

Pham Van Dong – Selected Writings (Revised Edition)

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Publishers note;

.. benefiting from the judicious leadership of a Party which knows how to apply Marxism-Leninism to its country in a creative way.

Excerpts from the Report to the Fourth Session of the First National Assembly, March 20, 1955

The aim of the Manila and Bangkok conferences was to build a machine of aggression and war for an offensive against the Vietnamese people, the DRVN, Cambodia and Laos and against China as well. p15

China is our next-door neighbour and through her we are connected with the countries in the camp of peace and democracy. We will progress rapidly with the fraternal help of the friendly nations. p19

Those who act against the people's will shall be overthrown, and those who act in line with the people's will shall win their support. p20

Excerpts from the Report to the Fifth Session of the First National Assembly, September 15, 1955

This nation is determined to decide its own destiny; it neither recognises nor tolerates any foreign interference. All the issues of the Vietnamese nation must be settled by the Vietnamese people themselves through consultations and general consent and on the basis of common aspirations. p27

"In the South, to realize a reduction of land rent, carry out land reform through repurchase by the State, at a fair and reasonable price, of the land of landlords owning upward of a certain amount of land (which varies with the state of land holdings in each area) and distribute the repurchased land to the peasants." p29

The basic principles of these general elections are; free nationwide general elections through universal, equal, direct and secret suffrage. Universal suffrage means that all Vietnamese citizens, including military men, regardless of sex, nationality, social standing, occupation, financial situation, cultural standard, creed, political leaning, length of residence, etc are eligible to vote and to stand for election. Equal election means that each elector shall cast one vote and all the votes shall have equal value. Direct election means that the people shall directly elect their representatives to the National Assembly through no intermediary whatsoever. Secret election means secret balloting. All the above-mentioned things ensure that the general elections are totally free, without any intervention and pressure liable to influence the free choice of the voters.

As stipulated in Article 7 of the Final Declaration of the Geneva Conference, the general elections will be held under the control of an international commission for supervision and control comprising the delegates of India, Poland and Canada. pp30-31

It ushers in a period of political struggle, a very difficult, arduous and complex struggle, but one bound to be victorious and make our country a peaceful, reunified, independent, democratic, prosperous and strong one. p33

Excerpts from the Report to the Eleventh Session of the First National Assembly, December 23, 1959

These words give a clear and complete picture of the true colours of the present dictatorial ruling clique in South Viet Nam, lackeys to the US imperialists and representatives of the most reactionary pro-US forces of the feudalists and comprador bourgeoisie in South Viet Nam. p34

Excerpts from the Report to the Second Session of the Second National Assembly, April 12, 1961

The resolution also recognizes that the patriotic struggle in the South fully conforms to the Geneva Agreements and the resolution of the 15th session of the UN General Assembly concerning the abolition of colonialism in all its forms. pp48-49

To attain their dark goal the US imperialists stop at nothing, using all kinds of wicked and cruel tricks, military, political and economic, including deception and assassination Such is the national policy of the US. In the long run, US-style subversive activities are doomed to humiliating failure. Meanwhile, the just struggle of the people, the sacred struggle for the lofty rights and interests of the people and the nation, the struggle for the overthrow of the aggressors and the traitors, the patriotic struggle of our people in the South is bound to win glorious victory. pp 50-51

Everybody still remembers that this military alliance was set up under a policy worked out by the US imperialists right after the signing of the Geneva Agreements with a view to undermining the implementation of the said agreements. p54

Excerpts from the Report to the Sixth Session of the National Assembly, April 29, 1963

The Johnson-Ngo Dinh Diem joint communique of May 13, 1961

The Staley-Taylor Plan to "pacify South Viet Nam within 18 months" beginning mid-1961;

The establishment of the US military Command in Saigon headed by General Paul D Harkins on February 8, 1962....

The open letter sent by 62 American intellectuals and other personalities to US President Kennedy on March 1, 1963.... President Kennedy had admitted that he is in a tunnel with no end in sight!... This is the law governing the dialectic development of the war in South Viet Nam, and also the law governing the dialectic development of the world situation in our time, the time of transition from capitalism to socialism, the time of disintegration of imperialism. pp57-58

Notes;

In the middle of January 1960, mis movement broke out simultaneously in the three districts of Minh Tan, Mo Cay and Thanh Phu, smashing the coercive apparatus of the quislings and liberating many villages. It was in this movement that the first platoon of the liberation armed forces of Ben Tre was set up and together with the people carried out political actions and waged people's war to defend their right to be the masters and develop the successes gained.

The concerted uprisings which spread throughout South Viet Nam shook to its roots the enemy's rural administration and thwarted Eisenhower's neo-colonialist policy carried out through the agency of the puppet Ngo Dinh Diem. With this movement, the revolution in the South shifted to a new strategy, the strategy of uninterrupted offensive. p399

3 - The Johnson-Ngo Dinh Diem Joint Communique, signed on May 13. 1961 in Saigon, openly declared that the U.S. would step up aggression against South Viet Nam, the U.S. would increase aid for Ngo Dinh Diem to strengthen his regular forces; it would organize, equip and train the security and *dan ve* forces for Diem, send in more military advisers to train the puppet army with a view to stemming the revolutionary movement in the South; send in more high-ranking experts to make a survey of natural resources in the South for military purposes... This communique also called on other countries to help Ngo Dinh Diem to repress the South Viet Nam population.

4 - The Staley-Taylor Plan, elaborated after the Johnson-Ngo Dinh Diem joint communique was signed, provided for the "pacification" of the South in 18 months together with establishing bases for spying and commando activities in the North, then economic restoration and strengthening of the puppet armed forces in the South simultaneously with intensifying sabotage work in the North; and finally economic development in the South and offensive against the North.

In the first stage, the enemy took a series of measures including increase of army strength, improvement of equipment, and the "strategic hamlet" policy aimed at penning up the major part of the South Viet Nam population to bring them under control. But this plan was thwarted - our heroic people as soon as it began. p400

But they have got bogged down and suffered initial setbacks in their 'lightning war tactics Now they have to speak about a protracted war. p65

... the people's Revolutionary struggle is the decisive factor The more the imperialists rely on force and cruelty, the more united and resolute the people will grow and will certainly defeat them.... to isolate the fish from the water, then scoop the water and catch the fish But the American aggressive war has brought fish and water ever closer together. Wherever there is water, there is fish, wherever there are people, there are patriotic forces and the patriotic movement is surging like the high tide and will bury the US aggressors and their flunkies altogether. p67

On this occasion, the Vietnamese people express their profound gratitude to the peoples of the Soviet Union. China, Cuba and the other socialist countries, to the peoples of Indonesia, Algeria and other countries in the world for their wholehearted support of the South Vietnamese peoples' patriotic struggle...

... and demands that the Kennedy Government put an end to this "dirty and cruel war", an undeclared war running completely counter to the American people's interests. pp70-71

The 1954 Geneva Conference represented a great success of the Vietnamese people. These accords clearly laid down the indispensable provisions to end war and restore peace, and the indispensable provisions to consolidate peace and prevent the resumption of war, namely, those banning the introduction of weapons and military personnel from outside, the establishment of foreign military bases on Vietnamese territory, and the adherence to military alliances. p74

Excerpts from speech delivered at meeting commemorating the 19th Founding Anniversary of the DRVN, September 2, 1964

... the US imperialists groundlessly sent aircraft of the Seventh Fleet to launch surprise attacks on a number of places in North Viet Nam on August 5, 1964. p78

.... with regard to the North, they expected to intimidate our army and people, and threatened to destroy the fruits of our peaceful labour; with regard to the South, they wanted to boost up the morale of their agents and give them new strength to intensify the war of aggression; with regard to the world, by levelling slanderous charges against the DRVN, they wanted to escape isolation, to have a pretext to secure a UN intervention in Indochina, and to involve other countries in their war of aggression: in connection with the US internal problems, at a time when the presidential election campaign is in full swing, President Johnson committed that criminal act against North Viet Nam in an attempt to cope with his opponents who have been bitterly attacking his failures in South Viet Nam and Indochina. p79

Hammer or sickle in one hand, gun in the other, they stand shoulder to shoulder with the people's army and militia, ready to deliver telling blows to the enemy and to smash all acts of provocation and aggression. p81

Over the recent days, the fraternal socialist countries, and particularly China, our neighbour who is as closely related to us as the lips are to the teeth, have sternly condemned the US imperialists' act of aggression, and have expressed sympathy with and strong support for the correct stand and firm attitude of our Government and people. p85

This support imbued with proletarian internationalism has made our people realize deeply that one thousand million people of the socialist countries are standing by our side, ready to join us in the fight against the common enemy. p86

In the August 14 issue of the British weekly Tribune, US Senator Wayne Morse wrote: "We (i.e. the USA - Ed) have violated the Geneva Accords and the UN Charter time and again. We are pursuing neither law nor peace in Southeast Asia. We are not even pursuing freedom. We are maintaining a military dictatorship over the people of South Viet Nam, headed by an American puppet to whom we give the orders and who moves only under our orders. What is worse, we have publicly threatened war where no direct threat to American security is at stake... The day of the Westerner is finished in Asia." p87

Report to the Second Session of the Third National Assembly, April 8, 1965

However, only a few months after the proclamation of our independence, the Chiang Kai-shek militarist clique - a tool of the U.S. imperialists - entered North Viet Nam while the British imperialists stepped into South Viet Nam, paving the way for the French colonialists' comeback. p93

In 1949, the great People's Republic of China came into being. One year after, in 1950, the victorious campaign on the Viet Nam-China border broke the imperialists encirclement of the Vietnamese revolution and connected our country with the mighty socialist camp. p93

Over the past years, they have used most cruel means to raze villages to the ground, and destroy crops and vegetation: they have resorted to napalm bombs, toxic chemicals, and even poison gases to massacre our compatriots with Hitler-like savagery; p99

Revolution is the work of the masses. Once the masses have risen up, resolved to sacrifice everything and to defeat the enemy with a view to winning back the sacred rights of the country, the right to life and the dignity of human beings, once millions of people are imbued with such determination, they become an invincible force capable of crushing any enemy. p101

The correct land policy of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation, which safeguards the achievements of the revolution and the Resistance war and meets the basic interests of the peasant masses, has powerfully aroused millions of South Vietnamese to stand up and destroy the 'strategic hamlets'. p102

From a backward and dependent agrarian economy mainly based on small production, we are building an independent and self-supporting economy, and advancing by steady steps to socialism. We are striving to enhance all capabilities of the national economy and at the same time to make the most of the aid from the fraternal countries with a view to meeting the ever greater requirements of economic construction, improvement of the people's livelihood and strengthening of national defence. pp124-125

... great attention must be paid to securing the advance of the socialist revolution, adequately pursuing the construction of the material and technical basis of socialism, and firmly consolidating the socialist relations of production, in order to strengthen the defence of the North. p125

4 While endeavouring to meet the above-mentioned urgent requirements we must adequately pursue

the building of the material and technical basis of socialism, strengthen the work of basic survey, geological prospection, scientific research, training of cadres with a view to meeting the new requirements in conjunction with long-term ones. p126

6 Continued efforts must be made to steadily consolidate the socialist relations of production, and to ensure good management of the State-owned enterprises on the basis of the achievements of the "three 'for' and three 'against'" movement; particular attention must be paid to the consolidation of the agricultural cooperatives in the delta and in the highlands, to fishing and salt-making cooperatives in the coastal area; on that basis, to educate, organize and lead the masses in boosting production, fighting and making combat preparations actively fulfilling all tasks with the determination to win ever-bigger victories...

Thrift must be strictly put into practice in production, construction and consumption, corruption, waste and bureaucratism must be fought in all State-run economic branches, government services, agricultural cooperatives, and in the life and activities of everybody.

7 To fulfil the new tasks in the new situation, we must rely mainly on our own resources while doing our best to secure the sympathy and assistance of the world's peoples, first of all, of the fraternal socialist countries. pp126-127

Guiding principles

1. To work against time, to concentrate our forces so as to meet the most important and urgent requirements of the most essential branches and areas, to combine the immediate tasks of economic construction with those of - long-term development, to carry on and promote socialist industrialization in the North.
2. To combine the forces at central and regional levels: at the central level, attention must be paid to the strengthening of forces so as to meet the important requirements which cannot be met at the regional level. The various regions must rely mainly on their own resources and do their best to bring into play all capabilities with a view to meeting their own requirements. ...
4. The leadership should show initiative and diligence and make timely, practical and effective moves, thus bringing fully into play the role of the leading bodies and officials.
5. To enhance ideological work, to powerfully arouse the revolutionary ardour, combativeness and creative labour of the masses, to mobilize the cadres, labouring people and the whole people of North Viet Nam, to highlight the traditions of heroic struggle and industry, to heighten their sense of responsibility and discipline, to step up the emulation movement to redouble efforts, to hold the hammer or the plough in one hand and the rifle in the other, so that all branches, units and individuals may fulfil their tasks. pp129-130

Along with the task of determining and putting into execution the direction of economic construction in each area, care should be taken to ensure the unity and balance of the national economy, to abide by the principle of democratic centralism applied to economic and State management. p131

Strengthen Ideological and Organizational Work

Ideological work is of decisive importance to the fulfilment of the heavy and urgent tasks mentioned above and should take pride of place. p131

... their readiness to courageously endure hardships and make sacrifices, to overcome all difficulties and to fulfil any task whatever it may be; we should heighten their spirit of self-reliance: every

region, every branch, every unit and every individual must rely on their own strength and promote their capabilities to the fullest extent in order to fulfil their production and fighting duties; we should enhance their sense of discipline, their determination to implement with initiative, creativeness, diligence and seriousness all directives and orders of the competent authorities; we should enhance their revolutionary vigilance, and their sense of strict secrecy; we should overcome pacifism, desire for tranquillity, fear of sacrifice, difficulties and hardships; we should do away with the mentality of relying on outside assistance: subjectivism and underestimation of the enemy, lack of vigilance and combat-readiness, we must promote industry, thrift and a simple and healthy life.

....

We must work out and implement in an active and steady manner the necessary organizational measures designed to strengthen combativeness in all branches and at all levels. Our apparatus should not be cumbersome, it should be light but strong and effective; democratic centralism should be observed, and strict discipline enforced; close coordination of action between the various branches at all levels should be ensured; a diligent and practical style of work should be developed. pp132-133

The socialist regime in North Viet Nam will grow stronger and more consolidated in the process of production and struggle. p134

The socialist camp is the bulwark of world revolution and world peace, and a firm support for the national liberation forces. The great and brilliant successes scored by the peoples of the Soviet Union, China and the other socialist countries in the political, economic, cultural, scientific, technological, and national defence fields, constitute important contributions to the consolidation of the socialist camp and the strengthening of the revolutionary and peace forces. China's first successful nuclear test and the launching of the Soviet spaceship "Vostok-2" with a man stepping into outer space for the first time in history to carry out scientific observations, are remarkable achievements which bring great enthusiasm to the peoples of the whole world. p135

The peoples of the socialist countries, firmly united under the great banner of Marxism-Leninism, on the basis of the principles of proletarian internationalism, represent an invincible and indestructible force. p135

.. the peoples of many countries understand ever more clearly that violence by the masses is the only way to oppose violence by the imperialist aggressors. p136

The socialist countries should also do their utmost to support the newly independent countries in their struggle against colonialism, old and new, and its camouflaged forms. such as UN intervention. p144

In response to the warm feelings of the world's peoples, we will contribute all the more actively to the strengthening and expansion of the world peoples' front against the aggressive and war-seeking U.S. imperialists.

We will always struggle together with the peoples of the fraternal socialist countries for the consolidation of the unity of the socialist camp on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, in defence of the socialist camp and world peace, against the manoeuvres of U.S.-led imperialism.

We warmly hail the victory scored by the Chinese people and their Liberation Army in checking the provocative acts of the U.S. imperialists and the Chiang Kai-shek reactionary clique. We resolutely support the Chinese people's struggle for the liberation of Taiwan, an integral part of the territory of the People's Republic of China. p146

We resolutely support the Indonesian people who under the clear-sighted leadership of President Sukarno, are valiantly struggling to crush Malaysia, an offspring of U.S.-British imperialism; .. We warmly approve and support the decision taken by the Government of the Republic of Indonesia to withdraw from the UNO and the endeavours made by the Indonesian Government and people in the struggle to defend national independence and to build a self-supporting economy. pp148-149

Excerpts from the Report to the Third National Assembly, 3rd Session, April 16, 1966

They have failed because we command better weapons than theirs: people's war and people's armed forces. p170

In short, ideologically, politically, strategically and tactically, the South Vietnamese army and people hold absolute superiority. p170

The peasants who have received two million hectares of cultivated land are stepping up agricultural production in several of the richest rice-growing areas of South Viet Nam. They are doing their best to expand the cultivated areas, apply new techniques and increase the per hectare yield of rice and industrial crops. Besides agriculture, small industry and handicrafts have been restored step by step. A national economy including many branches is taking shape. The general education schools of the first and second levels (primary and junior secondary - Ed.) receive a total enrolment of half a million pupils. Tens of thousands of adults are attending complementary education schools. Each village has its infirmary and its maternity home. Damage resulting from natural calamities and enemy raids has been rapidly overcome, the people's material and cultural life improve substantially. p181

But what exploit at any. time can be -compared to that being performed by our army and people in the South in the patriotic struggle against American imperialism, on account of its great significance for the Vietnamese nation and the anti-U.S. struggle of the world's people. p184

The American ruling circles are still scheming to use the UN as a signboard to conceal their dark and criminal design. Once again we denounce their perfidious trick. The UN is not in the least entitled to interfere in the affairs of Viet Nam. p187

Report to the Third National Assembly, Fourth Session, May 24, 1968

The enemy's failure was due to our victory, the victory of a patriotic and just war bound to win in our time, the victory of a highly developed people's war in extremely rich and creative forms. It was due to the success of the Front's clever conduct of the war both in strategy and in tactics, keeping the initiative of operations and compelling the adversary to fight battles in conditions of its choice and to lose them as it had anticipated. pp196-197

This undertaking was judicious in that it resulted from a scientific analysis of the balance of forces in the concrete conditions of the war at that time. p200

Over the last fourteen years following the success of the resistance war against the French colonialists, the D R.V.N. has been advancing on the path of socialist construction and has become a strong socialist country resolved to fulfil her obligation as an outpost of the socialist camp in Southeast Asia. pp207-208

It is also in wartime that the agricultural co-operativization movement has recorded good achievements, won over the overwhelming majority of the toiling peasants, ameliorated and enlarged the co-operatives, thus showing the power and excellence of collective production. In the present drive to improve co-op management combined with the broadening of democracy, co-op members are enthusiastically bringing into full play their right to be the real masters, thereby

pushing forward agriculture and creating a new life in the countryside. Therefore, a steady way of working and an encouraging prospect have appeared right in wartime. p214

Year after year, these tasks have been basically fulfilled, and the execution of the annual State plans has greatly contributed to the struggle for national salvation. Based on these essential tasks the 1968 State plan reflects the requirements of the new period with the slogan "Everything for victory over the U.S aggressors!"

It is a plan to win victories which at the same time allows us to stand ready for any eventuality. All strata of the North Vietnamese people, State services at all levels, all enterprises, all building-yards, all research institutes, all administrative offices and schools are together with our compatriots on the great front advancing on the impetus of their victories, pushing forward patriotic emulation movements, striving to develop their strong points, overcome their weak points and shortcomings in their work, determined to fulfil the 1968 State plan so as to make the best contribution to the defence and building of the North, the liberation of the South and the peaceful reunification of the Fatherland.

Our resistance to US aggression, for national salvation, in the broadest and fiercest struggle in our people's history of revolutionary struggles. This great resistance involves all the forces of our people and gives full scope to their splendid national traditions. It has brought into play all the fruits gained so far in the process of our revolution and has therefore given strong relief to the sources of our strength and the factors of our victories the forces of the people, the socialist regime and the Party's leadership.

Our resistance to U S aggression illustrates these great truths man is the decisive factor in every undertaking, revolution is the work of the masses. We owe our victories to the leadership of the Party which armed with Marxist-Leninist theory, has very broadly mobilized our people and made them stand up to fight and win in all spheres of activities.

Our entire people have enthusiastically participated in the struggle against U S imperialism, for national salvation, each of us, considering this struggle a sacred task towards the Fatherland and the greatest honour for him, brings into full play his patriotism, bravery, intelligence and creativeness, thus evincing noble qualities. Revolutionary heroism has become a mass movement involving millions of people, a wide-spread and permanent social phenomenon materialized in various mass emulation movements the "Let us resolutely defeat the US aggressors" movement of the people's armed forces, the "Let us produce well and fight well" movement of the workers and peasants, the "Three ready's" movement of youth, the "Three responsibilities" movement of the women and the "Three determinations" movement of the intellectuals Vietnamese revolutionary heroism is the crystallization of the noblest thoughts and feelings of our people in our times. The high tide of revolutionary heroism brings out the new Vietnamese man, the product not only of many years of struggle against US imperialism, but of the decades of revolution under the leadership of our Party, combining the virtues of the working class with our people's beautiful traditions which had taken shape all through their millenia-old history. We are proud and elated by the fact that these fine virtues find a splendid expression in our younger generation, who are steadfastly and gloriously carrying on their elder's revolutionary cause

We are living amidst a deep and wide mass movement which makes history and forges man. This is the most precious of our assets. We are resolved to preserve and enrich it and make it blossom more beautifully with every passing day. We are resolved to mould the noble thoughts and feelings and revolutionary qualities of the Vietnamese now struggling against U.S. aggression into lasting virtues of our people throughout the long process of our revolution.

The victory of our resistance for national salvation is the victory of our people and also of our regime, the socialist regime It is the socialist regime which has brought to the highest degree the

strength of our people, created all the material and ideological conditions to make the mass movement for fighting and production develop vigorously in scope and depth, and put all the fruits of socialism gained in the past ten years and more into the fight to defeat the U.S. aggressors. We are resolved to go on consolidating and strengthening our socialist regime, and pushing ahead our socialist construction right in war-time.

Our socialist construction involves three revolutions which are carried out simultaneously: revolution in the relations of production, scientific and technological revolution, and ideological and cultural revolution. The realities of war and construction work in wartime require that we ponder over these three revolutions more intensively, through our practical work. We must very clearly realize the key position of the scientific and technological revolution which directly creates the material and technical bases of socialism and impels forward the entire socialist revolution. We must realize the extremely important role of the revolution in the relations of production because it has a broad and deep significance which we may not fully grasp as yet, in order to solve these problems of utmost importance: the regime of ownership, the relationship between man and man, and the policy of distribution and consumption. We must perfectly realize the impact of the ideological and cultural revolution whose aim is to change man. In the last analysis, man, the popular masses decide everything. With the coming into being of Marxism, for the first time in the history of mankind, man decides himself his own destiny in a fully conscious way. That is why we must bring the ideological and cultural revolution to success. We must step by step build the material and technical bases of socialism, and at the same time establish good social relationships, and an ideal society in which man, evincing noble virtues and feelings, lives a life rich in every respect: productive labour, literature and arts, science and technology. We pay particular attention to gradually raising the people's material life while clearly realizing that the most precious asset of society and of man is not only material prosperity but a beautiful cultural, moral and sentimental life. To study and solve the aforesaid problems is the great and glorious task of Vietnamese social sciences. They embrace very important scientific branches which can and must be vigorously developed.

The fight against US aggression, for national salvation, has given rise to the need and created conditions to sharpen one of the main revolutionary instruments of our people: our people's democratic State fulfilling the historical task of a State of proletarian dictatorship under the leadership of our Party. This is a State all the lines and policies of which are imbued with the revolutionary thought of the working class and proletarian internationalism, a State which unites all strata of the people and all nationalities, applies broad democracy towards the people, and resolutely suppresses counter-revolutionaries so as to ensure victory for the fight against US aggression and success for the building of socialism.

One of the most fundamental functions of the State is economic management. Lenin's teachings, as well as the practice of socialist construction in our country and many fraternal countries, show that economic management is one of the key problems of socialism, a science and an art that we have to grasp. This science and this art require that we know how to apply the laws of socialism, including the law of development of the national economy in a well-balanced way, according to plan, with the participation of millions of labouring people and the bulk of scientific and technical cadres from the centre to the grass-roots level, that is, the industrial enterprises and the agricultural co-operatives. At the same time, we have to know how to apply correctly the law of value in a socialist economy.

Thus, we shall obtain the biggest economic results from our investments, and the highest productivity. We have constantly to bear in mind Lenin's words that socialism will defeat capitalism on account of its higher productivity. All of us, especially those responsible for the management of our national economy from the centre to the grass-roots level, must pay greater attention to this work and to the recapitulation of our experience, while learning from the rich experience of the fraternal socialist countries. In the near future, we have to push forward the division of responsibilities in economic management, first of all, between the centre, on the one hand, and the

provinces and cities, on the other, with a view to strictly enforcing the principle of democratic centralism together with the broadening of power and duties assigned to the regions, and the promotion of the abilities of the latter to push ahead their economic construction and development with the active help of the centre. The policy of division of responsibilities in economic management and that of boosting regional economies are both an urgent requirement of the resistance against U.S. aggression and a policy of fundamental and lasting significance which has an important impact on the whole development of the national economy and national construction in future.

Thus, while stepping up our resistance against US aggression to bring it to complete victory, we think over, and prepare for the solution of, the problems of the future, great problems concerning socialism, our line and policies, long-term and short-term plans to develop the national economy, science and technology, to train a contingent of politically conscious and professionally able cadres, and to promote literature and arts, in short, problems we have to tackle in order to build a socialist life in our country

Under the leadership of our Party, our people are determined to persistently carry on their revolutionary cause, to be the master of their life, of all their undertakings, big and small, in building a new life and a new man in Viet Nam. We will win thanks to our original creations which remain true to the noble ideal and the revolutionary principles of Marxism-Leninism, which conform to the conditions of our country and to our people's requirements, and which bring into full play the traditions and style of our people. pp216-222

Against U.S. imperialism - the arch enemy of the world's peoples - it is necessary to wage an unflinching, resolute, unyielding, uncompromising struggle in all possible forms, including the highest one - armed struggle. Such a struggle must of course be a long, hard one. But it will certainly be crowned with glorious victory. pp224-225

There is a deep realization among our people that their fight against US. aggression, for national salvation, is an integral part of the world people's revolution. Our successes are inseparable from the very great and valuable support and assistance given us by the Soviet Union, China and the other fraternal socialist countries. p226

To resist U.S. aggression and save our country is our sacred cause and at the same time an unflinching, unyielding struggle to defend the gains of socialism in our country, thus doing our share in the defence of the socialist camp. It is the internationalist duty of our people. On the other hand, by supporting our people - fighters in the forefront of the struggle to defend the socialist camp, peace and national independence the other socialist countries are discharging their internationalist obligation. p227

We have attached paramount importance to the defence of the socialist camp, of each of its members, being conscious that the socialist camp is the greatest gain of the revolutionary struggle of the world working class and labouring people. We warmly acclaim the brilliant successes recorded by the peoples of the Soviet Union, China and the other socialist countries in the building of communism and socialism, which contribute to increasing the might of the socialist camp and the defence of peace. p228

The most fundamental factor of victory is the correct and clear-sighted leadership of our Party, a Marxist-Leninist Party. The Party's leadership is reflected in its line concerning the revolution and international relations and in its overall strategy and tactics. It is inspiring the Vietnamese people to rise up and carry out the revolution, to take their destiny into their own hands, bring into full play the revolutionary heroism of the masses, the ardent patriotism and the finest traditions of the nation, and to push people's war to a new height. It is also inspiring the people in the socialist countries and other countries in the world to unite with our people and endeavour to support them in defeating the U.S. imperialist aggressors

Our Party, the masses of our people, and the Vietnamese nation as a whole form a single monolithic bloc, united and one-minded in thoughts and in deeds, in the whole of our revolutionary cause. This is the firmest guarantee for all our victories in the past, at present and in future. p237

Excerpts from the Report to the Third National Assembly, 6th Session, June 1970

It is precisely when the enemy had changed his strategy and tactics, that the South Vietnamese people and their armed forces developed the strength of people's war. using their heroism, resourcefulness and creativeness to solve a series of strategic and tactical problems and put up a most effective fight They have applied many flexible tactics, especially by opposing small crack units to the enemy everywhere, thus achieving very high combat efficiency with a very low casualty rate. Quickly adapting themselves to the new tactics of the enemy, the people's liberation armed forces have solved the problem of organization of forces and worked out the right tactics to destroy the enemy. p248

To understand our struggle, we must place it in its historical and international context It is unfolding in the era of the weakening and collapse of U.S.-led imperialism, the era of unceasing development, offensive and victory of the revolutionary struggles waged by the people of various countries, the transitional period from capitalism to socialism on a world scale. It is an objective truth, and an inevitable trend bearing the character of a law governing human history Our strength, our faith, for an important part stem from this. It is also due to this that in this struggle the militant solidarity between us and the peoples of the world has developed ever more strongly, becoming a factor for the victory of our people and a stimulus for the struggle conducted by the peoples of various countries against imperialism, first and foremost US imperialism. p253

The final result of the struggle is that our people will completely defeat the US aggressors. ... the US imperialists have waged a war of aggression against a valiant people, against a socialist country, in the era of the collapse of imperialism, the era of victory' of the world's peoples' revolutionary cause. p254

Thus, the fortune of U S imperialism which has just risen has quickly tumbled and its days are numbered. The laws governing history are like the laws governing nature, and those who oppose them cannot avoid retribution! p255

Speech at the Meeting Commemorating the 27th Founding Anniversary of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, September 1972

... the weakness of the most powerful imperialist country is obvious. This is an extremely great and deep change to the advantage of the world's people's revolutionary cause, as is known to everybody. p275

At that time, the time of Nguyen Dinh Chieu, the patriots in Nam Bo already said: "So long as a blade of grass remains on this land, its sons will fight the Western invaders". p280

This is the fight of our epoch, a fight which proves the weakness and irretrievable defeat of U.S. imperialism and neo-colonialism, the certain triumph of the national liberation cause of the Vietnamese people and other nations in the world. p281

It is precisely in this extremely fierce resistance war that people's war has matured rapidly, outgrowing the enemy's repeated escalation steps. p281

... contribute our part to the great revolutionary cause of the world's people. p285

After successfully concluding the war against the French colonialists, our people immediately set out to rehabilitate the economy and build socialism in the North. With the completion of the 1961-1965 plan, the first five-year plan of socialist construction, production level in North Viet Nam increased to more than double that in 1957, the last year of the economic rehabilitation period. The socialist sector of the economy held absolute superiority in all branches of the national economy. p291

... the socialist North not only had not been pushed back to the "stone age" - the dream of the top men in the Pentagon - but on the contrary had matured and grown up in all respects and proved the great vitality of the socialist regime, a regime which our people have won at the cost of their blood and are determined to safeguard at all costs. p292

Today we note with great satisfaction that through our unflinching fight, we have made worthy contributions acknowledged by all. So we are all the more entitled to ask the peoples of the fraternal socialist countries and the other countries in the world to hold high the banner of proletarian internationalism and fulfil their internationalist duty to the fight against aggressive U.S. imperialism, which is raging very fiercely and winning glorious successes in Viet Nam and the rest of Indochina. pp299-300

But for our part, we are armed with the great ideas of the invincible Marxist-Leninist doctrine. We are trained by our Party, President Ho Chi Minh, and the socialist regime. We are as firm as a rock and as strong as steel. We are inspired by noble thoughts and feelings. We dare to fight and make sacrifices for our Fatherland, and also to fulfil our internationalist duty to our brothers and friends everywhere in the world. We have the invincible strength of unity and justice. Final victory belongs to us. p300

Report to the Fourth National Assembly's Special Session, February 20, 1973

The courageous and clever fight of our nation will go down in history as an immortal epic, forever stirring people's hearts, and bringing out a shining truth of our epoch: a nation, which has neither a very vast territory nor a very large population, but follows a correct line, is closely united, fights perseveringly with a determination to win, and enjoys great support and assistance from the socialist countries and progressive people all over the world, such a nation is sure to win final victory. "Nothing is more precious than independence and freedom." pp303-304

Today, in greeting our victory, we all the more realise its deep root: it lies in the leadership of our Party, the great Viet Nam Workers' Party founded, organized and educated by President Ho Chi Minh; it lies in the Party's political, military and diplomatic line, a judicious and clear sighted line, which evince firmness, perseverance, insight, initiative, creativeness, the will to fight and win and knowledge of how to fight and win. p307

Today, the Vietnamese people express their sincere feelings and their deepest gratitude to the Soviet people, the Chinese people, the peoples of the other fraternal socialist countries, the working class, the labouring people, and the oppressed peoples of the world, to progressive people in the U.S.A., to our brothers, comrades and friends throughout the five continents. p310

The appeal of the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Workers' Party and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam calls on us to translate "our revolutionary heroism in fighting into a determination to overcome all difficulties, step up more vigorously than ever the building of socialism, of a new life, and the forming of a new man". Let us arm ourselves with noble thoughts and feelings and be equal to the new situation and the new tasks. We must look far ahead and dare to think of and undertake big projects serving the country and the people. We must especially realize the pressing need of restoring and developing the national economy on a large scale, with quick and firm steps, rapidly bringing small production forward to large-scale socialist production,

particularly in agriculture. Everybody must become a staunch fighter in the socialist construction of the North, a competent worker in his branch; he must unceasingly raise both his organizational and managerial abilities. Everybody must work selflessly for his motherland and for socialism, he must work with all his heart and mind, observe discipline and master techniques so as to show economic efficiency and an ever-higher labour productivity. Therein lies our value and that is the yardstick of our contribution to the present revolutionary struggle. pp315-316

The most important thing to ensure the fulfilment of the above-mentioned tasks is to strengthen the leadership of our Party, of Party committees from the centre down to the base. It is necessary to consolidate the State apparatus to ensure a satisfactory management of the national economy which is quickly advancing to large-scale production. We must study and gradually carry out an improvement of economic management. Parallel with the promotion of the State's powers and managerial functions, we must broaden socialist democracy and uphold the people's collective mastery. We must devote especial attention to ideological work so that everybody takes a clear view of the great victory won and the tasks ahead and redouble his efforts in work and study, determined to achieve even more glorious victories for our motherland. pp319-320

Speech at the Ceremony held on May Day, 1973

The victory of our resistance war against U.S. aggression has brought about new favourable conditions for us to build our country, to build the socialist North, to strengthen in all fields the D.R.V.N., the solid base area of the revolution in the whole country, an inviolable outpost of the socialist camp in South-East Asia. Carrying out our obligations to the many generations that have fought with self-denial for today's victory, fulfilling our duty to our Fatherland and our nation, and discharging our glorious internationalist duties, we will work with all our revolutionary ardour and capabilities, with the firm resolve to make the fullest contribution to this extremely lofty and splendid cause, the building of socialism in North Viet Nam, the building of a socialist society and the forming of the socialist man. As an immediate step, it is necessary to rapidly stabilize the situation, to promote a better organized and disciplined way of life, to stabilize and gradually improve the people's livelihood, to rehabilitate and develop the economy, and to develop culture, science and technique. Each of us must deeply realize that our work in production and other fields today is sowing seeds for tomorrow's crops which will reward our present efforts. Just as in the prodigious fight of the recent past, our hands and our brains will achieve everything. Our people's great confidence in the clear-sighted leadership of our Party, in the socialist system in the North, and in the bright future of our nation is a motive force which carries us forward and helps us quickly develop the national economy on a large scale. We will always rely mainly on our own forces while striving to get assistance in various fields from the Soviet Union, China and the other fraternal socialist countries. We are prepared to cooperate in the economic field with all countries desiring to cooperate with us on the basis of respect for each other's independence and sovereignty, equality and mutual benefit. pp325-326

Speech commemorating the 28th Anniversary of the August revolution and National Day (September 2, 1973)

Since the restoration of peace, the North Vietnamese people, responding to the appeal of the Viet Nam Workers' Party Central Committee and the Government of the D.R.V.N. and fully conscious of the tremendous tasks awaiting them, have been translating their revolutionary heroism in combat into determination to overcome all difficulties and accelerate, at a higher tempo than ever before, the socialist construction and the building of a new life and the new man. We are striving to create big and fundamental changes in economic rehabilitation and development. p338

Parallel with the economic rehabilitation and development and on the basis of the achievements already recorded, we will vigorously develop culture, education, public health, art and literature which are the very important branches of activity of the cultural and ideological revolution, and are

to play a beneficial role in the cultural life of the people. p344

In order to build the socialist North on a large scale and at a high speed, now more than ever before we must carry out in a creative manner the triple revolution: revolution -in the relations of production, technical revolution, and cultural and ideological revolution, with the technical revolution being the key stone. We must apply this triple revolution in the economic and cultural fields, in the execution of the Party policy and the State Plan, and in the building of a new life and a new man, in such a way that these 3 revolutions stimulate one another and take the North rapidly and vigorously to socialism. For the successful realization of this triple revolution, it is necessary to bring into full play the leading role of the State and the right to collective mastery of the masses, to promote the inexhaustible strength and creative talents of the working people - the creators of all material and cultural wealth - and to further the spirit of self-reliance, industriousness and thrift in national construction.

Under the leadership of the Party, the State - an instalment of the dictatorship of the proletariat - must be deeply conscious of its responsibility in the management of the whole of social life. Drastic measures must be taken to overcome loopholes in the management of various branches of the economy, in keeping with the requirements arising from a switch-over from small-scale production to large-scale socialist production. The system of economic management in war time along an administrative supply pattern must be shifted promptly to that of cost-accounting Responsibility and authority must be clearly defined for each branch of activity, each echelon, each individual. Public order and security must be strictly maintained. The State apparatus must be strengthened, perfected and streamlined as soon as possible so that it can discharge its functions properly and efficiently. In short, socialist legality and State discipline should be upheld, in the first place in the management of labour.

The building of socialism in the North calls for a step-up of the patriotic emulation movement. For the sake of the Fatherland and socialism, for our kinsfolk in the South, every one of us has the obligation to work with a sense of organization and discipline and with intelligence and creativeness so as to achieve high labour productivity and real economic efficiency. Every one of us must deeply realize that to-morrow's gains depend on how we are working today and tomorrow's harvest depends on what seeds we are sowing today. Let us infuse revolutionary heroism in combat into the cause of socialist construction The whole country is a great construction site under strict organization and management. Each person is a fighter resolved to win on the labour front and, on this front, we are bound to win just as we have won in the shooting war. pp345-346

The big gains obtained in the movement of international solidarity with a support for Viet Nam has inspired the preserving efforts aimed at restoring and consolidating unity among the international communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and in keeping with both reason and sentiment.

Today, we warmly welcome the fine success of the 10th Congress of the Communist Party of China aimed at enhancing unity, boosting the socialist construction and socialist transformation, and increasing the forces of the People's Republic of China in all fields, thus positively contributing to the revolutionary cause of the world's peoples, and to the struggle against imperialism and in defence of peace. p348

The building of socialism in the North still enjoys other fundamental advantages One is the vast work force available in the North but still far from being fully employed: men create everything, our labour and our minds will design and build, step by step the socialist edifice in our country: therefore, what should be done to bring into play the creative labour of all working people in the North is a major and pressing problem that must be solved. p350

Speech commemorating the 29th Anniversary of the August revolution and National Day

(September 2, 1974)

The everyday realities of economic rehabilitation and development bring out the importance of managerial work. The deeper we go into the field of management, the more clearly we realize the urgent need of science and technology and the necessity to make better use of the existing contingent of technical cadres and strengthen in all aspects the contingent of managing cadres. We must pay greater attention to improving the training of skilled workers in various branches of the national economy. Leading bodies of different branches of activity down to grassroots units must give particular attention to these pressing problems, especially the management of labour and the life of those directly engaged in creating wealth. We must make better use of the precious and many-sided assistance given us by brotherly and friendly countries. pp355-356

Along with the encouraging achievements mentioned above, we are carrying out a resolute fight against dishonest and illegal practices, against the misappropriation of the property of the State and the co-operatives which affects economic management and public order and harms the people's interests. We will carry on this struggle more vigorously in order to wipe out those intolerable evils. This is an indispensable measure for promoting the management of all social activities by our State - the instrument of the dictatorship of the proletariat under the leadership of the Party - with the active participation of the people. In this respect, we can see all the more clearly the important significance and benefits of socialist legislation. pp356-357

- Pay greater attention to directing the implementation of the State Plan all branches from the Central down to local echelons, through control and encouragement, will closely follow the state of the execution of the plan, promptly detect problems to be solved and speedily find solutions to them.

- Strengthen management, especially management of food distribution, labour and materials, to check the negative aspects while bringing into full play the positive aspects in economic activities and social life. Streamline the managing apparatus in such a way as to make it more efficacious, simpler and less cumbersome, liable to ensure effective leadership. pp358-359

Particularly encouraging is the fact that in industry, agriculture, communications and transport, capital construction, etc, the working masses and technical cadres of many establishments, under the leadership of collectives of tempered Party members, have successfully solved many complicated problems, in extremely difficult circumstances by mainly relying on their own resources, enhancing tire spirit of collective mastery and mobilizing the revolutionary ardour, courage, intelligence and creativeness of everybody. These are experiences that need to be brought into play, it is necessary to multiply isolated cases so as to make them commonplace and to move from a low to a high level in order to overcome the aftermaths of war and step up economic rehabilitation and development and cultural development. This calls for great endeavours on the part of various branches of activity at the highest echelon and the leading bodies of various localities to fully discharge their functions so as to support, guide and assist grassroots units in their steady advance towards new achievements in all fields... Let us recall many of Lenin's words about the resolute and persistent struggle to be waged against the habits of small-scale production so as to move towards building a large-scale production, a modern industrial production. These also are our pressing and essential demands. In brief, the difficulties in all fields now facing us, in the final analysis, are difficulties stemming from the path taken by a country, originally backward and ravaged by war for years, to move directly to socialism, bypassing the stage of capitalist development. On this very new path, we have to solve many complicated problems and surmount many difficulties so as to move step by step from small-scale to large-scale production, realize socialist industrialization along the Party line, in an independent, sovereign and self-reliant spirit and by making the most of the vast labour force and great creativeness of our people. We must work hard and courageously in order to provide requisites for vigorous and steady steps of development in the time ahead. pp361-362

... our country is an economically underdeveloped one but our regime is an advanced one; the socialist regime. p362

Only the socialist regime is really a regime of the people, by the people and for the people. Each of our comrades must fully grasp this in his thinking and his action in the execution of the Party line and policy as well as in the managing work of the State. p363

On top of these positive factors which are to be developed to the fullest extent is the correct and clear-sighted leadership of our Party which is armed with invincible Marxism-Leninism and which identifies itself with the popular masses. Let everyone of us strengthen unity, be unanimous in our will and action, raise the sense of responsibility, organization and discipline, endeavour to make constant progress through criticism and self-criticism, be always associated with grassroots units and the masses and take part most actively in the great revolutionary struggle of the nation. p373

Speech delivered on National Day, September 2, 1975

... in the light of the Party's line on the advance to socialism while bypassing ...the stage of capitalist development, we moved rapidly to the socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts and private capitalist industry and commerce. The land reform and agricultural co-operativization had the effect of boosting agricultural production, doubling rice productivity and output compared with the years before the revolution. p386

Along with initial steps in the building of the material and technological base of socialism, we attached great importance to the development of science and technology and exerted great efforts in training a contingent of qualified workers, scientific and technical workers and economic management cadres who are politically staunch and professionally proficient. p387

These profound changes in economic, cultural and social life have made North Vietnam radically different from what it was in the past. The feudal landlord class has been abolished, the bourgeois class has been reformed, the regime of exploitation of man by man has been eliminated and socialist relations of production have been established in two forms: State-run economy and collective economy. The working people, composing the working class, the peasantry and the socialist intelligentsia have become collective masters of their destiny. Political security and social order have been maintained. North Vietnamese society has become a single united bloc of the working people including people belonging to various nationalities and religions and striving together for national independence and socialism.

The material and cultural life of the people has been stabilized and to some extent improved in spite of the war. This is a thing rarely seen in history, and of which we can be very proud. North Vietnam's countryside, which in the past was the scene of chronic famines and rampant disease has now changed completely. At present, life in the countryside in many respects hardly differs from life in the towns and the upward trend is continuing. All working people in North Vietnam have been provided with jobs. All children of school-age are attending classes, the great majority of them will be going on to junior high schools. Social diseases have long been eliminated. The health of the people in North Vietnam has been markedly improved compared with the past. pp387-388

We also call on the national bourgeoisie, who were formerly held down by foreign competition, to put all their talents and ardour into the service of the great cause of the nation now that the country has become independent and free. Our people in the South are facing difficult and complicated revolutionary tasks which require much courage, intelligence and creativeness. p391

In addition, the South has many industrial branches, especially light and food industries which, though mostly of small scale, are capable of producing many items necessary to the people's life

and also export items. p391

Practice has shown that the Party's line on the building of the material and technical basis of socialism is correct and clear sighted. But the organization for the application of this line still falls short of requirements. p393

The victory of the revolutionary cause of our people is also a victory of the great doctrine of Marxism-Leninism, the peak of human wisdom, which has lighted our revolutionary path full of glorious victories. Our Party and people pledge to study Marxist-Leninist theory and apply it creatively in the new stage of the revolution in order to win still bigger successes for our socialist cause. p394

This new work requires that we strengthen our great friendship and co-operation in all fields with the other socialist countries which are bound to us by the common ideal of building socialism and communism. p394

Our people are deeply conscious that to build socialism, it is necessary to have socialist men who love their fatherland, their people, labour and science, who cherish the independence and freedom of their own country and of other countries, who treasure the moral values of their own people and those of the whole of progressive mankind. p396

Notes;

3) The South Vietnamese people are most grateful to the peace and justice-loving people in the world for their staunch support and proclaim their readiness to accept assistance of all kinds, including weapons and other war materials, from their friends throughout the world. p402