firmly grasping the situation and characteristics of our country and fully understanding the deep aspiration of our people, the Party and President Ho Chi Minh have charted a very correct line for our people. Through each specific stage of the revolution, the Party and President Ho Chi Minh worked out in time concrete policies to meet the requirements and aspirations of the various strata of the people, various nationalities and religious communities, thereby uniting the entire nation and taking the various strata of the people onto the revolutionary front. The successes of the revolution in each stage stimulated the various strata of our people and strengthened their confidence in their own strength and the strength of national unity under the Party's leadership. Thanks to this, our Front has not ceased to grow over the past decades, established its bases from the towns to the countryside, from the plains to the mountain areas, rallying more and more strata of the people in the country, creating such a great strength as we see today to defend the independence and freedom of the Fatherland and build a free and happy life for the people.

2. A firm worker-peasant alliance as basis of the Front

The working class and the peasantry are the largest classes in our society and the biggest force in production and construction. Formerly, the workers and peasants, though producing most of the daily necessities, lived in utter misery and want because all the fruits of their labour were grabbed by the colonialists, monarchs and mandarins, landlords and capitalists for their own use. Living under such a burden of oppression and exploitation, the workers and peasants were the first to be awakened politically and responding to the appeal of the Party and the Front, rose up and struggled resolutely for their own interests and the interests of the nation. The colonialists and feudal landlords many times resorted to terror, massacres, imprisonment and deportation against the labouring masses in town and country alike. Unable to bear any longer such a burden of oppression and exploitation, the latter persistently carried on their struggle. This staunch spirit of struggle has, in every period of the revolution, encouraged the other strata of the people to take side in ever larger numbers with the revolution and join the various organizations of the Front, thus continually reinforcing national unity. This has been amply demonstrated by the practice of the revolutionary movement in our country over the past decades.

After the completion of the national, democratic and people's revolution in the North, the working class and the co-operative farmers remain the basic force in the socialist revolution and the building of socialism.

It is clear that our National United Front, under the leadership of the Viet Nam Workers' Party and with the worker-peasant alliance as groundwork has grown unceasingly and become one of the factors for victory of the Vietnamese revolution.

3. Timely heightening of the people's political consciousness and enhancing of the tradition of national unity in each period of the revolution

The fundamental task of our Fatherland Front is to strive, on the basis of the line and policies of the leading Party and its own Political Programme, to raise continually the political awareness and patriotism of the people, mobilize to the highest level all social forces to fulfil all tasks in each period of the revolution.

That is why, after the North had basically completed all the tasks of the national and democratic revolution, the Viet Nam Fatherland Front and its member organizations, under the leadership of the Party and President Ho Chi Minh took timely measures to foster the patriotism of the people and the Front member organizations and educate them along the line of socialism.

On the basis of a heightened consciousness about socialism, the people in North Viet Nam have enthusiastically embarked on the socialist revolution and socialist construction.

Within a relatively short period of time, the new production relations took shape, with the main production means coming under State or collective ownership and management. All the classes of exploiters

were abolished. In the present socialist society in the North, all the people are brothers, all are working industriously in unity and friendship, helping one another to solve difficulties in production, work as well as daily life. Just as President Ho Chi Minh said, "In the present conditions of the North, love of country means love of socialism."

That is a very advantageous basis for the Party, government and Fatherland Front to mobilize everyone to contribute his best to stepping up the resistance against US aggression, for national salvation and the building of socialism.

That is also a very important factor for the growing cohesion of the Front organization, for the increasing political and social unity in the North Viet Nam society, for the ever better co-ordination of action among the various members of the Front and for the strengthening of the mass character of the Front organization.

This is a fundamental factor for the constant consolidation and development of our National United Front and one of the factors for victory of the Vietnamese revolution.

4. A correct style of work in the Front

Our Front has adopted a correct style of work. That is another factor accounting for the fact that our National United Front has been able to shoulder the glorious mission entrusted by the nation. From the

experience of many years of activity and work, our Front has drawn the following principles of work :

- negotiation
- democracy
- unity of action
- respect for the independence of the member organizations
- criticism and self-criticism to help one another progress together.

In application of these principles of work, we have adopted very diversified forms of activity within the Front. Apart from the regular conferences as provided for by the Front statutes, our Front has also organized friendly discussions whenever an urgent question cropped up, or study sessions on major political or theoretical questions concerning national interests and the people's life. During these conferences and sessions, in addition to the reports made by the responsible cadres of the Front directly in charge of the matters concerned, we have also invited other comrades or Party and State officials of the branches concerned to give talks and help the participants better grasp the questions under discussion.

Through these diversified forms of activity, we have been able to correctly apply the principles on negotiation and democracy, thereby creating a basis for unity of mind and action among the members of the Front. Only when they see that their independence is respected will the member organizations of the Front consciously and scrupulously discharge their tasks.

Furthermore, to increase the cohesion among the member organizations and among the members of the Front and strengthen their political and moral unity under the leadership of the Party and President Ho Chi Minh, our Front should correctly apply the principle of criticism and self-criticism because, as shown by practice, this is the most practical way for the various member organizations, as well as all members of the Front to help one another advance together, achieve long-term co-operation and encourage one another to best serve the Fatherland and the people.

In short, the above-mentioned five principles of work of the Front are closely related and complement one another. They have gradually created a style of work suitable for all member organizations of the Front, creating conditions for our great national unity to develop an invincible strength.

III. ALL FOR THE COMPLETE TRIUMPH OVER THE US AGGRESSORS AND THE SUCCESSFUL BUILDING OF SOCIALISM

The great and fundamental victories of our entire people in the resistance against US aggression, for national salvation as well as in the socialist construction in North Viet Nam, are opening up very bright prospects for the revolution in our country.

US imperialism is doomed to fail. However, the warmongering circles in the United States headed by

Nixon have not yet given up their dark design of aggression against Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia. They are frantically carrying out the scheme of "Vietnamizing" the war, stepping up terror and "pacification" operations, using Vietnamese to fight Vietnamese while keeping in power the clique of Vietnamese traitors headed by Nguyen Van Thieu in order to continue turning the South of our country into a new-type colony and military base of the US. They are stepping up the war of aggression against Laos, conducting extremely savage bombings against the liberated zone of Laos and launching nibbling operations into the Plain of Jars—Xiang Khoang area under the control of the Lao patriotic forces. They are intensifying and expanding the war of aggression against Cambodia, ordering the South Viet Nam puppet army to invade Cambodia and massacre her people, in implementation of Nixon's reactionary doctrine of using Indochinese to fight Indochinese and Asians to fight Asians. They continue to encroach upon the independence and sovereignty of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and are preparing for new military adventures against the people in North Viet Nam. Obviously, the very stubborn and bellicose Nixon administration still nurtures the vain hope for a military victory to subdue the people of Viet Nam and the other countries in Indochina and materialize its neo-colonialist schemes.

However, far from proving that they are strong, these frantic acts of war of the US imperialists only bring out their impasse and passivity. The policy of "Vietnamization of the war" and the Nixon doctrine issued from the position of stalemate and failure of US

imperialism, are repleted with deep contradictions which the US ruling circles can never solve. If they stubbornly stick to that policy and that doctrine, the US imperialists will only invite heavy and ignominious failures.

To get out of that stalemate and save the honour of the United States, there is no alternative for the American imperialists but to recognize and respect the sacred fundamental national rights of our people and the peoples of Laos and Cambodia. Showing that way to the US imperialists, our people have on many occasions made known our fair and reasonable stand. That is the four-point stand of the DRVN Government, the over-all ten-point solution of May 8, 1969 and the eight-point elaboration on September 17, 1970 of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam. This stand of our people which radiates justice and the good will for peace was again clearly reflected in the seven-point Statement of July 1, 1971 of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam which has won warm approval and support from the world's peoples and the progressive people in the United States. The Nixon administration, however, has thus far sought every means to elude a positive response to this peace initiative. Instead it has resorted to very perfidious and crafty diplomatic manoeuvres to cover its aggressive design and deceive the public in the United States and the world. Everyone can see that if the unjust war unleashed by US imperialism has not ended and the Paris Conference has not moved off

dead centre, that is because of the stubborn and warlike policy of the Nixon administration.

Ours is a heroic nation. The fight of the Vietnamese people is a brilliant image of the era in which all nations are marching forward to wrest back the right to decide their own destinies. After many decades of war, our people are very eager to have peace, but this must be a genuine peace, a peace in real independence and freedom. So long as US imperialism has not renounced its aggressive design against our country, our people will continue to fight, and will fight on until the US is defeated and accepts a solution based on the respect for the fundamental national rights of our people.

The Resolution of the 19th Plenum of the Viet Nam Workers' Party Central Committee laid down the present task of our entire people and army in the resistance against US aggression, for national salvation, as follows :
" Let our entire nation enhance solidarity, be of one mind, endeavour to act upon President Ho Chi Minh's sacred Testament, persist in and step up the war of resistance, uphold the determination to fight and to win, advance to complete victory to liberate the South, defend the North, proceed to the peaceful reunification of the country, and make worthy contributions to the world revolution. "

In the new situation, the socialist North holds an increasing role of special importance with regard to the resistance against US aggression, for national salvation of our entire people. We must increase the strength of the North in all fields to make the North stronger and stronger and capable of defending itself victoriously

while fulfilling its duty of the revolutionary base of the whole country.

The task of building and consolidating the socialist North requires that the Front and its member organizations step up political mobilization and ideological education and vigorously stimulate the revolutionary zeal of the various strata of the people, foster their revolutionary heroism and encourage them to heighten their spirit of self-reliance and to overcome all difficulties and hardships to build socialism with industriousness and thrift. On the basis of enhancing the revolutionary zeal of the broad masses of the people, we must endeavour to push forward the three revolutions — the revolution of production relations, the technical revolution and the ideological and cultural revolution — with a view to building the North step by step into an area with modern industry, modern agriculture and advanced culture and science. As an immediate step, we must strive along the direction already charted by the 19th Plenum of the Viet Nam Workers' Party Central Committee, that is *"to vigorously promote the movement for production and economy, closely combine production, building and fighting, combine economy and national defence, and continue to boost the national economy vigorously to take the socialist construction one step forward."*

In the light of the present requirements and tasks of the revolution and the Programme of the Viet Nam Fatherland Front, the task of our Fatherland Front in the period to come is as follows: *"Under the leadership of the Viet Nam Workers' Party and on the basis of the worker-peasant alliance, to strive to enhance the unity of the various strata of the people, democratic parties, mass orga-*

nizations, nationalities, members of the various religions and patriotic personalities, unceasingly consolidate and broaden national unity, uphold the heroic spirit of the nation, vigorously develop the people's sense of being collective masters and their revolutionary zeal, mobilize the entire people to take part in the patriotic emulation, resolve to completely defeat the US aggressors and their henchmen, successfully build socialism, liberate the South, defend the North and proceed to the peaceful reunification of the country with the ultimate goal of building a peaceful, reunified, independent, democratic and prosperous Viet Nam.

With a view to the realization of the said common tasks, the Central Committee of the Fatherland Front proposes to the political parties, mass organizations and Front committees at all levels to carry out well the following concrete tasks:

1. To enhance unity and mobilize the entire people to uphold revolutionary heroism, their determination to fight and to win, to persist in and step up the resistance against US aggression, for national salvation, till complete victory

To fight US aggression and save the country is the *foremost task* of our people at present. In his Testament, our venerated President Ho Chi Minh said: "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." To defeat the US aggressors completely is to scrupulously implement President Ho Chi Minh's Testament, and also to meet the urgent demands of our present life

and ensure the happiness of all our future generations. This is the sacred duty of our people to the Fatherland and also our noble internationalist duty to the people all over the world.

To accomplish this glorious duty, the Front committees at all levels, the political parties and mass organizations in our Front must see to it that everybody grasp the line of resistance against US aggression, for national salvation, have a clear sense of his responsibility, heighten his vigilance and enhance his determination to fight and to win, stand ready to smash every new military adventure of the US imperialists and their henchmen against the North and to do everything possible to fulfil the duty of the great rear to the great front in the South.

The Vietnamese people are one nation, Viet Nam is one country. Wherever the aggressors come to invade their country, the Vietnamese people must unite to destroy them, to sweep them away. To fight together to drive out the US aggressors and liberate the South, defend the North and proceed to the reunification of the country is the sacred duty of our people and combatants throughout the country. Upholding the truth "Nothing is more precious than independence and freedom", our countrymen and combatants in the South are valiantly dashing forward with the resolve to smash the enemy "pacification" plan, foil Nixon's policy of "Vietnamization" of the war, fight till the US withdraw all its troops and the puppet army and administration topple and "build an independent, democratic, peaceful, neutral and prosperous South Viet Nam, advancing to the peaceful reunification of the Father-

land" as advocated by the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam.

Our countrymen and combatants in the North are resolved to do all they can to meet fully and in time all the needs of the fighting front. That is the urgent task of the great rear. The Fatherland Front committees at all levels, the political parties and mass organizations will continue pushing ahead the movement for sworn brotherhood between the North and the South, the emulation movement "to redouble efforts for the sake of the blood-sealed South" and mobilize the 20 million people in the North to carry out their solemn pledge of standing shoulder to shoulder with their fellow-countrymen in the South and defeating the US aggressors and their henchmen.

The Marxist-Leninist military science has clearly shown that the rear is one of the permanent factors deciding the victory of war. The rear is the source of supply of manpower and material to the front, the source of political and moral encouragement to the front. The stronger and firmer the rear is, the bigger victories will be recorded at the front. The socialist North is the great rear of the heroic front — the South. We must strengthen the North in all fields, mobilize all strata of the people, in town and country alike, in the plains and mountain areas, religious and non-religious people, without distinction of age and sex, to unite into a monolithic bloc, to be always on the lookout, to fulfil well the military duty, to stand ready to fight and fight well, and carry out adequately the line of people's war and all-people national defence.

We will bring into fuller play the tradition of unity between the army and people, mobilize the entire people to take part in the building of the armed forces and give devoted assistance to the armed forces to fulfil their duty. The Front committees at all levels and the mass organizations must encourage the people to push forward the military work in the various regions, fulfil well all the tasks of fighting and serving the fight, ensure transport and communications, encourage the youth to uphold the "Three Readinesses" spirit and zealously accomplish their military duty. We should actively help the local military services to mobilize the people to strictly apply the policy of recruitment, ensure the principle of equity and reasonableness, in the spirit that "To defend the Fatherland is the sacred duty of everyone and every family."

In order to show our gratitude to the combatants who have contributed to the defence of the Fatherland, and to stimulate the patriotic sentiments of our people and enhance our combatants' determination to wipe out the enemy and save the country, our State has enacted many policies concerning servicemen's families, wounded and sick army men and war dead's families. The Front committees at all levels and mass organizations should co-operate closely with the administrative organs, encourage the people to best carry out these policies. Our Front should bring into fuller play the role of the old people and women in caring for wounded and sick army men, in looking after war dead's families and servicemen's families so that families with meritorious services to the revolution could enjoy a

life "stable materially and happy morally" as President Ho Chi Minh taught us. At the same time, we must attach importance to political work among the combatants' families to make them better realize their honour and responsibilities, unceasingly heighten their patriotism and spirit of self-reliance, strive for more achievements in production and work, and be always worthy of their loved ones fighting on the battlefronts.

By doing well all these tasks, our Front will make valuable contributions to increasing the fighting power on all fronts, and at the same time strengthening the national unity in order to fulfil successfully the task of national people's democratic revolution throughout the country.

2. To mobilize all strata of the people to strive harder on the production front, to continue boosting vigorously the national economy and take the socialist construction one step forward

The North of our country is advancing to large-scale socialist production from small production and in the conditions of the whole country being in a state of war. The building of the socialist economy in the North is a whole process of revolutionary change of the social life in all spheres, a very deep and momentous revolutionary struggle, a very inspiring but also very arduous struggle. Therefore, along with the correct application of the economic laws of socialism, it is absolutely necessary to turn the building of socialism into a genuine revolutionary movement of the broad masses of the people.

In order to contribute actively to the vigorous advance of the national economy, the Fatherland Front and its member organizations should step up their all-round activity in order to mobilize, organize and rally all strata of the people into a stirring and continual revolutionary movement to make everybody: worker, co operative farmer, socialist intellectual... enthusiastically march forward, devote all his strength and energy to productive labour with the same courage and sense of self-abnegation as our combatants are doing on the battlefield in defence of the Fatherland.

We must step up propaganda and education with regard to the line on socialist construction, unceasingly heighten the people's consciousness of being collective masters, arouse everybody's sense of responsibility toward the great interests of the Fatherland and the nation, and help him see clearly how these interests are closely related to his personal interests and the interests of his family. Through propaganda and education, the Front committees at all levels as well as the Front member organizations must make our people see the potentials and basic advantages of economic rehabilitation and development. On the basis of a heightened socialist awareness of the broad masses of the people, our Front should encourage everybody to enthusiastically devote all his talent and energy to the building of socialism.

Along with the heightening of the revolutionary zeal of the people, the building of an appropriate system of management is of paramount import and significance for the successful implementation of our Party and

State's line for economic build-up. The Fatherland Front must motivate all strata of the people to actively take part in improving the economic management, bring to good success the movement among workers and public employees to play their role as collective masters of the factories, construction sites, State farms and afforestation centres, and in the agricultural co-operatives, with a view to giving full scope to the creative power of the working masses and contributing to perfecting and consolidating the socialist production relations.

The Front committees at all levels, together with the Trade Unions and the Ho Chi Minh Working Youth Union will strive to help the workers and public employees take part in the movement for improving the management of the factories and ensuring scrupulous implementation of the policies and regulations concerning labour, production and protection of public property, etc., find out irrationalities and propose remedy measures, and help State-owned enterprises step by step develop a methodical style of work, a style of socialist management.

We should help and support the collective farmers to scrupulously implement the statutes of the co-operatives, push ahead the movement for broadening democracy, strengthen the system of collective ownership by the co-op members in the countryside, ensure that the peasant masses take part effectively in the management of all activities of the co-ops, from the working out of production plans to harvesting and the distribution of products, from the election of the co-op managing committees to the supervision and control over the work

of these organs. We warmly welcome the decision of the 19th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Workers' Party to "hold regular congresses of collective farmers at all levels and on a national scale." Our Front committees at all levels will actively help the agri-co-ops implement well the statutes of fully socialist production agricultural co-operatives with a view to giving fuller scope to the role of the co-op farmers as collective masters in the development of production and the building of a new countryside, beautiful, prosperous and progressive, improving their life and accomplishing their duty to the State, thus contributing to the socialist industrialization and the defeat of the US aggressors.

Over the past years, in the countryside, old people engaged in the "Three Skills" movement have upheld their revolutionary ardour and contributed to the co-ops a good deal of experience in production as well as in economization, tree planting, afforestation and the prevention and combat against natural calamities. We should continue to further develop the role of old people in the building of the new countryside.

The Viet Nam Fatherland Front and its member organizations should closely co-operate with the organs of State to mobilize and use the contingent of socialist intellectuals, help them push ahead the "Three Resolves" movement, zealously devote all their energy and mind, talent and intelligence, bring into full play their scientific and technical knowhow to contribute a worthy share to the resistance against US aggression and socialist construction.

Together with the Ho Chi Minh Working Youth Union, the Front committees at all levels should encourage and help young men and women of our country to heighten their revolutionary spirit, their ardour in productive labour, work and study, improve their scientific and technical knowledge, and form shock forces in industrial and agricultural production, in the building and defence of the country.

The member organizations of the Front have to cooperate with State organs to re-organize the handicraft co-operatives along the State's line. We must encourage the improvement of handicraft tools, improvement of technique with a view to boosting production, increasing labour efficiency, effectively serving production the people's life and export.

We will continue to help the industrialists and traders to make continual progress and put their technical and professional knowledge in service of production, actively contributing to socialist construction.

In the midlands and mountain areas, the Front should encourage the people of various nationalities to step up intensive cultivation and specialization of farming and carry out well the movement for settling permanently in a given place to carry out sedentary farming, endeavour to give full scope to the advantageous conditions of the mountain regions, namely forestry, raising of cattle and planting of perennial industrial crops, take part actively in the building of new economic areas in order to transform these areas into prosperous economic centres and make them catch up with

the plains in all fields, political, economic, cultural and social.

By stepping up the activities and works as mentioned above, our Front will gradually bring out its role as a support of the administration, make an active contribution to the mobilization of the great potentials of the various strata of the people, bring forth a powerful and continual revolutionary high tide in the common endeavours to fulfil the task of economic rehabilitation and development, and take the socialist construction one step forward.

3. To mobilize and educate the people to take an active part in building and consolidating the administration, promoting socialist democracy and strengthening the people's democratic dictatorship

The strength of the people's democratic power stems from the solidarity of the entire people, from the political awareness of the people of all strata. The most important measure to develop the strength of the people's democratic power in the resistance against US aggression, for national salvation and in the building of socialism consists in developing socialist democracy along with strengthening dictatorship with a view to creating conditions for the various strata of the people to exercise their right as masters of the country and to take an effective part in the management of the State and the management of society.

President Ho Chi Minh said: "Ours is a highly democratic State, because of its character which is

that of a people's democratic State. Only by developing democracy to a high level can we mobilize all the forces of the people and push the revolution forward."

Over the past years, along with deep revolutionary changes in the North Viet Nam society, the regime of exploitation of man by man, source of all iniquities and crimes, has been abolished, the socialist production relations established, and the political and moral unity among the people enhanced. These successes have created a firm basis for our people to develop unceasingly their right of being collective masters and develop socialist democracy. Never before in our national history have our people enjoyed such practical conditions for participating in the political life in order to discuss matters of national construction and development as today.

In the period to come, under the Party's leadership, our Fatherland Front should co-operate more closely with the State organs and effectively contribute to the further expansion of socialist democracy, the strengthening of people's democratic dictatorship and the building and consolidation of people's democratic power.

The Constitution of our country stipulates: "All power in the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam belongs to the people. The people exercise power through the National Assembly and the People's Councils at all levels... All organs of State must rely on the people, maintain close contact with them, heed their opinions, and accept their supervision. All personnel of organs

of State must be loyal to the people, observe the Constitution and law, and wholeheartedly serve the people."

If the above-said stipulations are scrupulously observed, it is certain that the socialist democracy in our country will develop splendidly and will be able to mobilize vigorously all strata of the people to march forward to defeat US aggression and build socialism successfully. Over the past years, our Front has been entrusted by the Party and State with the task of campaigning for elections, organizing consultative conferences and choosing outstanding representatives as candidates for the elections to the National Assembly and People's Councils at all levels.

Our Front has displayed many efforts to accomplish this noble task.

We should strive for a better accomplishment of this task in order to be worthy of the trust put in us by the Party and State. In each legislature of the National Assembly and each term of office of the People's Councils at various levels, the Front must work actively for the strengthening of the relations between the people and the People's Councils, between the latter and the Administrative Committees and specialized organs. The Front should at regular intervals or when necessary organize discussions or meetings between representatives of the electors and the People's Councils or Administrative Committees to discuss questions concerning national interests and the people's life. The Front should also help the People's Councils to inquire into and supervise the work of the Administrative Committees and specialized organs in the

implementation of the resolutions of the People's Councils. Whenever an extraordinary event occurs which concerns the people's life, the Front should take immediate co-ordinated action with the People's Councils and the Administrative Committees to inquire into the question in order to help solve it in time.

By fulfilling the aforesaid work, the Viet Nam Fatherland Front will actively contribute to mobilizing and educating the people to build and strengthen power and participate in broadening socialist democracy with a view to fully realizing the people's right as true masters.

As we all know, the Constitution and laws of the State are aimed at ensuring democratic freedoms for the people and preventing and punishing those who infringe the interests of the State and the people. It is the task of the judicial organs to guarantee the application of the Constitution and laws. But the broadening of socialist democracy and strengthening of the socialist legislation cannot be carried out without the active participation of the majority of the people. It is therefore the task of the Front and its member organizations to collaborate closely with the administrative and judicial bodies, while endeavouring to mobilize and educate the people and help them understand clearly their interests and obligations, and consciously and willingly realize their right as masters.

Today, our people are masters of the State and society. Workers are masters of factories, mines, construction sites and State farms; farmers are masters of co-operatives; teachers and pupils are masters of

schools, etc. In order to constantly foster and raise the capability and qualification of the various strata of the people as collective masters, the Front and its member organizations must push ahead the education and dissemination of the Party's line and policies and the laws of the State and make clear to the people the regulations on the management of enterprises and the regulations on agricultural co-operatives. This is a good way to help the labouring people understand and exercise their right as masters and struggle effectively against graft, waste and bureaucracy.

We must, through the Front's work, help our people understand clearly that in our regime State and collective interests accord with individual interests; therefore, while benefiting from the State and collective interests, every citizen must fulfil his duties toward the State and the collective. The duty to observe the Constitution and laws (law on marriage and the family, law on punishment of counter-revolutionary actions, law on punishment of actions violating socialist property, law on punishment of actions infringing on the citizens' private property, etc.), military duty, the duty of engaging in labour and making contributions and the duty to study, must be understood, consciously protected and thoroughly exercised by every citizen. With regard to those infringing on the interests of the Fatherland and the people, our Front must, in co-ordination with the administrative organs, strive to educate them, and in case of serious infringements, mete out due punishment according to the laws of the State.

Only by so doing can our Front actively contribute to strengthening and enhancing the efficiency of the

people's democratic power. As Lenin pointed out: "What makes the State strong is the consciousness of the people. The State is strong only when the people understand everything, are able to judge everything and do everything of their own accord."

The strengthening of socialist democracy is a hard, long-term work which requires us to innovate while persistently struggling against vestiges of backward ideologies, customs, habits and ways of life of the exploiting classes which have taken deep root in society.

Bureaucracy and authoritarianism are the enemies of socialist democracy. We must collaborate closely with the people's organs of supervision and control at all levels and help State organs prevent and do away with manifestations of bureaucracy and authoritarianism, help the people find out and resolutely struggle against erroneous actions of certain State officials and employees and ensure respect for the people's democratic freedoms as provided for by State laws.

Bad habits, prejudices and dissensions between nationalities and religious communities are inner contradictions among the people which often constitute obstacles to the solidarity, oneness of mind and the strengthening of socialist legislation. The Fatherland Front, and its member organizations must continue to better educate, persuade and help the people promptly prevent and satisfactorily correct those erroneous actions with a view to strengthening national unity and boosting production and fighting.

4. Actively to take part in building a new culture and a new type of men

The ideological and cultural revolution is in essence a struggle between the two roads (socialism and capitalism — *Ed.*) in the ideological and cultural domains aimed at building a new type of men dedicated to the socialist ideal.

President Ho Chi Minh has pointed out this truth: "To build socialism, first of all there must be socialist men." The socialist men in the North are men imbued with ardent patriotism and a staunch and indomitable spirit, who "rather sacrifice everything than lose the country and be enslaved," who are honest men awakened to socialism and having a high sense of being collective masters, a spirit of international solidarity against the common enemy of the world's peoples—US-led imperialism, and who are permeated with revolutionary heroism, in the fight to defend the Fatherland as well as in creative labour to build a new society. The socialist men are also men with an advanced cultural, scientific and technical level and a civilized and sound way of life. The process of building a new society is one of struggle to temper a new type of men—the socialist men, true masters of the new society.

Under the leadership of the Party and President Ho Chi Minh, carrying forward the fine, long-standing traditions of our people, the revolutionary movement in our country has created many cadres, combatants and citizens who love their country and their nation, who are staunch, indomitable and ready to sacrifice

their lives for the supreme interests of the nation, unite and help one another in production and fighting, love and assist one another in face of natural calamities and foreign aggressions. However, due to the specific historical conditions of our country, our people in general are inexperienced in organizing and managing the socialist economy, have a very limited scientific and technical knowledge, lack skilled workers, and are not yet accustomed to the labour discipline of large-scale socialist production. The narrow-minded, conservative, liberal and scattered characters of the small producer still affect the thoughts and way of life of many persons while we are entering the period of transition to socialism.

The success of socialism cannot be separated from the success of the struggle to root out the ideologies of the old society, of the exploiting classes and of the small producers, and ensure complete victory for the ideology of the working class. Together with the successes of socialist transformation and socialist construction, the North has made outstanding progress in all fields—economic, political, cultural and social. However, vestiges of the ideologies and culture of the colonial and feudal society have not yet been swept clean off our society. Therefore, the ideological and cultural revolution must, on the one hand, educate our people in patriotism and in the socialist ideal and virtues, uphold the collective spirit, self-imposed labour discipline and revolutionary heroism in production and fighting, and oppose all manifestations of individualism. On the other hand, it must constantly raise the cultural, scientific and technical level of the people, enabling

them to participate effectively in building the new economy, the new society and the new type of men.

The Fatherland Front and its member organizations share responsibility in this problem. We must join hands with the propaganda and educational organs of the Party and the State to make the effects of the ideological and cultural revolution felt among the various strata of the people, in the streets, hamlets and villages, and in co-operatives, factories, construction sites, State farms, forestry undertakings, public offices, army units, hospitals, schools and State stores. Through the routine activities of the Front and various mass organizations, especially at grass-roots level, we must push ahead the work of educating and helping one another to heighten our patriotism, socialist consciousness and collective masterhood, recommend examples of good people and good deeds, and struggle against the ideologies, customs and way of life of the old society. Experience shows that the reporting of achievements obtained, criticism and self-criticism, political courses, talks and discussions on current events and policies, and meetings at villages and residential quarters where people are encouraged to suggest measures for building a civilized way of life and ensuring public order and security and exchange experience in farming and livestock-breeding, etc., are good forms through which our Front will contribute to building a new culture and a new type of men.

Our Front must also co-ordinate with the cultural and educational offices to organize a good network of libraries, clubs, cultural houses and complementary

educational courses, etc., in order to make it possible for labouring people to study, relax and exchange experience and knowledge. We must work out plans to draw educational workers, doctors, engineers, industrial and agricultural specialists, and outstanding fighters in production and combat into organizations for dissemination of cultural, scientific and technical knowledge.

The Front committees at all levels must be permanent centres for the propagation of fine sentiments, progressive ideas, and a civilized and sound way of life, and act as a link and harmonizer among members of society and between each patriotic citizen and society as a whole. Campaigns for realizing the principle and motto "each for everyone and everyone for each," "live, fight, work and study following the great Uncle Ho's example," must be stepped up to bring about constant progress in society and among the people and to make of the North a garden of beautiful flowers.

To us, the new man is the most precious asset of the socialist regime. In fostering new men, our Front has a great responsibility toward the young generation, the future masters of the country. "To foster a revolutionary generation for the future is a very important and very necessary task." To put into practice this enlightening teaching of President Ho Chi Minh, the Front and mass organizations at all levels must closely combine three links: family, school, and mass organization. Besides encouraging youths, teen-agers and children to study, train themselves and fulfil the tasks and work assigned them by the

Working Youth Union and the Young Pioneers' Group, we must have plans to mobilize them into social activities, instil in them a sense of mingling with the great national community and of getting ready to fulfil their duties toward the Fatherland.

5. To strengthen solidarity and friendship between our people and the world's peoples

The Vietnamese revolution is an integral part of the world revolution. Our brothers and friends in the five continents highly value the international significance of our people's resistance war against US aggression, for national salvation. For their part, our people fully realize that the victory of our people is the victory of the militant solidarity of the three Indochinese peoples, the victory of the solidarity and assistance of the fraternal socialist countries, the victory of the noble solidarity of the people throughout the world.

To actively contribute to the constant strengthening of the friendship and militant solidarity between our people and the world's peoples, the Fatherland Front and its member organizations must continue to educate our people in Marxist-Leninist internationalism, to support the independent and sovereign line of the vanguard Party, resolutely oppose narrow-minded nationalism as well as great-nation chauvinism, and frustrate all divisive manoeuvres of the imperialists and their henchmen.

We continue to further increase the international activities of the Front and its member organizations with a view to unceasingly winning great approval and

stronger support from the world's peoples for the just and bound-to-be victorious struggle of our nation, and at the same time, encourage our people to make active contributions to the revolutionary struggle of the world's peoples.

True to the Joint Declaration of the Indochinese Peoples' Summit Conference, our people resolutely support the resistance war of the Lao and Khmer peoples against US aggression, for national salvation, and stand side by side with these two close neighbour peoples to drive the US imperialists out of the Indochinese peninsula; preserve and develop the militant solidarity and friendship among the three peoples, while supporting and assisting one another in the fight against the common enemy as well as in the long-term co-operation to build each country according to its own choice.

Under the Party's leadership, our people always endeavour to contribute to restoring and consolidating the unity among the socialist camp, and strengthen the friendship, co-operation and assistance between our country and the fraternal socialist countries in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, in a fair and reasonable manner.

Our people firmly support the struggle of the peoples in Asia, Africa and Latin America against colonialism, old and new, for national independence, and continue to promote friendly relations with nationalist countries.

Our people strongly support the struggle of the working class and labouring people in the capitalist countries for peace, national independence, democracy and social progress.

Our people endeavour to strengthen solidarity with the progressive people in the United States who are struggling to demand that the US government stop its war of aggression in Viet Nam and other parts of Indochina, and develop the friendly ties between the two peoples in the struggle against the common enemy—the State monopoly capitalists in the United States represented by Nixon and his clique.

Our people are determined to continue to struggle together with the fraternal socialist countries and the world's peoples against the policy of aggression and war provocation of US-led imperialism, so as to actively contribute to the struggle of the whole world's people for peace, national independence, democracy and social progress.

To fulfil the aforesaid tasks and works, it is necessary for us to meet the imperative need of bettering the organizational and staff work. According to the experience we have gained and the requirements of the tasks laid down by the Front for the immediate future, the Front organizations at all levels must be perfected to ensure ever greater unity of action among the Front member organizations as well as increasing co-operation between the Front and organs of State with a view to promptly mobilizing the various strata of the people into the resistance war against US aggression, for national salvation, and socialist construction.

Alongside the consolidation of organization, we must attach paramount importance to the correct application of the five principles of work of the Front: negotiation, democracy, unity of action, respect for the

independent character of various organizations, self-criticism and criticism, mutual assistance for progress.

To contribute to the ever strengthening of the solidarity and oneness of mind and ensuring of the unity of actions among the people of various strata and the Front member organizations, the committees at all levels must draw experience to improve the forms of the Front, so that its activities will be light in form and concrete and practical in content. As experience in many localities has shown, the Front's work at grass-roots level must be directed at further increasing the form of representatives' congresses and drawing more and more responsible cadres and people into the activities of the Front.

At the same time, we must have plans to foster and assist the Front's cadres to raise their level and working capability, firmly grasp the line and policies of the Party and the State, know how to apply correctly the Front's policies and its forms of activity and to keep good relations of co-operation with the organs of power.

In building the organizations and improving the work of the Front, we must pay special attention to drawing experience so as to better carry out the Front's work in grass-roots organizations, which are directly responsible for mobilizing the people to implement the line and policies of the Party and Government.

From the central down to local level, we must endeavour to unceasingly promote the great role of the

Fatherland Front in the resistance against US aggression, for national salvation, and in socialist construction.

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The past ten years were a very short span of time; yet during this period our people have won tremendous victories both in the resistance against US aggression, for national salvation, and in socialist construction. To these glorious victories, the Front committees at all levels, the Front member organizations and democratic and patriotic personalities have made concrete contributions. As a result, national unity has constantly been developed and consolidated.

At present, our people and our Fatherland Front are facing very important and great tasks. Each organization of the Front as well as every Vietnamese patriot must devote all its or his energies to contribute to the fulfilment of the two strategic tasks laid down by the Party and President Ho Chi Minh for the entire people.

Therefore, to step up the fight against US aggression, for national salvation, just as to mobilize the various strata of the people to make great efforts in the building of socialism in the North, we must strengthen the North in all fields, and ensure adequate supplies for our countrymen and combatants in the South to defeat the US aggressors and their lackeys, to liberate the South, defend the North and proceed to the peaceful reunification of the country. We have presented the tasks and orientations for work before this Congress. We hope that the Congress, through discussions, will give suggestions and further enlighten these tasks and

works, and will adopt a resolution to stimulate the Front's members and the people of various strata to strive to completely defeat the US aggressors and successfully build socialism.

We are fully convinced that our Fatherland Front and our people can do so, in order to be worthy of this appraisal by the Viet Nam Workers' Party Central Committee in the resolution of its 19th Plenum: "The Viet Nam Fatherland Front, a structure of political and moral unity of our people, is a force to unite the actions of the political parties and member organizations of the Front, is upholding the nation's heroic mettle, undauntedly fighting against US aggression to save the country, and practising thrift in building socialism. Under our Party's leadership, the Front is continually striving for the great cause of national unity and for a peaceful, reunified, independent, democratic and prosperous Viet Nam."

This is a very important assessment and a very high appraisal of our people and our Fatherland Front by the Party Central Committee.

The Front committees at all levels, the member organizations as well as the personalities and members of the Front must make still greater efforts and greater contributions to the Fatherland and the people so as to be worthy of the Party's trust.

Looking back at the road that we have travelled over, with all the modesty of revolutionaries, we may proudly say that:

Our nation is really heroic!

Our people are really great!

Our national unity is really invincible !
Our leading Party is really clear-sighted !

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During the past decades, each time the National United Front held its Congress, we were honoured with a visit by Uncle Ho who cordially recommended what our Front had to do for the Fatherland and the people. Today, all of us bow in memory of venerated and beloved Uncle Ho who founded and led our Front, educated and trained us as revolutionary fighters. With deep gratitude to him, we pledge to close our ranks around the Party's Central Committee and resolutely put into effect this "last wish" of President Ho Chi Minh which is also the goal of the Viet Nam Fatherland Front to "build a peaceful, reunified, independent, democratic and prosperous Viet Nam and make a worthy contribution to the world revolution".

Unity, unity, great unity !

Success, success, great success !

All for the defeat of the US aggressors and the successful building of socialism !

The heroic Vietnamese people will win !

The heroic Indochinese peoples will win !

Long live the peaceful, reunified, independent, democratic and prosperous Viet Nam !

Long live the Viet Nam Workers' Party — the leader and organizer of all the Vietnamese people's victories !

The great, venerated and beloved President Ho Chi Minh will live for ever in our revolutionary cause !

ON THE WORK OF THE NATIONAL UNITED FRONT AT PRESENT*

This Third Congress of the Viet Nam Fatherland Front is held at a time when our people throughout the country are being elated at the resounding victories on the Indochinese battlefields and the great achievements in socialist construction in the North.

You comrades delegates have heard and discussed the important political report by the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Fatherland Front and the letter of greetings by the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Workers' Party. You have seen that the Viet Nam Fatherland Front is confronted with very heavy but very glorious tasks: to further strengthen the all-people great unity, mobilize the forces of the entire people, push ahead the resistance war against US aggression until complete victory, liberate the South, defend and build the socialist North, proceed to the peaceful reunification of the Fatherland, achieve a peaceful, reunified,

* Speech by Truong Chinh, Political Bureau member of the Viet Nam Workers' Party.

independent, democratic and prosperous Viet Nam, and contribute a worthy share to the revolutionary cause of the world's peoples.

This Congress is convened 41 years after President Ho Chi Minh founded the vanguard Party of the Vietnamese revolution (the Indochinese Communist Party) and the Viet Nam United Front Against Imperialism (the Anti-Imperialist League) and 30 years after he founded the Viet Minh Front. All his life, President Ho Chi Minh struggled for the independence and reunification of the Fatherland but he passed away before seeing the South of our country completely liberated and our Fatherland reunified! In boundless regret for and gratitude to him, we pledge to do our utmost to materialize his sacred Testament and carry on his great endeavours.

On the occasion of this Third Congress of the Viet Nam Fatherland Front, I would like to express some views on the Front and its works in the present stage of our revolution.

I. TO MOBILIZE AND UNITE ALL ANTI-US FORCES IN THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD TO DEFEAT THE US AGGRESSORS

Our people throughout the country are resisting US aggression and building socialism in the North, contributing thereby to defending the socialist camp, stimulating the revolutionary movement of the people of other countries, and safeguarding peace.

Our people's resistance is aimed not only at national but also at international goals. The US war of aggression in Viet Nam is intended to materialize the global strategy of US imperialism — the enemy number one of mankind. The Vietnamese revolution is an inseparable part of the world revolution.

Since World War Two, *US imperialism has been carrying out an extremely reactionary, wicked and perfidious global strategy* aimed at destroying the socialist system, suppressing the international communist and workers' movement, the national liberation movement and the democratic movement, wrecking peace, realizing US-type neo-colonialism, and preparing for a new world war to seize world hegemony.

With regard to socialist countries, US imperialism has tried by all ways and means to encircle, divide and attack them militarily on a regional scale (as is the case of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam), foment counter-revolutionary rebellions (as was the case of Hungary), resort to psychological and espionage warfare and bring about peaceful evolution, in an attempt to restore capitalism there.

With regard to nationalist countries, it applies a policy of economic, cultural and military aid to make inroads there in all spheres and gradually convert them into its new-type colonies, or lend a hand to the local reactionaries—its henchmen — in staging rebellions and coups d'état to put in power pro-US elements willing to pursue a policy dependent on the US.

With regard to colonies and dependencies, in the case of new-type colonies or dependencies of the US, it carries

out downright repression of all national and democratic movements of the people. In the case of colonies or dependencies of other imperialist powers, the US seeks through political inroads and economic aid to gradually turn them into neo-colonies of its own.

With regard to other capitalist countries, the US makes big investments to exploit the labouring people, applies a policy of competition, restriction and domination and provides economic, scientific and technical aid to draw them into its orbit.

US imperialism is the most bellicose imperialism. For that reason, we must specifically study the military aspect of its global strategy.

Since World War Two, US imperialism has set up aggressive military alliances in Europe (NATO), Asia (SEATO), the Middle and Near East (CENTO) etc., built thousands of military bases in foreign countries and set up a multi-ringed defence system to encircle the socialist camp and prevent the spread of the movement for national independence, speeded up the arms race, manufactured modern weapons including nuclear arms; devised three different types of war: special war, limited war and total war; and waged special and limited wars, while preparing for a total war which is also a nuclear show-down.

To prepare and wage a new world war, the US has revived West German revanchist militarism and Japanese militarism and uses them as its shock forces; it has given aid to the reactionary rulers in Israel to provoke war according to its plan in the Middle and Near East.

During the past 25 years, US imperialism has readjusted its global strategy four times:

a) 1945-1950: It applied the Truman strategy which consisted in using nuclear blackmail against the world's peoples, checking and repulsing the communist movement, chiefly to defend Western Europe, an old bulwark of capitalism. The US, however, failed to dam up the revolutionary movement in Eastern Europe, North Korea, Viet Nam and China.

b) 1950-1960: the period of the "cold war" in which US imperialism carried out Eisenhower's strategy of "massive retaliation". With its nuclear superiority, US imperialism applied a foreign policy known as "brinkmanship" to browbeat the socialist camp and other countries, launched the arms race, and deployed its military and economic forces on a world scale. Also during this period, the US gave military aid to the French colonialists in their aggression against Viet Nam, together with other countries in its camp, triggered the Korean war and took military adventures against Arab countries in the Middle and Near East; at the same time, it put into practice the so-called "strategy of freeing imprisoned countries" in Eastern Europe and engineered the counter-revolutionary putsch in Hungary (1956).

c) 1961-1968: US imperialism applied Kennedy's "strategy for peace". Militarily it carried out the "flexible response" strategy which later was complemented by Johnson's "escalation" strategy. By this time, as the Soviet Union had gained nuclear balance with the US, the latter sought a temporary detente with

the Soviet Union, it tried to fully exploit the divergence of line within the socialist camp and in the international communist and workers' movement, especially between the Soviet Union and China; it launched a special war and then a limited war in Viet Nam, instigated Israel to wage a war of aggression against a number of Arab countries, mainly against the United Arab Republic (1967). But the biggest disadvantage for the US in this period was *the failure of its war of aggression against Viet Nam*, a failure that has weakened US imperialism, lowered its prestige, and upset the global strategy of US imperialism.

d) Since 1969 : US imperialism has been implementing the "Nixon doctrine" which is precisely the global strategy of US imperialism under the Nixon administration. It was born at a time when the world balance of forces between revolution and counter-revolution has changed in favour of revolution. In spite of the dissension among socialist countries, the socialist system has continued to strengthen and consolidate and to exert a decisive effect on the trend of development of human society. The colonial system of imperialism continues its process of disintegration under the crushing blows of the national liberation movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America. The struggle of the working class and the democratic movement in capitalist countries continue developing. More than ever before, the US, the ring-leader of imperialism, has been weakened militarily and isolated politically. US imperialism and the other imperialist powers are in the throes of an economic and monetary crisis. The general crisis of capitalism has further

aggravated. The contradictions between the US and the other imperialist powers and among the imperialist powers themselves have sharpened day by day.

In such an unfavourable conjuncture, Nixon cannot but readjust the US global strategy. Politically, he has dished up the so-called "new strategy for peace". Militarily, he applies the "strategy of realistic deterrence". Nixon's aim is to reduce US "international commitments" so as to lighten the military and economic burden of the US, stabilize the situation at home and appease the American people, increase its forces to regain a position of strength; to continue the drive for world domination, preserve US interests in the various continents while continuing to play its role of international gendarme toward the revolutionary movement of the people in various countries.

The essence of Nixon's strategy is:

1. To stabilize and increase the US economic and military "strength" to achieve some degree of superiority over the socialist countries, especially the Soviet Union, to use this strength to intimidate and win over a number of countries or to wage wars at one place or another.

2. To settle its conflicts and contradictions with its allies so as to "share responsibility" with them, use those countries as a shock force for the US in specific regions, build up satellite countries as stooges to oppose and sabotage the revolutionary movement of the world's peoples, use other peoples' blood to make war in its own interests.

3. On this basis, it is "ready to negotiate" with a number of countries, especially with the Soviet Union and China, with a view to "detering" and "containing" these two biggest socialist countries, makes the fullest use of the contradictions between these two countries and sows discord among the socialist countries in general in a bid to create favourable conditions for the US, strives for "detente" among the big powers and continues to bully smaller nations.

The Nixon doctrine applied to Asia has become Nixon's "new doctrine on Asia". Relying on the Asian and Pacific Organization (ASPAC) with Japan as the core, this new doctrine is intended to suppress the national and democratic movement in Asia and dam up the spread of socialism to other countries in this region.

Applying his "new doctrine on Asia" to Viet Nam and Indochina, Nixon has worked out the policy of "Vietnamization of the war" and Indochinization of the war. The essence of this doctrine and policy is to make Vietnamese fight Vietnamese, Indochinese fight Indochinese and Asians fight Asians with US bombs, shells and dollars and under the command of the US militarists.

"Vietnamization of the war" obviously is a perfidious move *to prolong and widen the war, not to end it*. "Vietnamization of the war" or "de-Americanization of the war" *in no ways means that the US will withdraw all its troops from South Viet Nam. Instead it will leave behind a residual force for long-term occupation of a number of military bases to be used as bridgeheads for*

helping the Saigon puppet army to continue its criminal persecution and massacre of our people and *turn South Viet Nam into a US neo-colony and military base.*

US imperialism is using the Viet Nam and Indochina battlefields as a testing ground for the Nixon doctrine and for various military strategies, tactics and modern weapons of the US with a view to preparing a new world shambles.

What remarks does the above analysis lead us to :

1. US imperialism is the biggest international exploiter, the most bellicose imperialist, the international gendarme, the enemy number one and the common enemy of our people and of mankind as a whole. The spearhead of the world revolution therefore should be directed at US imperialism, and nowhere else.

2. US imperialism's readjustments of its global strategy through the different periods have invariably been aimed at gaining world domination and shown at the same time that US imperialism is getting more and more passive and is weakening. The socialist system and the revolutionary movement of the world's peoples have strengthened, forcing the US to pull back from the offensive to the defensive position. Therefore, the global strategy of US imperialism is fraught with ever more acute contradictions between its demands and capabilities. US imperialism is not so strong as some people believe it to be. Its forces should not be overestimated.

3. The Nixon doctrine was born at a time when the Soviet Union and China had developed nuclear

weapons, while US imperialism had long lost its nuclear monopoly. The US has been sustaining bitter setbacks in Viet Nam, its prestige has declined and its forces have dwindled. It is facing a deep economic and monetary crisis and political isolation. That is why that doctrine contains factors of defeat and is highly deceptive. To oppose that doctrine by all means is an important task of the working class and people around the world.

4. The nature of US imperialism remains unchanged. It is still very bellicose, adamant and perfidious. In its passive and weakening position, it is seeking by devious ways to divide the socialist camp, sabotage the world revolution, undermine peace and attain world hegemony. Therefore the people of our camp and the people of the world as a whole should always remain vigilant, strengthen unity and be ready for united actions and foil by every means all perfidious plots and adventurous plans of US imperialism.

5. Viet Nam and Indochina as a whole have now become the focus of the basic contradictions of human society (1).

(1) These contradictions are:

1. Contradiction between the socialist and the imperialist camps.

2. Contradiction between the working class and the bourgeoisie in the capitalist countries;

3. Contradiction between the oppressed nations on the one hand and imperialism and colonialism on the other.

4. Contradiction between imperialism and imperialism, between one monopoly capitalist group and another in the imperialist countries.

(Resolution of the Ninth Session of the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Workers' Party, 1963).

The anti-US resistance war of the Vietnamese people and the other Indochinese peoples is not only a test of strength between our people and the other Indochinese peoples on the one hand, and US imperialism and its lackeys on the other, but also a struggle between the socialist countries and the bellicose imperialists, between the national liberation forces and the aggressive imperialist forces, between the peace-loving forces and the war-mongering forces headed by US imperialism.

6. The fight against US aggression, for national salvation of the Vietnamese and the other Indochinese peoples not only is aimed at defending the fundamental national rights of the Vietnamese and the other Indochinese peoples, but also has a great international significance since it contributes positively to foiling the counter-revolutionary global strategy of US imperialism, defeating the very perfidious "Nixon doctrine," defending the socialist system at the cost of our blood, stimulating the national liberation movement of the peoples of Asia, Africa, Latin America and Oceania, and safeguarding peace and democracy in the world.

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In the face of such a cruel and crafty enemy as aggressive US imperialism, what should we the Vietnamese people do? We must struggle under all forms, military, political, and diplomatic, to drive the aggressors out of our country.

On the military front, our people and people's armed forces must wipe out much more live forces of the US and its stooges, chiefly their strategic mobile forces. At

the same time, we must smash their "rural pacification" plan, foil their policies of scraping up manpower and material resources for "Vietnamization", destroy "strategic hamlets" and their coercive system as a whole; wipe out, decimate and disband the enemy "territorial forces", expand the liberated areas, maintain and develop the resistance bases of our people.

Our army and people in the North must always keep high vigilance, organize well civil defence, stand ready to fight and fight well with the resolve to smash all military adventures of the US that violate the sovereignty and security of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam.

On the political front, our countrymen in the South must mobilize and rally all forces standing for peace, independence and neutrality, mainly in the cities, combine various forms of struggle to achieve united actions, demand the rapid and total withdrawal of US troops from South Viet Nam and the ouster of the Nguyen Van Thieu administration, protest against fraudulent elections, demand the people's rights to life and democracy, protest against the depraved culture of the US and urge the restoration of peace, etc. The rising political struggle in the urban centres will have the effect of shaking the foothold of the enemy right in his lair and will be an excellent co-ordination with the armed struggle of our entire nation.

On the diplomatic front, our people warmly support the seven-point stand of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam set forth at the four-party conference in Paris on July 1.

1971. The armed and political struggles of the popular masses at home must create a firm basis for the diplomatic struggle. The latter must highlight our people's just goals, promptly lay bare all manoeuvres and acts of the enemy and their deceitful, demagogic contentions, point to the certainty of our victory and the enemy's failure, contribute to winning the sympathy, support and assistance of the world's peoples for the anti-US patriotic war of our nation.

To lead our struggle on all these three fronts to ever greater successes and ultimate total victory, an important thing is *to mobilize and rally forces*. We advocate the setting up of a three-layered united front to encircle and defeat the US imperialist aggressors.

I. In Viet Nam

Our country is victim of direct aggression by the US imperialists. To resist the US and save the country is the duty of the entire Vietnamese people and the entire Vietnamese nation.

To persevere in and step up our resistance till complete victory, we stand for the union of our entire people in *a national united front against US aggression* to struggle on three fronts: military, political and diplomatic, in order to liberate the South, defend and build the socialist North, proceed to the peaceful reunification of the Fatherland and build a peaceful, reunified, independent, democratic and prosperous Viet Nam, thus making a worthy contribution to the revolutionary

pursuits of the world's peoples. In furtherance of their policy of "Vietnamizing" the war, the US imperialists are using Vietnamese to fight Vietnamese with a view to turning South Viet Nam into a new-type colony and military base of the US. Therefore, the entire Vietnamese people must unite millions as one, persevere in and step up the resistance, and smash that vicious scheme of the US.

At present, our country is temporarily divided into two zones under two different political and social systems. The South itself has two different zones, one under the US neo-colonialist regime and the other (the liberated zone) under the people's democratic regime.

The people in both South and North Viet Nam must resist US aggression and save their country. However, besides this common mission each zone has its own strategic revolutionary task suited to its conditions. The North is carrying out the socialist revolution including socialist transformation and socialist construction. The South is waging a people's national democratic revolution to sweep away the US imperialist aggressors, topple their hirelings, the pro-US capitalist compradors and feudal landlords, and win back national independence and democracy for the people.

Therefore each zone has its own front. The South in particular, has not one but several fronts. The North has the *Viet Nam Fatherland Front* with its own programme. The South has the *South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation* with its own programme, and also the *Viet Nam Alliance of National, Democratic and Peace Forces* with its appropriate programme to rally

and unite people of various strata in the urban centres under the Alliance's responsibility.

The three programmes differ from one another but have this in common, they aim to unite the entire people, resist the US aggression, and win independence and reunification of the Fatherland.

2. In Indochina

Under the Kennedy and Johnson administrations the US imperialists committed aggression not only in Viet Nam but also in Laos. Under the Nixon administration, the US imperialists have taken another step by widening the war to Cambodia. The three Indochinese countries have thus become one battlefield. The Nixon administration is carrying out the policy of "Indochinizing" the war by using Indochinese to fight Indochinese in an attempt to turn this entire peninsula into a new-type colony and military base of the US.

The flame of people's war is burning throughout Indochina. The three fraternal peoples of Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia united and of one mind, are driving the US aggressors out of Indochina, overthrowing the puppet administration, henchmen of the US, in their countries to wrest back and defend their sacred national rights. The Joint Declaration of the Indochinese Peoples' Summit Conference (April 24, 1970) pointed out:

"At this historic moment, the Summit Conference of the Indochinese Peoples earnestly calls on the three peoples to strengthen their solidarity and wage a heroic and tenacious fight, to overcome all hardships and

accept all sacrifices with the firm resolve to defeat the US imperialists and their agents, to defend their sacred national rights, to defend the fundamental principles of the 1954 and 1962 Geneva Agreements so as to make Indochina a truly independent and peaceful area, in accordance with the aspirations of the three peoples and the interests of peace in Southeast Asia and the world."

To defeat the US aggressors, the peoples of the three Indochinese countries assist and respect one another. During the fight against the US and its henchmen as well as after their total victory, the people of each country will build their Fatherland according to their own will.

To strengthen and broaden the united front of the Indochinese peoples against the US imperialists and their henchmen, the people of each country must strive for the consolidation and broadening of their own front: the *Viet Nam Fatherland Front* in the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, the *South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation* and the *Viet Nam Alliance of National, Democratic and Peace Forces* in the Republic of South Viet Nam, the *Lao Patriotic Front* in Laos and the *National United Front of Kampuchea* in Cambodia. All these organizations are members of the *United Front of the Indochinese Peoples against the US imperialist aggressors*.

3. In the world

It is necessary to rally all forces in the world against the US imperialists. We are elated to note that over

the recent years a World Peoples' Front to support the Vietnamese and the other Indochinese peoples against the US imperialist aggressors has actually been taking shape. This is a type of front for united actions with concrete and limited objectives.

Its targets are the US imperialist aggressors and their henchmen, the cliques of reactionaries.

Its goal of struggle is to foil the aggressive and war-seeking policy of the US imperialists, and defend national independence and world peace.

The forces of peace, national independence, democracy and social progress have joined and are joining that front in increasing numbers. If the three torrential currents of the world revolution — the great force of the socialist countries, the movement for national liberation in the Asian, African and Latin American countries and the movement of the working class and other labouring people in the capitalist countries, keep pouring into the great river which is the above-described World Front, then they can sweep away both the US aggressors and their flunkys.

Relying on the core forces and firmly grasping the goal of struggle that is to defend national independence and peace, the World Peoples' Front against the US aggressors should unite any force that can be united, win over any force that can be won over, split the imperialist ranks to a high degree, isolate the US imperialists and their henchmen, and spearhead the struggle at the cruellest enemy, US imperialism.

To support the Vietnamese and the other Indochinese peoples' patriotic war against the US has become the

key problem in the world peoples' struggle against the US aggressors. The world's peoples are centering their efforts on this question *to take united actions against the US imperialists* in very varied forms of struggle, from low to high, from local to global, from separate sections, branches, countries and regions (such as the Asian, African, and Latin American... regions) to the whole world.

The United Front of the Indochinese peoples against the US aggressors and the World Peoples' Front in support of the Vietnamese people against the US imperialists are important reinforcements to our people's resistance against US aggression, for national salvation.

We take this opportunity to express the heartfelt thanks of the Vietnamese people and the Viet Nam Fatherland Front to the peoples of the fraternal socialist countries, the Lao people, the Khmer people and the peoples in the rest of the world, including the progressive people in the United States, for their sympathy with and their great support and assistance to our people's patriotic war against US aggression.

In short, the anti-US National United Front in Viet Nam, the anti-US United Front of the Indochinese peoples, and the World Peoples' Front against US imperialism, to defend national independence and peace, are three layers of a front encircling and defeating aggressive US imperialism. With the formation of such a three-layered front, the US aggressors will be hemmed in by ring after ring of steel net and cannot escape total failure.

II. ROLE AND CHARACTER OF THE NATIONAL UNITED FRONT IN THE PRESENT STAGE OF THE REVOLUTION

The victory of the Vietnamese revolution over the past 40 years has been decided by many factors, first and foremost, the leadership of a genuine Marxist-Leninist Party. Other factors include the worker-peasant alliance, the National United Front against imperialism, the people's armed forces, international solidarity, etc.

Never in the history of the Vietnamese revolution since 1930 has there been a period without a national united front organization. The glorious success of the August 1945 Revolution which gave birth to the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and opened an era of national independence, freedom and happiness, is associated with the *Viet Minh Front*. The Viet Minh was credited with the continuation of the revolutionary work prepared by the *Anti-Imperialist League* (1930—1936) and the *Indochinese Democratic Front* (1936—1939). Indeed, the success of the August Revolution would have been impossible without two big rehearsals that were the Nghe-Tinh Soviet movement (1930—1931) and the democratic movement (1936—1939) in which the Anti-imperialist League and the Indochinese Democratic Front successively played their important role. Carrying on the revolutionary work of the Viet Minh Front, the *Lien Viet Front* contributed to bringing the resistance war against the French colonialists to great victory. Furthering the work of the Lien Viet, the *Viet Nam Fatherland Front* founded in September 1955 set to

itself the noble mission of uniting the people of all strata in liberated North Viet Nam to constitute a prop for the people's democratic power to successfully promote the socialist revolution in North Viet Nam and together with the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation, to bring the patriotic war against US aggression to complete victory. Born and growing up in the revolutionary storm, the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation has been mobilizing the people of all strata, organizing the patriotic resistance war against US aggression and building the revolutionary power in the liberated areas of South Viet Nam.

It is clear that the National United Front against imperialism has played an extremely important role in the revolutionary history of our country. This is *one of the factors of victory of the revolution, an indispensable political weapon* for our people to bring into play their combined strength in the struggle against the enemy of the nation to conquer independence, freedom, and build a new life.

As is well known, Viet Nam is neither a big nor a populated country. Through thousands of years of glorious history, our people have had to fight continually against foreign aggression for survival and development. Hence their inborn sense of unity. Many a time, in face of foreign invasion our people have put aside class antagonisms at home to concentrate on checking and driving out the aggressors.

In the process of their protracted struggle, *unity in combat has become a very precious and very solid tradition of our people.*

In invading our country, the imperialists have trampled upon our land and oppressed our entire people. But a people who have a history of over four thousand years of building and defending their country in extremely hard and difficult conditions, who deeply realize what independence and freedom mean and what the shame of slavery is, who deeply know that "unity means life and division means death", have fought shoulder to shoulder, millions as one, for their independence and freedom, "determined not to lose their independence, not to be enslaved!" (1)

Not only did the rotten and outdated feudal regime ruthlessly oppress and exploit our peasants, it also gravely hindered the evolution of our nation. Thus it became the common enemy of our entire nation, and not our peasants alone. When they invaded our country, the French imperialists closely colluded with a section of the feudal landlord class, then with all the feudal landlords whom they relied on as a prop for their rule. Our people were bent under the double yoke of imperialist and feudalist oppression and exploitation. *This was an objective basis for a broad National United Front against the imperialist aggressors and their henchmen, the traitors.*

At present, in South Viet Nam the US imperialists and their lackeys, the most reactionary capitalist compradors and feudal landlords represented by Nguyen Van Thieu, with their extremely destructive and fierce

(1) Ho Chi Minh: Appeal to the entire people to wage a resistance war (December 20, 1946).

war against our people, have strongly roused the national spirit of our people of all strata including those functionaries of the puppet administration who are in touch with the popular masses and still retain some conscience as citizens of an independent country. At the end of their tether, the more frenziedly the US-Thieu react, the greater possibility will be created for the broadening of the National United Front or for broad united action of all the social forces, political parties, groups and individuals who have more or less contradictions with the US imperialist aggressors and their flunkys.

To turn the above-mentioned possibility into reality, and ensure a broad rally of social classes, strata of people into the National United Front, the decisive factor is *to secure the leadership of the working class on the basis of the worker-peasant alliance.*

That the *working class leads the Front* is an objective necessity of the revolution in our country and in many other countries in the present era. It is neither by any wishful thinking that the history of the Vietnamese revolution has entrusted the working class of our country with the mission of leading the national people's democratic revolution. We all know the question of nation and democracy always has a specific class content. Only the class *that best represents the national and democratic interests of the popular masses* can lead the national people's democratic revolution and the National Democratic United Front.

As evidenced by world history, in its nascent stage within the feudal society, the bourgeoisie represented

the national and democratic interests of the popular masses. It was then the only class capable of leading the revolution to overthrow the feudal regime, achieve national unity and bourgeois democracy, and to head an anti-feudal front rallying all social classes and strata of the people. This was borne out by the bourgeois democratic revolution in France at the end of the 18th century.

But with the advent of imperialism and especially after the Russian October Revolution which opened a new era in human history, the era of transition from capitalism to socialism on a world scale, the situation has completely changed. *The working class has become the central figure of the new era.* It is the most representative class of the national and democratic interests, the only class able to lead the national democratic revolution to complete victory. Thus, only the working class can lead the National United Front against the imperialists and their stooges. The victory of the former bourgeois democratic revolution led by the bourgeoisie meant victory of capitalism over the feudal regime, victory of bourgeois nationalism and bourgeois democracy. In the present era, the victory of a national people's democratic revolution led by the working class means not only victory of a nation over imperialism and victory of a people over the feudal regime, but also the initial victory of the working class over capitalism, the prerequisite of a socialist revolution, of the founding of a socialist nation and the formation of a socialist democracy. In the present era, only by advancing to socialism can a genuine and thorough

solution be brought to the problems of national independence and democracy toward the people. *At present, national independence and people's democracy are inseparable from socialism.* The national people's democratic revolution is the prerequisite of the stage of transition to the socialist revolution. Therefore, right in the stage of the national people's democratic revolution, the National United Front must be led by the working class.

The working class leads the Front through its party. The working class party joins the Front on an equal footing with the friendly parties, and its leading role is recognized by the Front member organizations *on a voluntary basis.*

President Ho Chi Minh said :

" The Party cannot demand that the Front recognizes its leadership. It must instead show itself to be the most loyal, active and dedicated member of the Front. It is only through daily struggle and work, and only after the masses have recognized the correctness of the policies and the leading capacity of the Party, that the Party can win the leading position." (1)

In the national people's democratic revolution of our country, the National United Front carries out two strategic tasks : opposing both imperialism and feudalism. The front must decidedly rely on the *worker-peasant alliance* because the working class and peasantry constitute the overwhelming majority of the

(1) Report to the Communist International (July 1939), signed Nguyen Ai Quoc.

people and were, under the old regime, the most heavily oppressed and exploited and most revolutionary classes. Without a worker-peasant alliance it is impossible to rally the other strata of the people to form a broad National United Front. Indeed, the establishment of the worker-peasant alliance has enabled the working class to firmly grasp the leadership of the Front.

It is precisely because it could not solve the peasant question, which is the essence of the national question, and the land question, which is the basic content of the democratic revolution, that the Vietnamese national bourgeoisie could not unite with the peasantry who forms 90 per cent of the population, could not set up a National United Front and could not lead the national and democratic revolution. On the contrary, by correctly solving the peasant question, holding high the banner of *national independence* and of *land-to-the-tiller* in the national people's democratic revolution, the working class has succeeded in rallying broad masses of the peasantry, materializing the worker-peasant alliance, thereby creating the basis for a great national unity in the National United Front. To develop and consolidate the National United Front essentially means to unceasingly strengthen the worker-peasant alliance under the leadership of the working class.

To stress the necessity of strengthening the worker-peasant alliance is not to deny the necessity of unceasingly broadening the Front. On the contrary, *the Front can only be broadened and strengthened when it relies firmly on the worker-peasant alliance.* On the other hand, to stress the necessity of broadening the Front is not

to deny the necessity of strengthening the worker-peasant alliance, because *the more the Front is broadened and consolidated, the stronger the worker-peasant alliance is.*

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Over the past ten years, our North Viet Nam society has undergone very deep changes. What are the most typical features of these changes? *They are the new economy, the new political regime and the new man that are being built and fostered step by step.* This is the combined result of three revolutions simultaneously carried out under the people's democratic dictatorship which assumes the task of proletarian dictatorship: the revolution in production relations, the technical revolution, and the ideological and cultural revolution, with the technical revolution as the key. The aim of these revolutions is to take North Viet Nam to socialism, develop its economic and military potentials and secure total victory over the US aggressors and their henchmen.

Naturally, the above changes have been reflected in the National United Front, providing it with new elements:

First of all, fundamental changes have been recorded *in the basis and composition of the Front.* In the past, the basis of the Front was the alliance between the working class and the peasantry conceived as individual farmers.

At present, we have the same worker-peasant alliance, but it is the alliance between a mature and strong working class which is leading the socialist state and a

collective peasantry organized in agricultural co-operatives. In the past, intellectuals adhering to the Front were but a minority left behind by the old society. At present, they form a fast developing and maturing contingent of new, socialist intellectuals of worker-peasant origin. In the past, the classes of exploiters were also represented in the Front. At present, all the classes of exploiters have been abolished; the former members of these classes are in the process of ideological remoulding and in fact many of them are directly engaged in productive labour (1). In the early years of our National United Front, the majority and minority nationalities were united against imperialism. Within the nationalities, however, the feudal landlords colluded with the imperialists to sow enmity and mutual prejudice among the various nationalities. At present, in North Viet Nam, the imperialists and feudal landlords have been overthrown, the people of the various nationalities are bound together by mutual affection, have discarded racial prejudices and united ever more closely within the Viet Nam Fatherland Front to fight the US imperialists and their flunkies and build a new life.

With these changes, the *Viet Nam Fatherland Front* has, in essence, become a *front of manual and brain workers*.

Alongside the advance of the revolution, *the character of the Front has also undergone a new development*. In

(1) Owing to short comings in economic management, socialist jurisdiction and political and ideological education, there are at present in North Viet Nam's countryside and towns some people engaged in exploitation under given forms, but in small extent and numbers.

the past, the National United Front was an anti-imperialist and anti-feudalist front, a front of patriots and other people who stood for a democratic regime. Since North Viet Nam entered the period of transition to socialism, our National United Front has become a *patriotic and socialist-oriented front* (embracing the socialist production relations, socialist democracy, socialist labour and morality...). Love of country and socialism has become a noble ideal and profound sentiment of all the Viet Nam Fatherland Front members at present. During the resistance war against the French colonialists, the coalition character of the Front was shown in the negotiations to reconcile the interests of the various members of the Front on the basis of the fundamental interest—to achieve national independence and people's democracy. At present, the coalition character of the Front is manifested in the fact that its members hold discussions and negotiations with a view not only to winning and defending national independence but also to building the Homeland into a socialist country with modern industry and agriculture, advanced culture and science, on the basis of the collective ownership of the main production means and the socialist production relations which preclude the exploitation of man by man.

As the Front character changes, *the Front work is no longer exactly the same as in the past*. In the stage of the national people's democratic revolution in our country, the Front's line was mainly reflected in these problems: gaining back power and building a democratic republican regime, waging a resistance war against foreign aggression and carrying out land reform.

In the present stage of the revolution, the Front's line is reflected not only in the policies regarding the people's democratic power which assumes the historical task of proletarian dictatorship and the resistance against US aggression, for national salvation but also in the transformation of the production relations, the technical revolution, the ideological and cultural revolution, the training and fostering of the new, socialist man... Without this understanding, the Front work—from uniting the various strata of the people, nationalities, religious communities, Buddhists and Catholics, to helping those in the former classes of exploiters to remould themselves into toiling people, from selecting and recommending apt candidates for election to the National Assembly and People's Councils at all levels to mobilizing the masses of the people into patriotic emulation to fulfil the State plans—will not meet the requirements of the revolution in the present stage.

The National United Front is an organization of a double character: *it is a class coalition organization and at the same time a mass organization*. The Front comprises many political parties, mass organizations, classes, social strata and personalities. Among the Front members, oneness of mind is fundamental, but differences of opinion on specific problems of the revolution at given times and in given places are unavoidable. To resolve divergences within its ranks, the Front bases its style of work on five principles: *negotiation, democracy, united action, mutual respect and sincere co-operation, and mutual assistance to progress together*. When facing problems concerning the nation's destiny or the people's life, the Front members frankly express their

opinions, freely discuss them, and make outspoken criticism and self-criticism to help one another discern the right from the wrong, reach unanimity in appraising the situation then voluntarily join united actions in the spirit of the common programme. Coercion and authoritarianism are absolutely forbidden.

Over the recent years, due to profound changes as to the composition, character and work of the Front, its above-mentioned double character bears a new content: as oneness of mind increases the former five principles still guide the Front work, but their spirit and content need to be developed and amended to suit the new situation. Only in this way can these principles contribute most actively to the *consolidation, strengthening and development of the Front*.

I propose that after this Congress we will analyse and study the changes in the Viet Nam Fatherland Front itself, thence to draw experiences for its practical work. This done, the Front's orientation will be clearer, more concrete and realistic.

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Over the recent years, when socialist construction was recording great successes, and political and moral unity was becoming the basic aspect of society in North Viet Nam, some people thought that the Front's scope of activity would be narrowed down, its role downgraded, and some even thought that the Front itself was no longer necessary. This is wrong.

Lenin said :

" The dictatorship of the proletariat is a specific form of class alliance between the proletariat, the vanguard of the working people, and the numerous non-proletarian strata of the working people (petty bourgeoisie, small proprietors, the peasantry, the intelligentsia, etc.), or the majority of these strata, an alliance against capital, an alliance whose aim is the complete overthrow of capital, complete suppression of the resistance offered by the bourgeoisie as well as of attempts at restoration on its part, an alliance for the final establishment and consolidation of socialism." (1)

The further socialism advances, the broader and stronger the Front becomes. Because the more brilliant achievements are recorded by socialism — the best regime so far in human history — the greater its impact on the heart and mind of man and the greater its appeal, and it will win over the minds and hearts of millions upon millions of people and make more and more people adhere to socialism, to the National United Front.

Moreover, the socialism we are building in North Viet Nam is not an isolated undertaking by a single group, but a creative and self-conscious pursuit of tens of millions of toilers. *To bring about this creativity and self-consciousness, to mobilize the boundless force of the labouring masses for the noble cause of successfully building socialism, we must pay attention to the mobilization of the popular masses and to the Front*

(1) V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 29, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1965, p. 381.

work. Our Party is deeply imbued with Lenin's teaching about the danger of a ruling party becoming, through lack of self-schooling, bureaucratic, divorced from the masses, autocratic, domineering, indulging in wishful thinking and self-complacency, thus running counter to the masses' interests. Our Party always condemns and combats all manifestations of bureaucracy and authoritarianism. This, in essence, is a struggle against the lack of attention to mass work, to the mobilization of the masses, to the Front work.

In the society of North Viet Nam at present, the exploiter classes have been abolished but there still remain different classes and labouring strata, the working class, the collective peasantry and the socialist intellectuals. There are still divergences between the working class and the collective peasantry, as well as between manual workers and brain workers. It will be a long time before our society becomes a classless, communist society. The socialist transformation of agriculture, handicraft and private capitalist industry and trade have recorded decisive success but it takes time to help those in the former exploiter classes become genuine socialist labourers or small producers become collective labourers with a high sense of discipline and technical knowhow. We are advancing from a small and scattered production direct to socialism without going through the stage of capitalist development. The material and technical bases of socialism in our country are still poor. Each class or social stratum in North Viet Nam still retains many ideological vestiges of the old society. The Front still

has to mobilize, persuade and educate these classes and social strata to implement strictly all the lines, policies and laws laid down by the Viet Nam Workers' Party and the State of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, encourage them to emulate one another in production and thrift, and contribute actively to overfulfilling the State plans. The Viet Nam Fatherland Front is a necessary alliance between different classes and labouring strata to build a new society. The struggle between the two paths — socialist and capitalist — to definitely solve the question "who will win" is going on. The Front and its component members must continue their active role in this struggle. Only by so doing can we achieve socialist revolution in North Viet Nam, a most thorough and profound revolution, and therefore a most difficult and complicated one.

Besides their task of socialist revolution and construction, the people in North Viet Nam must stand shoulder to shoulder with their countrymen in South Viet Nam who are fighting US aggression to liberate the South, defend the North, and advance to the peaceful reunification of the country. The Viet Nam Fatherland Front must carry on its active role in uniting the entire people and mobilizing their forces to back the heroic great front, assume the task of all-people national defence, honourably fulfil their task of fighting and serving the fight, and strictly implement the policies for the rear: toward the families of army men, of those killed in action, of disabled and sick servicemen.

Now more than ever before stands out the special importance of the National United Front against US

aggression in Viet Nam and the Indochinese Peoples' Front against the US imperialist aggressors. Our more than 20 million countrymen in the North are united in the *Viet Nam Fatherland Front*, standing shoulder to shoulder with our 17 million countrymen in the South united in the *South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation* and the *Viet Nam Alliance of National Democratic and Peace Forces*. Our people throughout the country are standing shoulder to shoulder with the Lao people united in the *Lao Patriotic Front* and the Khmer people united in the *National United Front of Kampuchea* to wage a sacred patriotic war against their common enemy, the US imperialist aggressors, and their henchmen in each Indochinese country. We must bring into full play all the potential forces of our nation, closely co-ordinate the greatest efforts of the people in both the North and the South, increase solidarity and mutual assistance with the fraternal Lao and Khmer peoples, win more sympathy, support and assistance from the peoples of the socialist countries and people all over the world. This is a firm guarantee for the final victory of our people's resistance war for national salvation against US aggression.

The indispensable role of the National United Front is also determined by another important task: the coexistence and long-term co-operation between the Viet Nam Workers' Party and the friendly parties — the Viet Nam Democratic Party and the Viet Nam Socialist Party — to fulfil our people's revolutionary tasks throughout the country.

The above-mentioned elaboration not only explains why the Front is indispensable, but also shows the

necessity of unceasingly strengthening and broadening the Front in the context of the revolution in our country at present.

III. ON THE IMMEDIATE TASKS AND WORKS OF THE VIET NAM FATHERLAND FRONT

We fully agree with the delegates on the immediate tasks and works laid down in the political report of the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Fatherland Front submitted to the Congress by Comrade Hoang Quoc Viet, its Presidium member.

About the overall task of the Front, the report pointed out :

“ Considering the present requirements and tasks of the revolution and the Programme of the Viet Nam Fatherland Front, the Front sets to itself the task in the coming period *to strive under the leadership of the Viet Nam Workers' Party and on the basis of the worker-peasant alliance, to strengthen the unity of the people of various strata, democratic political parties, mass organizations, nationalities, religious communities and patriotic personalities, constantly strengthen and broaden national unity, uphold national heroism, vigorously promote the sense of being collective masters and the revolutionary ardour of the people, mobilize them into a patriotic emulation to resolutely and completely defeat the US aggressors and their henchmen, and successfully build socialism to liberate the South, defend the North and proceed to*

the peaceful reunification of the country, and build a peaceful, reunified, independent, democratic and prosperous Viet Nam."

The concrete tasks and works of the Viet Nam Fatherland Front as defined in the report are also very adequate:

"1 — To strengthen unity, encourage the entire people to bring into full play their revolutionary heroism, their determination to fight and to win, to persevere in and step up their resistance against US aggression, for national salvation, till complete victory.

2 — To stimulate all strata of the people to actively engage in productive labour, continue to push forward the national economy, and take socialist construction a new step forward.

3 — To mobilize and educate the people to actively participate in building and consolidating the people's power, promote socialist democracy and strengthen people's democratic dictatorship.

4 — To actively take part in building a new culture and a new type of man.

5 — To enhance solidarity and friendship between our people and the world's peoples."

Our Party pledges to stand shoulder to shoulder with the friendly Parties, mass organizations and personalities in the Front, and to strive to fulfil these tasks and works.

Hereafter, I would like to stress some immediate tasks and works of the Viet Nam Fatherland Front and present a few reflections on the Front work and mass work.

The heavy and most glorious task of our people at present is to fight the US aggressors till complete victory and build socialism successfully.

Our fight against US aggression, for national salvation, is the most ruthless self-defence war in the Vietnamese nation's history of resistance against foreign aggression. At present, fighting US aggression and saving the country is the foremost task of our people. The 19th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Workers' Party clearly pointed out:

"We must mobilize the greatest efforts of the entire Party, army and people in both zones of our country, strive to fulfil President Ho Chi Minh's sacred Testament, persevere in and push ahead our resistance war, enhance our determination to fight and to win, march toward complete victory, liberate the South, defend and build the socialist North, and advance to the peaceful reunification of our country while discharging our internationalist duty."

The task of fighting US aggression is very glorious but also very heavy. To fulfil this task at a time when the US imperialists and their stooges suffer setback upon setback on all theatres of operations, we must show high determination. Meanwhile, we must turn this determination into one of our entire army and people.

The Front committees at all levels and Front member organizations must co-operate with the administration to help everybody fully understand the line and policy of *persistent resistance against US aggression*

for national salvation, till complete victory, clearly realize his responsibility, heighten his vigilance, promote revolutionary heroism, ready himself to fight and fight well, smash all the military ventures of the US imperialists and their henchmen, with the determination to fulfil the duty of the great rear toward the great front.

The resistance against US aggression is a task of the entire people. The Front committees at all levels and Front member organizations must help our people fully grasp this point, so that everybody discharges well this task; mobilize those of service age to enthusiastically join the people's armed forces; mobilize the youth to enlist so as to wipe out the invaders and the traitors and avenge their countrymen.

"Nothing is more precious than independence and freedom" (1). Our people are performing two strategic tasks: to fight US aggression and build socialism. If we do not fight and defeat the US aggressors, they will not leave us alone to successfully build socialism. On the other hand, if we do not "strive to rehabilitate and develop our economy, develop our culture, maintain public order and security, strengthen the North in all spheres, closely combine the building of economy with the strengthening of national defence, and speed up socialist construction" (2), then we cannot provide all round support for the fighting front. The two fronts of our struggle — combat and production — are closely related.

(1) Ho Chi Minh: Appeal to the people on July 20, 1965.

(2) Resolution of the 19th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Workers' Party.

In order to fulfil the recruitment task, the law on military duty and other policies and undertakings on this matter must be strictly implemented. We must mobilize our manpower and wealth to supply the fighting front. If the rear is firm, and supplies the front in time and adequately, the latter will always be in good shape, fight hard and win great victories.

Moreover, we must strictly implement the policies on the rear already promulgated with regard to the families of the army men, of those who have given their lives for the Fatherland and of disabled and sick soldiers... The Front committees at all levels and Front member organizations should contribute to the implementation of these policies and help the administration implement them, at the same time help find out inadequacies and irrationalities for amendment and readjustment. The policies on the rear and of mutual assistance will greatly affect recruitment work and the fighting spirit of our people's armed forces.

Socialist revolution is the most radical and the most thorough revolution in the history of human society. It not only builds socialist production relations which are completely new ones, but on the basis of these new production relations it carries out the scientific and technical revolution to develop production forces and achieve such a labour productivity as was never before seen in history, and carries out the cultural and ideological revolution to build a new type of man who loves his country and socialism, works with energy, a sense of organization and discipline, technical skill

and high zeal in the protection of public property. To this end, it is necessary to strengthen people's democratic dictatorship, institute socialist legislation to defend socialism, prevent and punish counter-revolutionary acts and at the same time promote the people's right as collective masters, and stimulate their spirit of creative labour.

In order to enhance the political and moral unity in North Viet Nam's society, it is necessary to continue to perseveringly transform those belonging to former exploiter classes into genuine working people; to transform tens of millions of unorganized and scattered small-producers into collective socialist labourers; to transform intellectuals of the old society into a new intelligentsia imbued with Marxism-Leninism and maintaining close ties with the worker and peasant masses, and at the same time train a new contingent of intellectuals of worker and peasant stock absolutely loyal to socialism. In short, it is necessary to help the non-proletarian strata remould themselves according to the socialist ideology of the proletariat. Of course, *in this process of transformation the proletariat also has to transform itself* to give up the bad habits it has long inherited from the old society of private ownership and exploitation.

In transforming and developing the national economy and building a new political regime and a new type of man, the Viet Nam Fatherland Front plays a very important role.

In order to promote their active role in socialist construction, the Front committees and member organizations have to mobilize the masses to carry out

patriotic emulation, fulfil the State plan, raise labour productivity, produce abundant wealth for society, in order to perform their duty toward the State, contribute to socialist accumulation so as to enlarge production and gradually improve the people's living standard. At the same time, they have to mobilize the masses to take part in economic management and give full scope to their right as collective masters.

How to fulfil well the tasks and works of the Front?

I propose that after this Congress of the Viet Nam Fatherland Front, the provinces and cities hold a Congress of their own (wherever a congress has already been organized, a meeting of the Front Committee can be convened) to make known the work and results of this Congress, and at the same time to apply its resolutions to the specific conditions of their region.

The main documents of this Congress have to be printed and widely disseminated among the member organizations of the Viet Nam Fatherland Front and the broad masses of the people. It is necessary to summarily vulgarize the results of the National Congress and Regional Congresses during popular meetings, mobilize the masses outside the Front organizations along with its (collective and individual) members to contribute actively to implementing the tasks and works of the Viet Nam Fatherland Front.

With regard to the matters which need and can get united action from the Front member organizations for their realization like the launching of a patriotic emulation drive to achieve the State plan, recruitment work, implementation of policies concerning the rear area,

choice of candidates to the National Assembly and People's Councils at all levels, maintenance of order and security, implementation of State laws, campaign for sanitation and disease prevention, establishment of North-South brotherhood, etc., the Front committees from the central level down have to convene their members to discuss a plan for *united action* in order to ensure the fulfilment of the tasks and works in a centralized and satisfactory manner.

Regarding matters that can be inserted in the work plan of the Front member organizations for routine implementation, there is no need to convene the Front committees.

In their ordinary meetings, the Front committees at all levels should review the implementation of the resolutions of the national and regional congresses of the Front and decided on necessary measures to step up the fulfilment of their work or set right the deviations if any.

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A problem now has to be solved. After hearing the letter of greetings from the Viet Nam Workers' Party Central Committee and the political report by the Front Central Committee, many delegates remarked that a number of Party executives and cadres did not pay due attention to the Front work according to the spirit of the Party Central Committee; that the tasks laid down in the political report are very correct and

very heavy but how can they be fully and satisfactorily implemented when regional Party executives generally give neither close guidance nor due heed to Front work and show some tendency to underestimate the Front and its work.

This is a well-founded worry and at the same time a constructive criticism.

The Viet Nam Workers' Party proceeds from the view-point that *revolution is the cause of the masses under the Party's leadership*. Applying Marxism Leninism to the specific conditions of Viet Nam, the Party works out correct line and policies for the masses to follow. This is the most important factor to ensure the success of the revolution. But the revolution can succeed only when it is carried out by the masses consciously, voluntarily and enthusiastically. After correct line and policies are laid down, a most important and decisive question is to popularize them among the masses, to explain, persuade, organize and lead them to fully implement these line and policies. In the process of application, the Party will listen to the masses' opinions, learn from their creative experiences, check on its line, policies and mottoes, thereby setting straight in time the shortcomings and making up for inadequacies, developing and improving the scientific character of its line and policies. We do not assert that all the Party's line and policies are comprehensive and correct right at the outset. Life is developing constantly, so is the revolutionary movement. Moreover, even the most seasoned revolutionary party cannot always avoid wishful thinking in given circumstances. Therefore, the

Party should learn from, and sum up, the rich experiences of the masses through their activities to complement and readjust its own line and policies.

Marxism-Leninism has taught that the Party and its cadres must always care for the interests of the masses and get to know their opinions and aspirations. Only then can it truly reflect the profound interests of the broad masses of the people in its line and policies, put forward adequate mottoes to mobilize the masses, bring them to its combat positions, and help them *realize more and more clearly through their experience that the Party's line and policies are correct*, thereby enhancing their confidence in the Party and inspiring them to participate more actively in the revolution under the Party's leadership and strive to carry out its line and policies.

This explains why right at its founding the Indochinese Communist Party (now the Viet Nam Workers' Party) held that Party cadres must mingle with the masses, especially the worker and peasant masses; in the towns and industrial areas, a number of cadres must "proletarianize themselves" by working in industrial enterprises in order to mobilize the proletarian masses. Those cadres had the task of inquiring into the masses' interests and aspirations, single out good people and impart the Party's line and policies to them, organize them into illegal, semi-legal and legal bodies, and lead the masses to struggle for their daily interests, then through many forms and periods of struggle proceed to a general armed uprising to seize power throughout the country.

In this process of mobilizing the masses, such mass organizations as trade-unions, peasant associations, youth organizations, women's unions, etc., will be formed and developed, some patriotic and democratic political parties will be founded. Together with the Party these organizations form the National United Front under the Party's leadership.

Once power has been seized, the Party must associate itself even more closely with the masses, study their aspirations and capabilities, lead them — but not tail after them — and at the same time attentively learn from the experience of the masses — both Party members and non-Party persons — in order to enrich its knowledge and experience.

Party cadres must wholeheartedly serve the people and place themselves under the latter's control.

We should not think that with the State apparatus and law in hand, the Party only needs give orders to the masses and all will be smooth sailing. That is bureaucracy and authoritarianism. Any line and policy, including the Constitution and law, statute and regulation, that is not popularized and patiently explained to the masses so that they may implement them with full consciousness of their actions and on the basis of their voluntariness, will remain on paper.

The people's revolutionary power can use two methods — persuasion or coercion —, but in general persuasion is the main method. How to persuade the masses to carry out the line and policies of the Party and the State? Since the Party is in power, its line and policies concerning the vital interests of the entire

people must be turned into State decisions to be implemented by them. The Party leads the administration but does not act in its place. However, to avoid bureaucratism and authoritarianism the administration has to rely on the Front and its member organizations; to use them to popularize the line and policies of the Party and State among the people, help them thoroughly grasp these policies and mobilize them to carry them out enthusiastically. Each Front organization must actively mobilize all strata of the people under its responsibility (workers in the trade-unions, peasants in the agricultural co-operatives, youths in the Ho Chi Minh Labour Youth Union, women in the Viet Nam Women's Union, etc.). The results will be greater if beside works specific for each stratum other works are undertaken that require united action between various organizations and strata.

For these reasons, the Front work is also a mass work. To underestimate the Front work is also to belittle the mass work, and to neglect mass work is not to believe in the masses, to underestimate their role in the revolution and to disregard the people's right to be collective masters.

President Ho Chi Minh said:

"The policy of the Front is a very important one. The work of the Front is very important in the revolutionary work as a whole..." (1)

The resolution of the 19th Plenum of the Party's Central Committee pointed out:

(1) Ho Chi Minh: Talk at a course for Front Cadres (August 1962).

"The Viet Nam Fatherland Front which represents our people's political and moral unity is the united force for action of the political parties and organizations within the Front that are holding aloft the heroic determination of our nation in staunchly fighting US aggression, for national salvation, and in building socialism with industry and thrift. Under our Party's leadership, the Front unceasingly struggles for the great national unity, for a peaceful, reunified, independent, democratic and prosperous Viet Nam."

The resolution of the Political Bureau on the campaign to enhance the quality of Party members and admit new members of the Ho Chi Minh drive (March 6, 1970) clearly stated:

"To respect and promote the people's right to be collective masters in State management, economic management, life management according to set policies and regulations, to satisfactorily mobilize the masses; to help them exercise regular control on democracy; to struggle against practices of bureaucratism, authoritarianism, arrogance, abuse of power or violation of State laws and the people's right to be master.

On the basis of these views and directives, the Front committees at all levels and the leaderships of the mass organizations have to be strengthened and stabilized. Those bodies have to clearly realize their responsibility toward the Party Central Committee and lower levels: to win over the masses, mobilize and rally them around the Party, organize them, and bring about united action between the Front member organizations to implement the line and policies of the Party and the State.

The Front committees elected by the Front Congresses at all levels must have "representative character and the ability to rally broad masses of the people, and bring about unity of mind and action between the Front organizations".

The Party committees and administrative bodies at all levels should pay more attention to Front work and mass work, provide cadres and means for the organization in charge of these works to function, hear periodical reports from them and give them directives. Only by so doing can they give full scope to their role.

As for the cadres in charge of Front work, they have to rid themselves of self-underestimation, enhance their sense of responsibility toward the Party and the people, strive to overcome difficulties, fulfil their tasks with zeal, initiative and creativity.

It is our hope that this Congress of the Viet Nam Fatherland Front will mark a step forward in Front work and mass work.

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Ours is a very heroic nation. Our people have a long-standing tradition of unity and fighting for independence and freedom.

The Viet Nam Workers' Party, which is responsible for leading the Vietnamese revolution, is a Marxist-Leninist party with a correct, independent and sovereign line. We have a steady worker-peasant alliance. Our National United Front is a steel rampart to protect our Homeland. Our people's armed forces are valiant, resourceful, well equipped and good at people's war.

Ours is a just cause. Our people are fighting US aggression and building socialism at the same time. To fight against US aggression we combine three forms of struggle: military, political and diplomatic. We firmly abide by the principle of protracted struggle and self-reliance; at the same time, we enjoy the sympathy, support and active help of the fraternal socialist countries and the people throughout the world.

Therefore, we will certainly smash the US aggressors and their lackeys, liberate the South, defend and build the socialist North, advance to the peaceful reunification of our country, and achieve a peaceful, reunified, independent, democratic and prosperous Viet Nam.

Let us strive to further strengthen our solidarity in our country, in Indochina and in the world. Still greater and more glorious victories are awaiting us.

I wish the Third Congress of the Viet Nam Fatherland Front fine success!

I wish you comrades and friends good health and fine success in your work!

CLOSING SPEECH

BY PRESIDENT TON DUC THANG

After four days of diligent work, the Congress of our Front, a fine image of our national unity, has been crowned with success.

On behalf of the Congress, I thank the delegates of the Party's Central Committee, the National Assembly and Government for having attended our Congress and for their invaluable suggestions.

I also thank the political parties, mass organizations, the various strata of our people in the country and overseas Vietnamese for having sent messages, letters or deputations to greet the Congress.

I warmly welcome the delegation of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation and the delegation of the Viet Nam Alliance of National, Democratic and Peace Forces, coming from the frontline of our Fatherland, bringing to our Congress the warm sentiments and the staunch fighting spirit of our countrymen and combatants in the blood-sealed South.

On this occasion, I sincerely thank Samdech Head of State Norodom Sihanouk, Chairman of the National United Front of Kampuchea, and Prince Souphanouvong, Chairman of the Lao Patriotic Front, for their messages of greetings to our Congress, expressing the militant solidarity among the peoples of the three Indochinese countries. I sincerely thank the fronts and many other mass organizations of the various socialist countries for having expressed their fraternal solidarity with our people.

I warmly welcome the various public offices, mass organizations, localities and the delegates, cadres and personnel for their active preparations and their contributions to the holding of the Congress, thus ensuring its success.

During the past four days, the Congress has heard the Political Report of the Central Committee of the Front, many other reports and speeches of various representatives of State organs, representatives of the various strata of the people, nationalities, religious communities and many personalities in the Front. The Congress has adopted important documents, elected a new Central Committee which symbolizes the great national unity of our people.

The voice of the Congress is the voice of the solidarity and unity of mind and the voice of determination to fight and to win of our entire people.

With the brilliant success of this Congress, the Viet Nam Fatherland Front has proved really worthy of

being a bloc of political and moral unity of our people, the force of united action of all political parties and all the members in the Front who are upholding the heroism of the Vietnamese nation, and staunchly resisting US aggression, for national salvation, and industriously and thriftily building socialism.

The success of this Congress has created more conditions for further strengthening national solidarity, enhancing the unity of mind and action with a view to the realization of the Political Program of the Viet Nam Fatherland Front and the ultimate desire of our venerated President Ho Chi Minh, namely to build a peaceful, reunified, independent, democratic and prosperous Viet Nam, making a worthy contribution to the world revolutionary cause. The success of the Congress has brought a new source of inspiration, confidence and pride to our people and combatants throughout the country, stimulating them to march forward vigorously to win still greater successes.

It is my hope that our delegates will report fully the results of the Front Congress to their mass organizations and the people in their localities, so as to impart to them the spirit of unity, enthusiasm, confidence and determination of our Congress. Let us stimulate our combatants and people to strive to strengthen their solidarity, zealously carry out the resolutions of the Congress, bring into play the spirit of dauntless struggle of the heroes and combatants who have fought and defeated the US imperialists, resolve

to take the resistance against US aggression, for national salvation and the building of socialism of our people steadily and powerfully to final victory.

With this determination, on behalf of the Presidium of the Congress, I declare the Third National Congress of the Viet Nam Fatherland Front closed. May the delegates enjoy the best of health and score more successes in their work.

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