

HO CHI MINH

Selected Works

IV

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VOLUME IV

HANOI

FOREIGN LANGUAGES PUBLISHING HOUSE

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1962

PERIOD FROM
THE RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF PEACE
IN JULY 1954 TO THE
THIRD NATIONAL CONGRESS OF
THE VIET NAM WORKERS' PARTY
HELD IN SEPTEMBER 1960

CONTENTS

1954

	<i>Page</i>
Appeal made after the successful conclusion of the Geneva Agreements (<i>July 22</i>)	17
Welcoming the International Commission for Supervision and Control (<i>August 13</i>)	21
Appeal on the occasion of the celebration of the August Revolution and National Day (<i>September 2</i>). . .	25
Addressing the conference reviewing the first land reform drive at Thai Nguyen (<i>September 12</i>). . .	32
Letter to southern soldiers, cadres and their families, regrouped in the North (<i>September 22</i>).	36
Advice given to army units before taking over Hanoi (<i>October</i>).	37
Appeal on the occasion of the liberation of the capital city (<i>October 10</i>)	39
Speech delivered to public employees of the former administration who have remained in Hanoi (<i>November 30</i>).	42
Reply to the French paper <i>Regards</i> (<i>December 19</i>). .	45
Appeal on the day commemorating the nation-wide Resistance War	48

Speech at the ceremony to lay wreaths on the cenotaph in memory of the fallen patriotic fighters (December 31)	50
---	----

1955

Speech greeting the New Year and welcoming the Viet Nam Worker's Party Central Committee and the Government on their return to the capital (January 1)	52
Talk at the opening of the People's University (January 19)	54
Appeal for competition in production and thrift in the Spring season (February 5)	61
Letter to the conference of medical workers (February)	63
Message on the occasion of the opening of the Hanoi — Muc Nam Quan railway line (February 27)	65
Speech closing the 7th enlarged session of the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Workers' Party (March 12)	68
Leninism and the liberation of oppressed peoples (April 18)	72
Excerpt from a speech delivered at the National Congress of mutual aid teams (May 6)	81
Letter to the compatriots in the Thai-Meo Autonomous Region (May 7)	88
Talk with the people's representatives of Haiphong city (June 2)	91
Report on the visit of the Delegation of the Government of the D.R.V.N. to the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China (July 23)	95
Talk at the conference to increase production and fight famine (July)	100

Talk with the new army heroes (August 31)	104
Appeal on the day commemorating the tenth anniversary of the founding of the D. R. V. N. (September 2)	108
Tenth anniversary of National Day of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam (September)	115
Address to the closing session of the Viet Nam Fatherland Front congress (September)	126
Letter to teachers, students, youth organisations, cadres and children (October 31)	130
Appeal for emulation to increase production and practise thrift in 1956 (December 19)	133

1956

New Year's greeting	137
Telegram to the 20th congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (February)	143
Speech at the meeting of Hanoi people to welcome the Delegation of the Soviet Government (April 3)	146
Speech closing the 9th enlarged session of the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Workers' Party (April 24)	153
Letter to the cadres from South Viet Nam regrouped in the North (June 19)	157
Letter to the Vietnamese people throughout the country (July 6) . <i>proposed to S. V. N. authorities</i>	162
Instructions given at the conference reviewing the mass education in the first half of 1956 (July 16)	166
Talk with intellectuals attending the political course of the Viet Nam People's University (July 21)	173
Consolidation and development of ideological unity among Marxist-Leninist parties (August 3)	179

Letter to compatriots in the Viet Bac autonomous region (<i>August 10</i>)	188
Letter to the peasants and cadres on the successful completion of land reform in the North (<i>August 18</i>)	190
Appeal on the occasion of National Day (<i>September 2</i>)	194
Excerpt from the speech at the National congress of the Viet Nam Youth Union (<i>October 15</i>)	198
Excerpt from the speech at the National congress of the Viet Nam Labour Youth Union (<i>November 2</i>) .	204

1957

Speech at the Trade Union School (<i>January 19</i>). . .	208
Report to the meeting of representatives of the Hanoi people on the success of the 6th session of the National Assembly (First legislature) (<i>February 15</i>)	215
Answer to a correspondent of the Hungarian News Agency (<i>February 19</i>)	223
Appeal on the occasion of International Labour Day (<i>May 1</i>)	226
Instructions given at the meeting for ideological remoulding of general and field officers (<i>May 16</i>) .	231
Speech greeting President K. E. Voroshilov at the banquet given in his honour (<i>May 20</i>)	235
Talk on the occasion of the 12th Anniversary of the founding of the D.R.V.N. (<i>September 2</i>)	238
Speech opening the first theoretical course of Nguyen Ai Quoc School (<i>September 7</i>)	248
The October Revolution and the liberation of the peoples of the East (<i>November 6</i>)	260

Speech at the extraordinary session of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. on the 40th anniversary of the October Revolution (<i>November 6</i>)	280
---	-----

1958

New Year's greetings (<i>January</i>).	285
Speech at a mass rally in New Delhi (<i>February 6</i>) .	290
Talk at a press conference in Rangoon (<i>February 16</i>). .	295
New situation and immediate tasks of the Army (<i>March</i>)	301
Speech at the inaugural meeting of the 8th session of the National Assembly (<i>April</i>)	306
Speech greeting labour heroes and emulation fighters (<i>July 7</i>).	313
Letter to the Viet Nam people's congress for the defence of peace (<i>August 16</i>)	319
Telegram greeting the Provisional Government of the Republic of Algeria (<i>September 27</i>)	322
Telegram to the President of the Republic of Guinea (<i>October 9</i>).	323
Speech at the congress of cultural workers (<i>October 30</i>). .	324
Excerpt from a talk with the cadres and workers of the Hanoi Engineering Plant (<i>December 25</i>)	328

1959

Triumph of proletarian friendship (<i>January</i>)	332
Preface to the Russian edition of <i>Ho Chi Minh, a selection of writings and speeches</i>	335
Talk with the people of Surabaya (<i>March 5</i>)	340

Talk at the Conference of Trade Union cadres (<i>March 14</i>)	346
Talk at a meeting in Chau Thuan (<i>May 7</i>)	353
Appeal to the toiling peasants enthusiastically to join work exchange teams and co-operatives, and to emulate with one another to improve technique and step up production (<i>August</i>)	358
Instructions given at the All North Viet Nam water conservancy conference held at Bac Ninh (<i>Sept- ember 14</i>)	362
Greetings on the 10th Anniversary of the foundation of the People's Republic of China (<i>September 28</i>)	366
Excerpt from a talk at a cadres' meeting debating the draft law on marriage and the family (<i>October</i>)	370
Reply to the Japanese journalist Shira Ishi Bon (<i>October</i>)	373
Excerpt from a speech delivered at the meeting review- ing the managerial work of agricultural producers' co-operatives (<i>November</i>)	378
To joyfully celebrate the anniversary of the great October Revolution	382
Our Party has struggled very heroically and won glorious victories (<i>November 28</i>)	391
Report on the draft amended Constitution (<i>December 18</i>)	399

1960

Speech opening the ceremony commemorating the 30th foundation anniversary of the Party (<i>January 5</i>)	424
Thirty years of activity of the Viet Nam Workers' Party	430
Message to women throughout the country on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of International women's day (<i>March 8</i>)	446

The path which led me to Leninism (<i>April</i>)	448
Speech at the Hanoi People's congress greeting the Hanoi candidates to the National Assembly (<i>April 24</i>)	451
Speech opening the Third National congress of the Viet Nam Workers' Party (<i>September 5</i>)	455
Speech closing the Third National congress of the Viet Nam Workers' Party (<i>September 10</i>)	465

APPEAL MADE AFTER THE SUCCESSFUL CONCLUSION OF THE GENEVA AGREEMENTS

Compatriots all over the country,
Armymen and cadres,

The Geneva Conference has come to an end. It is a great victory for our diplomacy.

On behalf of the Government, I cordially make the following appeal:

I — For the sake of peace, unity, independence and democracy of the Fatherland, our people, armymen, cadres and government have, during these eight years or so, joined in a monolithic bloc, endured hardship and overcome all difficulties to resolutely carry out the Resistance and have won many brilliant victories. On this occasion, on behalf of the Government, I cordially congratulate you, from North to South. I respectfully bow to the memory of the armymen and people who have sacrificed their lives

for the Fatherland, and send my homages of comfort to the wounded and sick armymen.

This great victory is also due to the support given us in our just struggle by the peoples of our brother countries, by the French people and the peace-loving people of the world.

Thanks to these victories and the efforts made by the delegation of the Soviet Union at the Berlin Conference, negotiations were opened between our country and France at the Geneva Conference. At this conference the struggle of our delegation and the assistance given by the delegations of the Soviet Union and China have ended in a great victory for us: the French government has recognized the independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of our country; it has agreed to withdraw French troops from our country, etc.

From now on, we must make every effort to consolidate peace and achieve reunification, independence and democracy throughout our country.

2 — In order to re-establish peace, the first step to take is that the armed forces of both parties should cease fire.

The regroupment in two regions is a temporary measure; it is a transitional step for the implementation of the armistice and restoration of peace, and paves the way for national reunification through general elections. Regroupment in regions is in no way a partition of our country, neither is it an administrative division.

During the armistice, our army is regrouped in the North; the French troops are regrouped in the South, that is to say, there is a change of regions. A number of regions which were formerly occupied by the French, now become our free zones. Vice versa, a number of regions formerly

liberated by us, will now be temporarily occupied by the French troops before they leave for France.

This is a necessity; North, Central and South Viet Nam are territories of ours. Our country will certainly be unified, our entire people will surely be liberated.

Our compatriots in the South were the first to wage the war of Resistance. They possess a high political consciousness. I am confident that they will place national interests above local interests, permanent interests above temporary interests and join their efforts with the entire people in strengthening peace, achieving unity, independence and democracy all over the country. The Party, Government and I, always follow the efforts of our people and we are sure that our compatriots will be victorious.

3 — The struggle to consolidate peace and achieve reunification, independence and democracy, is also a long and hard struggle. In order to carry the day, our people, armymen and cadres from North to South, must unite closely. They must be at one in thought and deed.

We are resolved to abide by the agreements entered into with the French Government. At the same time we demand that the French Government should correctly implement the agreements they have signed with us.

We must do our utmost to strengthen peace, and be vigilant to check the manoeuvres of peace wreckers.

We must endeavour to struggle for the holding of free general elections throughout the country to reunify our territory.

We must exert all our efforts to restore, build, strengthen and develop our forces in every field so as to attain complete independence.

We must do our utmost to carry out social reforms in order to improve our people's livelihood and realize genuine democracy.

We further tighten our fraternal relations with Cambodia and Laos.

We strengthen the great friendship between us and the Soviet Union, China and other brother countries. To maintain peace, we enhance our solidarity with the French people, the Asian people and people all over the world.

4 — I call on all our compatriots, army-men and cadres to strictly follow the lines and policies laid down by the Party and Government, to struggle for the consolidation of peace, and the achievement of national reunification, independence and democracy throughout the country.

I eagerly appeal to all genuine patriots, irrespective of their social class, creed, political stand and former affiliation, sincerely to co-operate with us and fight for the sake of our country and our people so as to bring about peace and achieve reunification, independence and democracy for our beloved Viet Nam.

If our people are as one, if thousands of men are like one, victory will certainly be ours.

Long live a peaceful, unified, independent and democratic Viet Nam.

July 22, 1954

WELCOMING THE INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION FOR SUPERVISION AND CONTROL

Sirs,

Only one day after the cease-fire in Indo-China, the International Commission for Supervision and Control in Viet Nam, composed of India, Poland and Canada, has come to Viet Nam, entrusted by the Geneva Conference with the mission of supervising the implementation of armistice between Viet Nam and France.

I am very glad to meet the heads of the three delegations and their members. On behalf of the people and Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, I warmly welcome you.

For the sake of peace, national unity, independence and democracy, the Vietnamese people have fought with determination and won the approval and support of the peace-loving people of the world.

Today the horrible nine-year long war has come to an end.

The Armistice Agreement on Indo-China, signed at the Geneva Conference, is of great significance not only for Indo-China and South-East Asia, but it also paves the way for a lasting peace in Asia and relaxes international tension.

True to our peace loving tradition, the Vietnamese people welcome this armistice most enthusiastically.

We shall constantly exert all our efforts to preserve peace and correctly carry out all the clauses stipulated in the Armistice Agreement...

At this moment of historic significance, the International Commission has come to our country to begin its work of supervising the armistice.

India is a great and peace-loving country in South East Asia. Our countries are close to each other, know and understand each other.

Poland is a peace-loving country which is doing its utmost for the cause of peace.

Though Canada is far from Viet Nam, its representatives are willing to cross the seas to come here and help maintain peace in Indo-China. The distance is long, yet our hearts are close. I am sure that as we are both peace-loving peoples, we shall understand each other better and better and draw nearer to one another.

Although you, members of the International Commission, come from different continents — Asia, Europe and America — the people and Government of the Democratic

Republic of Viet Nam will wholeheartedly support you and co-operate with you all.

But we must bear in mind that the armistice is only a preliminary step in the solution of the whole problem, of Viet Nam and your task will be complicated and difficult.

I solemnly assure you that the people's army and Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam will strictly respect and do their utmost to fully carry out all the clauses of the Agreement on the Cessation of hostilities. At the same time, we hope that the French government and all parties concerned will also guarantee correct implementation of this Armistice Agreement.

I am firmly confident that the International Commission will abide by the spirit of the Agreement and the Final Declaration of the Geneva Conference, co-ordinate them with practical facts and carry through its mission from a just and righteous standpoint.

The war has just ended in Viet Nam, and it is possible that the reception we are giving meets with shortcomings, for which we beg your pardon. But we entirely take upon ourselves to guarantee your security and that of your personnel, and we shall do our utmost to make your task easy.

I wish to point out further that we are most grateful to the French people who, by their active struggle, have played an important role in the ending of the war in Indo-China. Now that peace is restored in Viet Nam, we shall tighten our friendly relations with the French people. We shall strengthen our solidarity with Cambodia, Laos and South-East Asian countries, in order to contribute to the maintenance of peace in Asia and in the world.

The August Revolution being achieved, independence was declared on September the Second. The Democratic Republic of Viet Nam was born. General elections were held and our people throughout the country elected a National Assembly, which ratified the Constitution and chose the central government. Local administrations, from village to province, were entirely appointed by the people. Since that time, national unity, independence and democracy have begun to materialize in our country.

Our people and government long for peace to construct our country and build a free and happy life.

But soon the bellicose French colonialists unleashed a new war in an attempt to invade our country and to enslave our people once more.

In face of this danger, our people, army, cadres and government, closely united, resolutely waged a war of resistance which lasted nearly nine years and won many great victories.

The aim of our Resistance was to preserve and develop the achievements secured by the August Revolution, that is to say, peace, unity, independence and democracy.

Thanks to the valiant struggle waged by our army and people, supported by the peoples of brother countries, the French people and peace-loving people of the world, we have won the day at the Geneva Conference.

The French government has recognized the following points, approved by member countries of the Conference :

— Peace shall be restored in Indo-China, on the basis of France respecting the independence, sovereignty, national unity and territorial integrity of Viet Nam, Cambodia and Laos.

— The peoples of Viet Nam, Cambodia and Laos shall hold free general elections to reunify their country.

— France shall withdraw its army from Indo-China.

We have signed an armistice with France, peace is being restored in Viet Nam and all over Indo-China.

This great victory was made possible by the ardent patriotism, monolithic solidarity, fighting spirit and sacrifice of our army and people from North to South, from the temporarily enemy-controlled zone to the free zones.

This victory was the outcome of the August Revolution, of the Independence Day of September the Second and of the heroic Resistance waged during the past eight to nine years.

This is a victory of the people of Viet Nam, Cambodia and Laos, a victory of the French people and the peace-loving people of the world.

* * *

This new victory changes the situation of our country which shifts from a state of war to a state of peace. In order to secure all-out and lasting peace, we must fight with might and main.

This situation sets new tasks for our people, army, cadres and government. At present our common tasks are : correct implementation of the Armistice Agreement, the struggle to maintain and consolidate peace, to achieve national reunification, independence and democracy all over the country.

To achieve national reunification, independence and democracy throughout the country, we must first of all, preserve and strengthen peace.

To preserve and strengthen peace, it is necessary for both the Vietnamese and French sides to be sincere. On this occasion, I solemnly declare once again that :

We are resolved to respect and implement the Armistice Agreement entered into with France. We shall protect French economic and cultural interests in Viet Nam. We are ready to resume negotiations with the French government and to re-establish good relations with France on the basis of equality and mutual benefit.

At the same time, we trust that the French government will also respect and implement the Armistice Agreement and fully guarantee the execution of the points mentioned in the declaration of the Geneva Conference and in the statement made by the French government.

Maintenance and consolidation of peace require close solidarity on our part—solidarity among the entire people from North to South as in one family ; solidarity with the peoples of Cambodia and Laos ; solidarity with the Asian people, with the French people, and the peace-loving people of the world, in particular the Chinese and Soviet peoples.

We must unite in a monolithic bloc against the manoeuvres of peace wreckers, the U.S. imperialists, the war thirsty French clique and their henchmen.

Our people from North to South must fight for the organization of free general elections to reunify the whole country.

Independence and democracy will be achieved throughout the country if peace is maintained and consolidated and the whole country reunified.

* * *

The new development of the situation imposes upon us the following urgent tasks :

To strengthen the people's army which is the leading force to defend the Fatherland and maintain peace.

To continue to put into practice the motto "land to the tillers" to liberate the peasantry, the overwhelming majority of our people.

In the former free zones, the work of consolidation to be carried on in every field : improvement of the people's livelihood, development of the valiant tradition of our people.

To enhance solidarity among the various nationalities in the country and gradually introduce autonomy into minority regions.

In newly liberated rural and urban areas, to first and foremost restore order and stabilize the people's living conditions, protect the lives and property of our compatriots as well as of foreign residents, including the Frenchmen.

To guarantee freedom of conscience. To employ and treat well the employees and officials who formerly worked with the opposite side and who now wish to serve the country and the people.

To re-habilitate commerce, education, etc..

In the political field, to consolidate the people's power in former free zones and in newly liberated areas, develop and strengthen the patriotic organizations, raise the political and moral level of our people, unite our efforts to defend peace and achieve national unity, independence and democracy throughout the country.

In the economic field, to accelerate the emulation movement in production and implement the policy of paying

attention to public as well as private interests, of benefiting both employers and employees. Town and countryside will help each other. Free circulation of commodities within and without the country will be guaranteed so as to rehabilitate and expand production to contribute to economic prosperity and to improve the people's livelihood.

In the cultural field, to wipe out illiteracy, train cadres to serve national construction, protect our people's health and promote our good traditions.

In the regions where the French troops are temporarily stationed, our people will have to lead the political struggle to secure such democratic rights as freedom of organization, freedom of opinion, etc., to prepare free general elections for national reunification.

Our compatriots residing abroad must love one another and help each other. They must constantly support the Fatherland and strengthen the friendship between our people and those of the countries in which they live.

As far as the patriots are concerned, whatever classes they may belong to and even if they had formerly collaborated with the other side, we are ready to unite with them to defend and strengthen peace and achieve national unity, independence and democracy all over the country.

We have carried the day, but peace is not definitely consolidated, unity, independence and democracy are not yet achieved throughout the country. Therefore it is necessary for us to wage a long and hard struggle to reach that goal. Meanwhile we must always be vigilant to thwart the manoeuvres which are likely to sabotage our common work.

Our tasks are many and difficult indeed, but we disposed of a powerful force, we are closely united, and

resolved to fight. The progressive people in the world support us. Victory will certainly be ours.

* * *

On behalf of the people and government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, I take this opportunity of thanking the peoples and governments of brother countries, the French people's organizations, the peace and democratic organizations of the world, and the progressive personalities in the countries which had supported us during our Resistance and shared our joy when peace was restored. This internationalism is invaluable. It encouraged us through the trying days of our Resistance. It will help us to build a lasting peace.

The evergrowing movement of peace and democracy in the world was conducive to our victory. And this will be a worthy contribution to the defence of peace in Asia and in the world.

Compatriots, armymen, cadres and Vietnamese residents abroad! March enthusiastically forward!

Long live a peaceful, unified, independent and democratic Viet Nam!

The peaceable and democratic forces in the world will win!

September 2, 1954

ADDRESSING THE CONFERENCE REVIEWING THE FIRST LAND REFORM DRIVE AT THAI NGUYEN

In land rent reduction and land reform, a number of cadres were very good in implementing the policies, but others made mistakes by following roundabout paths, thus causing a great loss of time, while the result obtained was not up to expectations. In land rent reduction and land reform, we must fully grasp the policies and political line, clearly know where our main forces lie, base ourselves on the poor and landless peasants and unite with the middle peasants. That is why the Party and government have always pointed out the necessity for unity of the toiling peasants. If this is done, all work will be successfully carried out, if not, our work will not make headway, there will be a time lag and the result will be poor.

We must know how to discriminate between landlords. They are the peasants' enemies, but they are not united. If discrimination can be made, our work will be easier. When this point was studied, many cadres believed

that they understood, but in practice, their work turned out to be erroneous. Some of them thought it was better to deviate to the "left" than to the "right". That is not so, for, left or right, either side is far from reality. We must grasp the policies, rely on the masses and differentiate between landlords.

In your work, you have all obtained a number of achievements despite shortcomings. Your success in this drive is that, in applying the "three withs" * you have been better able to endure hardships. In the fourth rent reduction drive many cadres only applied the principle of "one with" or "two withs" or "two and a half withs", but not the complete "three withs". It must be realized that only by carrying out the "three withs" can one become familiar with the peasants, understand their feelings, mobilize them to overthrow landlordism and successfully carry out land rent reduction and land reform. Without this principle, one stands aloof from the masses, and cannot work efficiently. Therefore in the next drive, you must apply the "three withs" unreservedly. From generation to generation our peasants were doomed to live in poverty. Considering their situation, a few months in which to apply the "three withs" is an insignificant period. But what else can be done?

As far as internal unity is concerned, older cadres must help new cadres. You did it fairly well in this drive. But this does not mean that there were no shortcomings. A number of older cadres were too proud of themselves for having taken part in many drives. They did not take

* Principle required in the carrying out of land rent reduction and land reform: eat with the peasants, live with the peasants and work with the peasants.

the trouble to study instructions from higher levels and were not willing to help the new cadres. Bear in mind that, as the situation changes constantly, lack of study means regress, and regression means failure.

A rather prevalent mistake is: the *desire to rest*. There are cadres who, after serving in a few drives, now want to settle in towns. They are wrong. Here is an example: "Who has struggled longer, you or I?" (*Everybody answered: You*). My struggle was longer and I never asked for a rest, why do you, after a few drives, want to have a rest?

You want to rest and to settle in town, because you have not yet realized the importance of land reform. You have certainly read the Party's resolution, "Land reform is one of the three cardinal tasks laid down by the Party and the government." The desire to settle in town, not to take part in land reform is *shirking duty*.

Wherever the Party and government send you, you must at any cost fulfil the task entrusted by them, and not follow your own bent.

What do you want? To take part in the Revolution! Well, land reform is a revolutionary task. "Don't believe that the surrounding mountain tops are higher than that on which you are standing." *

You must understand that land reform is one of the three primary tasks laid down for the Party, the Government and the people. It is a glorious and heavy task. The fighter is not only the man who kills the enemy at the front. You are fighters, too: fighters on the anti-feudal

* This Vietnamese proverb means: "Don't be too ambitious or difficult in your choice."

front. As fighters, you cannot say that you want to go to this front and not to that front, you must fulfil your duty as fighters. When land reform is carried through, you will have a rest. As long as it is not achieved, you cannot enjoy one.

You must firmly grasp the Party's and government's policies, overcome difficulties, and labour under hardship to discharge your duty.

During the Resistance war, our army won victory upon victory. As a fighter on the anti-feudal front, you must be resolved to win.

Heroes are not only to be found among the soldiers at the battlefield. They can be found among you, fighting on the anti-feudal front together with the peasants. In this conference there are people who during the last land rent reduction and land reform drives, have done a good work in linking up their main tasks with mobilizing the peasants to increase production, to combat drought and flood, and to engage in voluntary labour or to join the army... With the responsible committee, you will select the best men and women among you; the Party, government and I will reward them.

In the coming mass mobilization drives for land rent reduction and land reform, those among you who perform outstanding deeds, will be awarded medals, just like soldiers fighting the enemy. It is up to you to decide upon this reward. Those who wish to receive medals must do their best.

September 12, 1954

LETTER TO SOUTHERN SOLDIERS, CADRES AND THEIR FAMILIES, REGROUPED IN THE NORTH

On your arrival to-day, I cordially welcome you all.

To implement the Armistice Agreement, you are for the time being separated from your native land, but have the opportunity of living close to the Party Central Committee, the government, the army and your compatriots in the North. North and South are always under the same roof.

I hope you will always be in good health and joyful. You will take part in the building of the country according to your personal ability.

When peace is consolidated, national reunification, independence and democracy are achieved, you will happily return to your native land. It is quite possible that by that time I will join you to visit our beloved South.

Greetings of affection and of determination to win
September 22, 1954

ADVICE GIVEN TO ARMY UNITS BEFORE TAKING OVER HANOI*

Throughout eight years of resistance, you had set examples of heroism, and thereby we won victory. Today returning to the Capital you must also set good examples to win victory in peace time.

Urban life is complicated, many temptations can lead people to stupidity, debauchery and degradation. To avoid these dangerous traps and fulfil the lofty task of the people's army, all our officers and men must bear in mind and correctly carry out the following advice :

Avoid conceit and self-complacency.

Abstain from drinking alcohol, gambling, sexual pleasures and opium smoking.

Let no secrets leak out.

* On October 10, 1954, the Viet Nam People's Army took over Hanoi in accordance with the clauses provided for in the Geneva Agreement. The taking over of Hanoi was an important political success.

Abstain from luxury, waste and corruption.
Respect the people, help them and unite with them.
Be modest and correct.
Maintain the purity and simplicity of revolutionary fighters.
Practise industry, economy, integrity and justice.
Correctly apply the ten points of discipline.
Be always vigilant, and conduct self-criticism and criticism to make continuous progresses.

My best wishes to you all.

October 1954

APPEAL ON THE OCCASION OF THE LIBERATION OF THE CAPITAL CITY

Dear fellow countrymen in Hanoi,

During the past eight years, the Government was obliged to leave the capital to conduct the Resistance war to save the country. Although far away from you, our hearts were always close to you.

Today, thanks to the monolithic solidarity of our people and the valiant struggle of our armymen, peace has been re-established. The government is back in the Capital, among you. From having been hundreds of miles away, we are now close together. How happy we are!

On behalf of the government, I cordially greet you and deem it necessary to state a few points:

If we take into account the Second World War, our capital has undergone fifteen years of warfare. This rather long period was not without much suffering! If the capital city has maintained its present situation, it is due to the steadfast struggle waged by our people.

Nevertheless, from now on, our Government and people have much to do to restore, consolidate and improve the material and cultural life of our capital.

They must do their utmost to maintain order and security. Only with a good order and security can the people live in peace and work with joy. We must unite our efforts to launch a movement for labour, thrift, integrity and righteousness, and for the preservation of good traditions and customs.

We must implement the following policies:

Public and private interests will be attended to with the same care. Both employers and employees will benefit. Workers will tackle production enthusiastically. Traders will actively look after their commercial transactions. All economic (production and commerce) and financial activities of the capital will be maintained or restored.

— The government and parents will strive to seek means to enable our children to continue their education. Cultural and educational workers will enthusiastically serve the people. All cultural activities will be preserved or rehabilitated.

In the political field, we will unite closely and provide democratic liberties. Everybody will contribute their best to rehabilitate the capital and build a peaceful, united, independent and democratic Viet Nam.

In a word, our people, soldiers and cadres must correctly implement the policies and respect the orders of the Military and Administrative Committee.

I take this opportunity of addressing a few words to foreign residents: you are traders, businessmen, owners of small industrial and commercial concerns, workers and intellectuals living among the Vietnamese people. You have

built your property in Viet Nam. Your legitimate economic and cultural activities also benefit Viet Nam. I urge you: do not worry but go on working. The Vietnamese people and government will help and protect you.

* * *

After a great revolution, getting back to normal life will be a complicated and difficult matter. However, with the determination of the government, with your single-mindedness and co-operation with the government, we shall certainly surmount all our difficulties and reach our common goal: to turn Hanoi into a peaceful, lively and prosperous capital city.

Ours is a people's government. Its sole aim is to serve the people's interest. It eagerly looks forward to being favoured with your assistance, control, supervision and criticism to carry through its mission as a faithful and devoted servant of the people.

I wish you solidarity and success in your struggle.

I particularly wish the venerable old people long life and good health to encourage the young generation forward.

I affectionately advise the youth and children to buckle down to their studies, and enthusiastically take part in the re-habilitation and construction of our beloved capital, of which they will be the masters.

Long live Hanoi, capital city of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam!

Long live a peaceful, unified, independent and democratic Viet Nam!

October 10, 1954

SPEECH DELIVERED TO PUBLIC EMPLOYEES OF THE FORMER ADMINISTRATION WHO HAVE REMAINED IN HANOI

I am very glad to meet you today, for the first time after eight years of Resistance. On this occasion, I should like to speak of three points:

1 — *Solidarity*: Fifteen years of war have ravaged our country and plunged our people into poverty. Now that peace has just been re-established, we must heal the scars left by the war and restore the people's life to normal. It is a huge and very complicated task. We possess many advantages but also encounter great difficulties.

The advantages are that our people are very good, our government resolute and our cadres painstaking. We are wholeheartedly supported by the people of the brother countries and of the world.

The difficulties are that the old way of thinking, the points of view, and the old customs and routine are still

prevailing, and that reactionary forces still exist inside and outside the country.

In order to increase our advantages and overcome our difficulties, our greatest need is solidarity.

Everybody knows that there are now two kinds of cadres, one of which is composed of cadres having taken part in the Resistance. But we must know that all of them are cadres of the people's power, that is to say, they are brothers and sisters in the same family. We must rid ourselves of all prejudices, sincerely unite together and help each other to make progress and serve the people.

Solidarity is our strength. With a monolithic solidarity, we shall certainly be able to surmount all difficulties, and develop all our advantages to carry through the task entrusted to us by our people.

2 — *Increase of work efficiency*: Whatever may be our rank, whatever work we may do, we are the people's servants. The rice we eat, the clothes we wear, the things we use, are made with the sweat and toil of our people. We therefore ought to render to the people what we owe them. To this end, we must endeavour to put into practice the four wisdoms: industriousness, economy, integrity and righteousness.

Industriousness is to raise the work efficiency (in whatever work we may do).

Economy means saving of time, saving of our own property as well as of the public wealth.

Integrity means probity, constant respect of public and private property.

Righteousness means that we must do good and shun evil even in small things.

These four wisdoms are connected with each other.

With regard to increase of work efficiency and the economy of the public wealth, we have clearly seen that the workers in factories and construction sites are the first to put them into practice. The cadres in all branches and offices must compete with the workers in this respect.

3 — *Study*: The situation in our country and in the world changes constantly. Our work is new and heavy. Technology advances everyday in the world. But our knowledge is limited. To catch up with the constant evolution, we must learn: learning theory and learning technology.

Courses to this effect are now being organized to train cadres.

They are not compulsory. Everybody is free to attend or not.

I am sure that the great majority of you want to make progress; so many people will be willing to attend these courses.

The cadres responsible for this training must bear in mind that they should make these courses practical and attractive, and definitely avoid formalism and "cramming". Theory and practice must go together.

If the three above mentioned points are observed, we shall certainly be successful in our task of consolidating peace and achieving national unification, independence and democracy all over our beloved Viet Nam.

November 30, 1954

REPLY TO THE FRENCH PAPER "REGARDS"

Question — What do you think, Mr President, of the implementation of the armistice clauses by the two sides?

Reply — We are strictly implementing them. However, we regret to say that not only are the French forces not doing the same, but they have even seriously violated these clauses. You are perhaps aware of what has happened.

Question — What is the general policy of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam on its territory?

Reply — We are doing our best to consolidate peace, and achieve national reunification, independence and democracy throughout Viet Nam.

Question — What are the primary tasks of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam.

Reply — We must devote our efforts to re-habilitating our war-shattered economy and improving the livelihood

of our people, first and foremost the toiling people, in the town and countryside.

Question — What are the means used by the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam to carry out these tasks?

Reply — We rely on our own strength and on the assistance of our brother countries.

Question — What do you think of the situation in south Viet Nam?

Reply — I think that at present this situation gives rise to misgivings, because of the more and more brazen intervention of the U.S.

Undoubtedly our compatriots in the South will protest energetically.

Question — What is your viewpoint on the question of evacuation of the Catholics?

Reply — This question is included in the policy of the U.S. interventionists who are now seeking to sow discord and division among our people.

The hardships endured by our compatriots coerced to go South cause me great pain.

Question — What relations does the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam intend to establish with France?

Reply — We intend to establish economic and cultural relations with France on the basis of equality, mutual benefit, sincere co-operation and mutual confidence.

Question — What relations does the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam intend to establish with other countries, including those in the democratic front.

Reply — Of course we have fraternal relations with the countries in the Democratic front. At the same time

we wish to establish friendly relations with other countries, first of all with Asian countries. On this occasion, I beg you to convey my cordial greetings to the great French people who valiantly struggled to end the war and to restore peace in Indo-China.

December 14, 1954

APPEAL ON THE DAY COMMEMORATING THE NATION- WIDE RESISTANCE WAR

Compatriots, soldiers, cadres at home and Vietnamese residents abroad,

After nearly nine years of a most arduous and valiant Resistance, we have won a brilliant victory: the war has ended and peace has been established, making it possible for us to rebuild our country.

Today is the first time we celebrate Resistance Day in peacetime. But we must realize that, compared with the armed struggle waged during the Resistance, the political struggle necessary in peacetime will be even longer and harder.

Therefore, our people, soldiers and cadres must not be subjective and complacent, but must keep up their combativeness and heroism.

Thanks to our solidarity, struggle, vigilance and faith, we were victorious in our Resistance. So much the more

today, we must unite all our people in a broad front and closely unite with the people of the brother countries and peace-loving people throughout the world. We must further enhance our fighting spirit, heighten our vigilance and trust more firmly in the powerful strength and glorious future of our people. We shall therefore successfully carry out our task of consolidating peace and achieving national unification, independence and democracy throughout our country.

December 19, 1954.

SPEECH AT THE CEREMONY TO LAY WREATHS ON THE CENOTAPH IN MEMORY OF THE FALLEN PATRIOTIC FIGHTERS

Fallen patriotic fighters,

Tomorrow will be New Year's Day when our compatriots and Army welcome the Government on its return to the Capital. On this national jubilee, all deeply grieve at your loss, you who have sacrificed your lives for the Fatherland and people.

On behalf of the people, the Government and the Army, I respectfully pay tribute to your immortal souls.

You are dead, but your great feats have been deeply engraved in the heart of the entire people and of the country.

You are dead but your heroism has deeply penetrated the heart and mind of all our soldiers and people in the resolute struggle for peace, unity, independence and democracy throughout the country.

Your warm blood has dyed our glorious National Flag all the redder. Your fame will go down for ever in history.

With some sticks of incense,

I address you my words of condolence.

Eternal glory to the souls of the patriotic fighters!

Long live the great Vietnamese Fatherland!

December 31, 1954

SPEECH GREETING THE NEW YEAR AND WELCOMING THE VIET NAM WORKERS' PARTY CENTRAL COM- MITTEE AND THE GOVERNMENT ON THEIR RETURN TO THE CAPITAL

Compatriots at home and abroad,
Armymen, officers and all public servants,

After nine years of a hard but valiant Resistance waged by our army and people, the war has ended, peace has been restored and the government has returned to the Capital. These events are of paramount political significance.

On behalf of the government, I thank the citizens of Hanoi and the armymen for their solemn and cordial reception.

On behalf of the Party and government, I send my New Year's greetings to the wounded and sick soldiers and the martyrs' families.

I wish good health, joy and progress to all our compatriots at home and abroad.

Armymen, officers and public servants,
Emulation fighters,
Young people and children,

On behalf of our people and government, I wish the leaders and peoples of brother countries new successes on the occasion of the New Year!

I take this opportunity to point out to our compatriots and soldiers the tasks we have to carry out in order to strengthen peace, achieve reunification, independence and democracy throughout the country.

— We are determined strictly to implement the Armistice Agreement and, at the same time, demand that the other side should fulfil their obligations in this respect; to defend democratic liberties, put an end to the persecutions of southern people, to stop acts of coercion of northern people to induce them to go to south Viet Nam.

We thank the International Commission for their contribution to the implementation of the Armistice Agreement.

— We shall endeavour to restore our economy, agriculture, commerce, industry and transport, gradually to raise our people's living standards.

— We shall do our utmost to defend our Fatherland and preserve peace. We must, therefore, consolidate our national defence. Our soldiers must endeavour to study politics and military technique and maintain discipline and self-control.

— We shall continue our work of mobilizing the masses for land rent reduction and land reform in order to put the slogan "land to the tillers" into practice.

In order to fulfil the above-mentioned tasks, we shall unite closely and broadly. We shall fight against debauchery,

corruption and waste. We shall improve our virtues: industriousness, thrift, integrity and righteousness.

North and South belong to the same family. They are blood brothers and therefore, can in no way be split up. We must establish close relations between the North and the South.

We shall unite closely and broadly from North to South and support our southern compatriots in their struggle for freedom and democracy in conformity with the Geneva Agreement. We wish to make economic and cultural relations and travelling between North and South free and easy.

All this work must be done to prepare the ground for free general elections for national reunification.

We are ready to unite sincerely with all people or groups of people who stand for peace, reunification, independence and democracy.

We shall strengthen our solidarity with the peoples of brother countries.

We shall base ourselves on the five principles laid down in the Sino-Indian declaration and Sino-Burmese declaration to establish friendly relations with the royal governments of Cambodia and Laos.

We shall strengthen our ties of friendship with South East Asian countries.

We shall try to re-establish economic and cultural relations with France on the basis of equality and mutual benefit. We shall unite with the French people and all peace-loving people in the world.

We shall be vigilant and resolutely struggle against the U.S. imperialists' manoeuvres for intensifying their intervention in Indo-China, for egging on their henchmen

to sabotage the Armistice Agreement and to wreck peace. We shall endeavour to contribute our share to the defence of peace in Asia and in the world.

During the Resistance, our army and people have done all in their power to secure victory. In their struggle in peacetime they must also do their best to surmount all difficulties to carry the day.

Long live a peaceful, unified, independent and democratic Viet Nam.

Long live world peace.

January 1, 1955

TALK AT THE OPENING OF THE PEOPLE'S UNIVERSITY

On behalf of the Government I wish you good health and joy. I also hope that you will compete with each other in study, and work enthusiastically to make progress.

Here are a few suggestions I should like to make to help you and your teachers to study the question of the education of youth.

We must first clearly grasp the method of study, the subject of study and the object of study.

In the course of many decades of domination the imperialists and feudalists had inculcated our youth with a slave education. Now that our country is liberated, it is necessary for you, young people, boldly to change the direction of your learning. I will only sum up the main points:

What you ought to do: Set a definite line between right and wrong.

To set a definite line means to differentiate between friend and foe. Those who do good to the people and the

Fatherland are your friends. Those who do evil to them are your enemies. As far as you are concerned, any of your thought or deed which is likely to benefit the people and the Fatherland must be regarded as your friend and any thought or deed which is harmful to them is your enemy. So friend and foe exist not only in the outside world but also within yourselves. Therefore you must make every effort to increase the number of your friends inside and outside the country and resolutely fight the enemy within yourselves.

Try your best to do what is right, be it only a small thing, and try to avoid what is wrong, be it only a small thing.

First of all, love your Fatherland, love your compatriots. Have a sound understanding of nationalism and internationalism. Love and esteem labour. Respect discipline. Protect public property. Care for the people's livelihood. Pay attention to world events, because our country is a part of the world. All world developments have an influence upon our country, and all the internal affairs of our country affect the world. To quote an example: the U.S. imperialists are coercing the French Parliament to sanction the pact for the re-militarization of West Germany. This means that a new war can be rekindled, and such an eventuality would boomerang upon our country. In doing their best to defend peace, restore the economy and struggle against U. S. imperialism, our people are contributing an effective part to the defence of world peace.

Pay attention to the re-habilitation and construction of our country. The task of the youth is not to inquire what the country has done for them, but to ask themselves what they have done for the country. What ought they to do to

benefit the Fatherland most? To what extent have they struggled and made sacrifices for the country?

The youth must be enterprising and show bold creative initiative. They must be enthusiastic and eager to make further progress and overcome all difficulties and hardships. They must be loyal, honest and righteous.

What you ought to fight: You ought to fight the tendency to look after selfish interests, to seek pleasure and avoid difficulties, to despise labour, especially manual labour. You must fight laziness, wasteful spending, extreme mildness, arrogance, hypocrisy and self-conceit.

The youth and the Society: The education of young people cannot be considered apart from the struggle waged in society, but must be closely linked with them. The old society was full of poison which harmed the youth, especially that which was brought in by the injurious American culture. The U.S. imperialists resort to every means, including literature and films, to spoil and corrupt the youth, so much so that a number of young people become hooligans, thieves or gamblers, etc. Therefore, the education of the youth must rely on public opinion and the Government's power to prevent what is likely to exert a noxious influence upon them in order to heighten their vigilance.

Democracy must prevail throughout the school. In all discussions, teachers and students must frankly expose their views. They should ask and discuss matters until they grasp the meaning. Democracy, however, does not mean that teachers and students are treated on "the same footing". Students ought to respect their teachers and teachers must love their students. Together they must help the personnel of the school to fulfil their tasks. The personnel

of the school must compete with one another to serve good food to the students so as to enable them to devote themselves to study.

The university, students' families and youth organizations must closely co-ordinate their efforts to educate the youth.

Study and work are the main occupations of the youth, but amusement is also necessary to them. Sane recreation is a part of the youth's activities. In this school where you live and work collectively, there are students of both sexes. You must love each other and help one another like brothers and sisters of the same family. At the same time you must respect and treat one another as school-mates and comrades. Don't behave in a dissolute manner. Try to do what you can so that the parents of girl students feel assured and have confidence in you. Preserve the reputation of the school and dignity of all the students. Education can be found in amusement, too. You must organize cultural entertainments as well as physical culture of a collective and mass character.

The school, student's families and youth organizations should pay attention to the ideological education of the youth, to their demeanour, activities and daily routine in order to encourage and correct them in due time.

This is the people's university. You learn from your teachers, at the same time you must also learn from the people. In the army, among the voluntary workers and in all other branches of activities, there are many outstanding youth. This demonstrates that generally speaking, our youth are very enthusiastic and very worthy people. Let us quote some examples: in the army, there are many heroes among the youth, such as La Van Cau, Giap Van Khuong,

Nguyen Thi Chien. In the railway construction sites, there are many outstanding workers: La Van Quy, Nguyen Thi Mui, Nguyen Trong Tuy, Le Huy Phat, etc. During the Resistance war, they were heroic guerilla fighters. Today, in the work of economic re-habilitation, they have become valiant workers. The same applies to the youth in other construction sites and factories. Another instance: the shock youth team is always in the van to do any difficult or urgent work. I hope you will follow the examples set by these outstanding youth: compete in study, make progress and volunteer for social activities in order to contribute your part to the common struggle waged for the cause of peace, for national reunification, independence and democracy throughout the country. You will then deserve to be called the vanguard class of the People's University, and steel yourselves to become prospective masters of the country.

January 19, 1955

APPEAL FOR COMPETITION IN PRODUCTION AND THRIFT IN THE SPRING SEASON

Compatriots and cadres of all localities,

During the Resistance years, our people did their best to compete in production. This saved us from living in want despite natural calamities and the havoc wrought by the enemy. This was a great achievement.

Peace is now re-established. In many localities, mass mobilization for land rent reduction and land reform gets under way. These are promising conditions in which to develop our agriculture.

However, great difficulties still exist: drought, flood and insects are liable to destroy the crops; a number of ricefields are still left fallow, some hydraulic works have not been completely overhauled. We must, therefore, do our utmost to push forward the cultivation of rice and other crops to remove the difficulties which are likely to crop up

during the pre-harvest shortage periods (April and September).

Today, our people's glorious task is to strive in the re-habilitation and development of agricultural production, to secure enough food and clothing for the peasants and to supply them to the army and the towns so as to accelerate the re-habilitation of our national economy.

The task ahead of our peasants this spring is to exert every effort to:

— grow as much rice and as many subsidiary crops as possible,

— plough deeply, weed and manure carefully,

— combat drought and flood and kill insects,

— reclaim fallow land,

— rear more cattle and poultry,

— make saving in every field.

This is a patriotic task of paramount significance. I call on our compatriots to enthusiastically take part in this campaign. This is a contribution on your part to the struggle for peace, unity, independence and democracy all over the country.

As my new year greetings, I wish you brilliant success in your work of production.

The government will reward individually or collectively those who will distinguish themselves in this spring campaign.

Greetings of affection and of determination to win

February 5, 1955

LETTER TO THE CONFERENCE OF MEDICAL WORKERS

I cordially wish you joy and good health to enthusiastically exchange your experiences, work out plans with accuracy and make progress (Is there among you a woman doctor from the South?)

Here are some opinions I would like to put forward to help you in your discussions.

First, unite sincerely with one another — Solidarity is our strength. It enables us to surmount all obstacles and obtain great achievements.

Solidarity between old and new cadres, among the public health personnel, from the minister, vice-ministers doctors, chemists, down to the manual labourers. Though the tasks and positions are different, you are all required in your branch to serve the people.

Love the patients — Their fate is in your hands. The government entrusts you with the task of curing and preserving the health of our compatriots. This is a most glorious task.

You must therefore love and nurse the sick as if they were your own brothers and sisters, and regard their sufferings as yours

A doctor must be like a mother nursing a child. These are true words.

Build up a medicine of our own — During the period of slavery, our medicine was hamstrung like all other branches of activities. Now that we are independent and free, you must help the people and the government to build up a health service appropriate to our people's requirements. Medicine must also be based on the principles of being: scientific, national and popular.

Formerly our ancestors possessed valuable experiences regarding the curing by local medical process and by Chinese medicine. To broaden the medical field, you must pay attention to studying and co-ordinating "Eastern" with "Western" medicines.

Do your best to carry through your task.

Greetings of affection and of determination to win

February 1955

MESSAGE ON THE OCCASION OF THE OPENING ON THE HANOI MUC NAM QUAN RAILWAY LINE

Cadres, outstanding workers and compatriots building the Hanoi Muc Nam Quan railway line,

On behalf of the Party and Government, I congratulate you on the completion of this line.

The same line was under construction by the French for over ten years. Under the people's power it was completed in four months' time. This is a brilliant achievement.

This is due first to the disinterested help of People's China. At present that country is busily embarking on its five-year plan. However, Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese Government sent their technicians and workers, who have devoted all their efforts to help us. We are very moved and most grateful for this noble internationalist spirit and friendship of the Chinese people.

Secondly, this achievement was made possible by the creative initiative and efforts of our cadres and workers in the North or regrouped here from the South, the shock brigade youth, and the inhabitants of the provinces of Bac Ninh, Bac Giang, Lang Son, Thai Nguyen, Bac Can, etc.

This railway line will contribute to facilitate our economic re-habilitation.

It draws us closer to China, the Soviet Union and other brother countries. It links Hanoi to Peking, Moscow and other capital cities, as far as Berlin. It unites us more closely with the 600 million people of the brother countries.

Its significance is of paramount importance.

To our people as a whole, this railway line is of great utility, and to our manufacturers and traders it will bring great advantages.

But this is only a preliminary achievement. We must not be complacent. On the contrary, we must make greater efforts.

Now that this railway is completed, we must consolidate it and maintain it in good working order; we must be vigilant and defend it against any schemes of sabotage by the reactionaries.

In the forthcoming conference of recapitulation, the cadres and model workers should exchange and popularize their experiences, make preparations for competition in the next stage of railway construction so that the work done will be faster, better and more economical.

This honorary banner is to reward the whole construction yard. The Government will reward medals to the most outstanding units and emulation fighters.

I should like to ask you, upon your return to the construction sites, to convey my greetings and words of encouragement to all the cadres, workers, voluntary labourers and compatriots who had participated in the building of this railway line.

I wish you good health and hope you will strive to score new achievements.

February 27, 1955

SPEECH CLOSING THE 7th ENLARGED SESSION OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE VIET NAM WORKERS' PARTY

Although not carefully prepared, this session of the Central Committee has recorded good results thanks to the efforts of you all.

Clear appreciation of the situation. In international affairs, since the beginning of our Resistance, the camp of peace, democracy and Socialism has been growing in size and strength. The Soviet Union and the other socialist countries in East Europe are becoming stronger and stronger. The Chinese revolution has been brought to a successful end. Viet Nam and Korea victoriously resisted the invaders. Composed of twelve countries embracing more than 900 million people, our camp is, geographically speaking, a bloc running from Europe to Asia and, politically, it is sealed in monolithic solidarity.

Furthermore, there are 500 million Indian, Indonesian and Burmese peoples who have cast off their colonial status and support peace.

Not including the people of capitalist countries who also love peace, these 1,400 million people, or more than half the people of the world, stand for peace and are resolved to struggle against war. This is a gigantic force.

But the imperialist camp headed by the U.S. is also very active. As early as 1948, the imperialists set up the N.A.T.O. bloc. After the Geneva Conference, they signed the Paris treaty, created the S.E.A.T.O. and staged the U.S. - Chiang Kai-shek pact, etc. In a word, they are preparing for war: the international situation is therefore more tense than after the Geneva Conference.

Internal situation. Our resistance and the Geneva Conference ended victoriously. Quite a large territory has been liberated. Our country, together with the great family of new democracy and socialism, forms an inseparable bloc. We therefore enjoy favourable conditions to defend peace and achieve national reunification.

However our country is temporarily divided into two parts. The North is not yet consolidated. The South is in a precarious situation. The U.S. imperialists and their henchmen seek every means to torpedo the Geneva Agreement. They engineer the evacuation of northern people to the South. Famine prevails. Cambodia and Laos are in difficulties. The international situation is tense. These are our handicaps.

Nevertheless these difficulties, though great and many, are temporary ones. The determination of all our Party and people will overcome them.

Favourable conditions are our fundamental advantages. We must endeavour to develop them.

The successes of the session. A careful review was made of the leadership of the Central Committee pointing out the mistakes so as to correct them. Only the Party of the working class, the genuinely revolutionary Party, is able to detect mistakes amidst its victories. The session has clearly pointed out effective methods for perfecting leadership, such as :

“Leadership must be closer to reality.”

“Leadership must be collective, democratic, unified and centralized.”

The ideological level and organizational ability of all Party members must be raised so as to respond to the new tasks. Leadership in organization must be improved.

Criticism and self-criticism must continuously be made, especially criticism of the higher level by the lower levels.

Thanks to the Party's correct policy and directives, we have recorded fair results. If we are determined to carry out the above-mentioned points, the results will be greater.

Today, as never before, solidarity within the Party is important, especially between responsible cadres.

As this session has shown, there is enlargement of inner-party democracy and general use of criticism and self-criticism. After this session, the Central Committee has come to a closer understanding; it is more united, and firmly guarantees the unity and solidarity of the whole Party.

Under the leadership of the Central Committee, in the light of the Party's principles and policies, all the Party members and the cadres — whether old or new, and wherever they are: in the North or in the South, in the Army or in any branches or regions, in the towns or in the countryside — should unite closely and raise their political consciousness. They should exercise community of ideas and actions and be determined to carry through their tasks.

Our Party is firm and united, our people are united and enthusiastic; our army is powerful; our policies are correct; basically we enjoy favourable conditions, we have a firm determination and we enjoy the assistance of the Parties of brother countries. Therefore, though great difficulties and obstacles still lie ahead, we shall certainly be victorious in our task of consolidating peace, achieving reunification and completing independence and democracy throughout our beloved Viet Nam, and thereby make a worthwhile contribution to the defence of world peace.

March 12, 1955

LENINISM AND THE LIBERATION OF OPPRESSED PEOPLES

On April 22, 1870, in old despotic Russia there was born the future leader and talented teacher of the toiling masses and oppressed people throughout the world — Vladimir Ilyitch Lenin.

At the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, capitalism reached its highest and ultimate development — imperialism — and ushered in the era of proletarian revolution. The man who skilfully continued Marx's and Engels' great work in the new historical conditions was V.I. Lenin.

Struggling uncompromisingly with the reformists and all kinds of distortionists of Marxism, Lenin brought scientific Socialism to a new stage. He enriched Marxism, the great ideological weapon of the proletariat, greatly contributed to the formulation of the theory of proletarian dictatorship, developed the Marxist principle on the worker-peasant alliance, the national and colonial question, proletarian internationalism, the building and strengthening

of a new type proletarian party which is the only organisation capable of leading the multiform struggle of the working class and enslaved peoples. Lenin has established a new theory of the socialist revolution, and demonstrated the possibilities of the triumph of socialism in a single country.

Lenin helped the working people who were suffering from imperialist oppression to realise in a more comprehensive manner the law of social development, the requirements and objective conditions of the political struggle in every stage of the proletarian revolution, and the whole liberation movement. He acquainted the oppressed masses with the intricate and complex developments of our times. He gave them the miraculous weapon to fight for their emancipation — the theory and tactics of Bolshevism.

The Russian Communist Party founded by Lenin set a bright example to the world's people. Under the clear-sighted leadership of great Lenin, the talented strategist and tactician, the Communist Party led the Russian proletariat to seize power and establish the first state of the working masses; the founding of this State ushered in a new era in the history of mankind. In the eye of the peoples loving peace and democracy, the Soviet Union is an unshakable bulwark of independence and freedom. After World War II, the mighty camp of peace, democracy and socialism headed by the Soviet Union took shape, in opposition to imperialism.

Lenin's popularity and doctrine are closely linked to all the successes of the camp of peace and democracy which stretches from the Elbe River to the Pacific Ocean, and from the Arctic pole to the Tropics. This is why all the oppressed and unfortunate people regard Lenin's banner

which is now being held aloft by the Communists of all countries, as a symbol of faith and a torchlight of hope.

The heroic struggle waged by the Soviet people to build Communism is now encouraging all the peoples and showing them the way to attain a living worthy of man.

The consistent peace policy of the Soviet government, clearly embodied in the decree signed by Lenin and promulgated immediately after the triumph of the Socialist revolution, is now stimulating the broad masses of people to struggle for the defence and strengthening of peace and against the warmongers headed by U.S. imperialism.

The principles laid down by Lenin on the people's right to self-determination, peaceful co-existence, non-interference into the internal affairs of other countries — equality and relations beneficial to the parties concerned, principles which are the bases of the Soviet Union's foreign policy — are now showing the peoples of colonial and dependent countries the path of struggle for national reunification and independence.

* * *

For the Asian peoples as well as for the peoples throughout the world who are fighting for peace, independence, democracy and socialism, Leninism is like the sun which brings with it a cheerful life. Lenin always attached great importance to the movement for national liberation waged by the Asian peoples, and regarded it as part and parcel of the struggle put up by the toiling masses throughout the world against the imperialist oppressors. Lenin made it clear that the awakening of Asia and the first struggle waged by the advanced proletariat in Europe to seize power, marked a new era in world history, an era which began with the

20th century. In 1913, V. I. Lenin wrote: "The whole of Europe takes the leading place; the entire bourgeoisie in Europe is colluding with all the reactionary forces and mediæval forces in China."

"But all young Asia, that is, hundreds of millions of toiling masses in Asia, has the proletariat of all civilised countries as a firm ally. No force in the world is able to check the victory of the proletariat in the liberation of the European and Asian peoples."

Today, in the midst of the 20th century only, the "Young Asia" referred to by Lenin, is precisely the People's Republic of China, the People's Republic of Mongolia, the People's Democratic Republic of Korea and the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. In other regions of Asia, similar young forces are rising to struggle for national liberation. These scientific previsions of the great revolutionary strategist have been substantiated so swiftly that the imperialist camp becomes anxious and fearful!

If, under the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist parties, the enslaved peoples of Asia have recorded practical successes, it is because they have followed Vladimir Ilyich great teachings.

In his appeal to the revolutionaries in the East, Lenin wrote: "You have before you a task which was unknown to the Communists in the world: relying on the theory and common practice of communism, and applying them to specific conditions which do not exist in Europe, you must know how to use them in the conditions in which the peasants are the basic masses and the task is not to struggle against capitalism, but against mediæval vestiges."

This is an instruction most valuable for a country like ours in which 90 per cent of the population live on

agriculture, and a great deal of the vestiges of rotten feudalism and mandarinism still exist.

Under the leadership of the glorious Communist Party of China and of comrade Mao Tse-tung, its clear-sighted leader, the victory of the great Revolution in China was the triumph of Leninist thinking. It is precisely for this reason that comrade Mao Tse-tung said that the gun report of the October Revolution has brought Marxism-Leninism to China, and 600 million people are once and for all freed from the grip of imperialism.

Applying Leninism to internationalism, the Soviet Union, where socialism has triumphed, has constantly given great moral assistance to the national liberation movement in colonial and dependent countries. Particularly with her consistent peace policy and due to her great prestige all over the world, the Soviet Union has greatly helped the Korean and Vietnamese people to defend their motherlands against the danger wrought by the U.S. imperialists and their allies. The diplomatic activities of the Soviet Union were a deciding factor in bringing the wars in Korea and Viet Nam to an end.

Educated in the spirit of proletarian internationalism, the Vietnamese people highly appreciate the moral support of the peoples throughout the world, including the French toiling people who have been fighting to put an end to the war in Indo-China.

* * *

Lenin bequeathed to us, as to all the Communist and workers' parties, an invaluable treasure which was his ideology: organisational principles, theory and tactics of a revolutionary party. Leninism is a powerful ideological

force which guides our Party and makes it possible to become the highest organisation of the toiling masses, and the embodiment of the intelligence, dignity and conscience of our people.

Under the banner of Leninism, the Viet Nam Worker's Party has won the confidence of our people and is considered as their vanguard party. Our Party has known how to make use of the potentialities and creative initiative of our people who never resigned themselves to the yoke of slavery and colonialism.

Lenin embodied the unity of mind within the Party, the solidarity of its ranks, the respect of revolutionary discipline, the unshakable faith in the great cause of communism and firm confidence in the final victory. All this is now an encouragement for the Viet Nam Workers' Party which has daily and hourly applied the principle of criticism and self criticism, and regarded it as the miraculous method to correct mistakes and shortcomings and to struggle against the manifestations of subjectivism and complacency. Our Party has no other interests than those of our people and our Fatherland; therefore, it attaches great importance to raising the level of its work. While doing its utmost to fulfil its tasks, our Party has constantly studied Leninism in order to raise its combativeness, political dynamism, the unity in organisation and the ideological level of the Party members.

Our people and Party members were steeled in the flame of the long and hard struggle for national salvation and suffered untold hardship and suffering. Over eight years, our people and Party waged an heroic struggle which ended victoriously in favour of the Vietnamese people and in the re-establishment of peace in Indo-China. The

Geneva Agreements demonstrated that the struggle for national liberation waged by the Vietnamese people and the brother peoples of Laos and Cambodia and their lofty sacrifice and heroism have been internationally recognised. Our Party can be proud that during these years it was resolute and persevering and led the people to struggle with a great sacrificing spirit.

* * *

Today, while peace has been restored, we are continuing to fight for the correct implementation of the Geneva Agreement. According to figures already checked, we have recently been able to affirm that the other side has violated the Agreement 2,114 times, including 467 times in south Viet Nam. Here are some shocking figures: 806 dead, 3,501 wounded and 12,741 persons arrested groundlessly.

Last year, in September, the Viet Nam Workers' Party passed many resolutions on our people's action aimed at strictly implementing the Geneva Agreement, and opposing all manoeuvres to sabotage it. Our main tasks are: to consolidate peace, complete land reform, work with might and main in order to improve our economic life, stabilise our livelihood in every respect in the territory north of the 17th Parallel and continue the political struggle waged by the entire people. We have put forth the following slogans for our struggle: to consolidate peace, achieve national reunification, gain complete independence and popularize democracy throughout the country.

Today we are struggling to carry through these fundamental tasks. At the same time, we cannot ignore that, after the conferences held by the imperialists in Manila

and Bangkok * a new situation has arisen in Asia. Today the U. S. A. has openly intervened in Indo-China's affairs and has carried out many more manoeuvres to torpedo the Geneva Agreement.

For the realisation of their goal, the imperialists and their henchmen of all kinds are nurturing the dark scheme of permanently dividing our country, placing south Viet Nam under their sway, checking all democratic forces and sabotaging the 1956 general elections.

In these conditions, our struggle shifts now from the stage of armistice to that of political struggle to check the enemy's plot to rekindle war and achieve national reunification by nation-wide elections scheduled for July, 1956.

Peace, reunification national independence and democracy are problems which are closely linked together. If there is no consolidation of peace, there is no possibility of reunifying Viet Nam through general elections. Inversely, if there is no national reunification by means of general elections, there is no possibility of establishing a firm basis for peace.

The recent developments, and the examination of the political situation enable our Party to see clearly that the struggle for peace, independence and democracy waged by the Vietnamese people will be a hard one, and on

* In September 1954 the imperialist countries held a conference in Manila to set up the South East Asia Treaty Organisation (S. E. A. T. O.) whose headquarters are in Bangkok.

The S. E. A. T. O. bloc is a political and military alliance set up by the U. S. A., Great Britain, France, Australia, New Zealand, the Philippines, Thailand and Pakistan with an aim to attacking the Asian socialist countries and suppressing the national, democratic and peace movement in the South East Asian countries.

this path, the Vietnamese people will encounter a lot of difficulties. However our Party is firmly confident in the final victory.

From the most powerful Leninist doctrine, we draw a great strength to fulfil our sacred task of securing peace, reunification, independence and democracy and to win victory for Socialism.

Article appearing in Pravda, April 18, 1955

EXCERPT FROM A SPEECH DELIVERED AT THE NATIONAL CONGRESS OF MUTUAL AID TEAMS

The peasants' aspiration is to have land when they have none or to produce more, so as to better their life, when they already have some.

In order greatly to increase production, we have to work collectively. But our peasants are accustomed to individual work, each household working separately. They have not the habit of collective and organized work. To ensure continuous progress, the peasants' path should consist of different stages, short or long according to the concrete conditions of each country. In the Soviet Union, for instance, the peasants organize themselves in collective farms, pooling their land and working collectively. Planting, ploughing, harvesting are all mechanized. The collective farms are provided with eight-year or ten-year schools, libraries, hospitals, kindergartens, stadiums, cinemas..., in short, in no way different from towns.

No doubt, you are very pleased to know that the Soviet peasants are so advanced and happy, aren't you? However, we cannot do the same right now. The Soviet Union carried out land reform thirty years ago. In our country, land reform is not yet completed. But if we persist in our struggle we shall have in the future, what the Soviet Union has now. When the Soviet workers and peasants carried out the revolution they received no direct aid at all. At present, we have the assistance of the Soviet Union, China, and other brother countries, and the leadership of our Party and Government. If you exert efforts you will certainly make rapid progress.

In China, the revolution was successful only five years ago, land reform was completed three years back. At the beginning, China also organized mutual aid teams and gradually advanced to co-operatives. For the time being, in our countryside, we should widely popularize mutual aid teams, the lowest and simplest form of organization. So, the organisation of the Chinese peasants (co-operatives) is higher than that of our peasants' (mutual aid teams); the organization of the Soviet peasants (collective farms) is higher than that of the Chinese. Nevertheless, the Soviet peasants will progress still further.

Most of you came from communes where land reform has been realized. You found that rent reduction and land reform at the beginning were not easy. Now, the organization of mutual aid teams is also not easy. Those who think it easy will fall into subjectivism and meet failure.

The organization of mutual aid teams should be carried out according to correct principles and method.

The present policy is to develop a great number of work exchange teams, per season or per specific work, so

that such teams can be found in all the places where rent reduction and land reform have been carried out. Wherever the people's and cadres' political standards are high, we shall organize exchange of labour, in permanence or from one season's cultivation to another. Wherever such exchange of labour already exists, we have to consolidate it and make it better.

Principles for the exchange of labour :

— Firstly, compulsion should not be used with anybody. By means of propaganda, we should explain to the peasants the advantages of the mutual aid teams; we should give them complete freedom of adherence, and strictly refrain from any compulsion.

— Secondly, the families should find interests after joining the mutual aid teams. The peasants will confidently join the teams only when they find it is in their interest. To convince people to join such teams is not an easy job. But when this has been done, we are not yet successful because the peasantry is fraught with many complicated questions. For instance, in each team there are big families and small ones, people who can work hard and others who cannot, families which have buffaloes and others which have not. Even among draught animals, some are strong, others are weak. Some lands are nearby, others are far away. When the crop simultaneously gets ripe on many fields, everybody wants to have his own harvested first. If these questions are not settled in the interests of everybody, they will give rise to dissatisfaction and jealousy among the people. It is failure then.

— Thirdly, a mutual aid team should be headed by a team leader or a managing committee. The management

should be democratic. Every task should be discussed among the team members. When they have understood the utility of the task, they will be willing to do it. If we force people to do work of which they do not understand the utility, the work will meet with failure.

Method of organization :

— Firstly, we should refrain from the desire to do quickly and tempestuously. Better to do little but surely than to do much, tempestuously but not surely. We should make firm and steady steps, and go forward gradually.

— Secondly, we should be realistic. The organization is intended for practical work. Its aim is not to have a name without practical content.

— Thirdly, we should organize mutual aid teams, from small ones, from 5-7 families to 9-10 families, to big ones. The teams should not be too big; otherwise their management will be difficult, the organization will get loose and easily exposed to failure.

There are some other points which deserve our attention: experiences should be drawn to develop successes and to avoid failure. Farming methods should be improved.

The emulation movement should be organized. Whether in big or small works everybody will make efforts only when emulating with one another. Everybody should be made to understand that emulation is to benefit both the country and the family.

Benefitting the family : before adherence to the mutual aid team, when there is no emulation, each mầu* yields

* One mầu; 3,600 square metres.

30 baskets of paddy; after adherence to the team, after emulation, the output of each mầu increases to 32 or 35 baskets or more.

Benefitting the country : besides the quantity of paddy to pay tax to the Government and that used for consumption, the extra paddy will be sold to the Government. The latter buys this paddy to feed the cadres, the army, and to do common interest works. Increased production will augment the extra quantity of paddy which will be sold to the Government also in bigger quantity. Moreover, the best producer in a locality is rewarded by the Government. So, he earns both interest and popularity.

A mutual aid team should be closely united, not only among its members. It should help the families of the war-martyrs or soldiers, if there are any in the village. The war-martyrs have sacrificed themselves for the people, the army-men have fought the enemy to safeguard the country and defend the people, they have done great service to the people, therefore the people should do their best to help their families. The sick and disabled people in the village should also be helped. This is very good propaganda to convince them to join the mutual aid teams.

Leadership :

To be successful every work needs leadership. Who leads the mutual aid team? It is the team-leader who directly manages it. If the team-leader is impartial and disinterested, if he organizes and leads well, if he enjoys the confidence and affection of the members, the team will be successful in its work. One example: all the team members are equal in the distribution of products, but

when the crop is ripe, other people's grain is harvested first, before the team leader's, the team leader will be the first to work but the last to enjoy the advantages. With such a team leader, the organization will certainly score success.

Party members should set an example in the work of the mutual aid team. The Party branch in the commune should help practically and lead the team. It is responsible for the greater part of the team's good or bad state. Before land reform, feudal landlords and local despots sneaked in and made profit out of many communal Party cells; they turned them into cells of mandarins, refusing to do patriotic work and to pay agricultural taxes. They looked down upon the people. With land reform many Party cells have been reorganized, but they are not perfect. If you relax your vigilance, those elements will seek ways and means to sabotage. From now on, in land-reformed communes where mutual aid teams are still lacking, the Party cells there have the responsibility of building such teams. If the teams have been organized but are not strong, the Party cells ought then to consolidate them.

The peasant organization should educate, encourage, help the peasants and lead them into mutual aid teams. So, mutual aid teams are directly led by team leaders, Party cells and peasant organizations. The youth should form the nucleus of the teams. The Labour Youth, wherever it exists, should push forward the work of mutual aid teams. The Party, at district, provincial and zone levels, should in practice control, stimulate and help mutual aid teams.

The Party and Government will give further assistance by buying the peasants' forest and agricultural produce,

by sending cadres to work in the countryside, by lending capital to the peasants... However, you should not hang on this assistance, but strive *to rely mainly on your own efforts*; assistance from outside is only secondary.

In short, I have pointed out the difficulties of the mutual aid teams for you to realize and overcome them, and certainly not to be disheartened. As you are prompted by the spirit of emulation, you are united and make efforts, you will inevitably overcome these difficulties and the movement of mutual aid teams will certainly develop and come to success.

May 6, 1955

LETTER TO THE COMPATRIOTS IN THE THAI-MEO AUTONOMOUS REGION

Dear compatriots in the Thai-Meo Autonomous Region,

For one year now, the North-West area has been completely liberated. This is owing to the close unity among all nationalities and their enthusiastic participation in the Resistance war, to the valiant struggle of our army, and to the clear-sighted leadership of the Party and Government.

Now, upon the proposal of the Party and the decision of the Government, the Thai-Meo Autonomous Region is established.

The aim of the founding of the Thai-Meo Autonomous Region is to enable the brother nationalities gradually to run all their own activities so as rapidly to develop their economy and culture, and realize equality among nationalities in all respects.

The Thai-Meo Autonomous Region is an integral part of the great family of Viet Nam, making with other brother

nationalities a monolithic bloc of unity. It will always enjoy the education and leadership of the Party and Government and the assistance of other brother nationalities.

The Thai-Meo Autonomous Region is at present under a democratic regime, with the people as masters. It is completely different from the faked "Thai Autonomy" previously founded by the enemy with a view to dividing and repressing the nationalities.

Today we celebrate the anniversary of the great victory won by our army and people in Dien Bien Phu; at the same time we officially found the Thai-Meo Autonomous Region. Therefore this is a very glorious historical day for the compatriots in the North West and for the whole Democratic Republic of Viet Nam as well.

The compatriots in the North West have the particular honour of having their autonomous region established first. Hence, they have the particular task of striving to set an example to other autonomous regions which will be founded one after the other.

To deserve that great honour and to fulfil that lofty task, the compatriots in the Thai-Meo Autonomous Region should:

- Ensure close unity among all nationalities, love and help one another as brothers and sisters.
- Emulate in increasing production so that everybody will be provided with enough cloth and food.
- Keep constant vigilance and be ready to help the army and the security service in frustrating the enemy's plots of sowing dissension and of sabotage.

As regards the cadres, there should be sincere unity between old and new cadres, between cadres of the locality and those coming on duty from other places, between army

cadres and cadres of the Party and Government; they should all wholeheartedly serve the people and resolutely fight against bureaucracy, commandism, corruption and waste.

On this occasion, the Government again earnestly calls on those North Westerners who have gone astray, to right their wrong without delay and to return to their honest life among the people. The Government and the people are always lenient with those who have repented.

The Party and the Government have confidence in the patriotic spirit and the struggle of the compatriots in the Thai-Meo Autonomous Region and hope that all of them will remain single-minded and unite their efforts to develop and improve the autonomous region day by day so as to make valuable contributions to the struggle for peace, national unity, independence and democracy in the whole of our beloved country.

My greetings of affection and
of determination to win.

May 7, 1955

TALK WITH THE PEOPLE'S REPRESENTATIVES OF HAIPHONG CITY

I came to see you, compatriots, in 1946. A few months later, the resistance began. Ten years have flitted away since our last meeting. In these ten years, how many sentiments and affection! Although far away from you, the Party, the Government, and I have always been thinking of you. You too, have always been thinking of me. I have often received letters from the elders, the youth, the children and the workers of Haiphong, secretly sent to me in Viet Bac.

Over the last ten years, our country has undergone many big changes, and the biggest one is the complete liberation of the North, Haiphong included. The taking over was good thanks to our armymen and cadres' correct application of policies and good discipline of our people, especially the workers who had struggled enthusiastically, and thanks also to the wholehearted assistance of the Chinese residents.

The complete liberation of the North is our great victory. After over 80 years of slavery, all north Viet Nam belongs now to our people, being under the democratic republican regime with the people as masters. This tremendous victory is due to the fact that from North to South, our people are united, our army heroic, our Party and Government correct in their leadership. Besides, we enjoy the support of the peoples of brother countries, of the French people and of peace lovers the world over.

The task of everyone of us now is to struggle for peace, unity, independence and democracy for the whole country. This is a complicated, hard and long struggle because the U.S. imperialists and the like are plotting to undermine peace and our national unity. Our country is temporarily partitioned. In the South the U.S. imperialists and Ngo Dinh Diem are terrorizing the people, creating armed clashes, thereby throwing the people into a miserable plight. In the North our Party, Government and People, united and single-minded are striving in unity and single-mindedness to build a peaceful life. In view of the particular conditions of our country being provisionally partitioned into two parts, our whole people's work is the consolidation of the North in various aspects, political, national, defence economic and cultural, in support of the struggle of the south Viet Nam people. To struggle for peace and unity is the common task of all of us. Besides, each branch, each section has its own task :

— The army and the security service should be highly vigilant, should avoid subjectiveness and underestimation of the enemy force. They should rely on the people's force, educate them in the duty of safeguarding the Fatherland ; by so doing, they will have millions of people as ears and

eyes in the service of the army and security service. The saboteurs can in no way escape the net of the people's ears and eyes.

— All compatriots should be closely united, and emulate in increasing production with a view to rehabilitating the economy to a normal state.

— Being the leading class of the revolution and the main force of economic production, the workers should strive to promote labour efficiency, to care for machines, to defend factories, correctly to observe labour regulations. This is the way to the betterment of life for the people and the working class.

— The peasants will emulate in producing more rice and more sweet potatoes to supply the cities, the factories and the army. This is beneficial to both the country and the family.

— The intellectuals will emulate in rebuilding our national culture and educating our children to become good citizens. Physicians will help the people keep good health, cure the diseases left behind by the colonialists.

— The manufacturers and traders will emulate in their businesses, in correctly implementing the financial and economic policies of the Government and contributing to the rehabilitation of national economy.

— The youth should be the vanguard in all work, and try to be worthy of being future masters of the country. The children should be obedient, industrious, hardworking ; they should help their parents and love their friends.

I hope that our old people will educate and stimulate our children and nephews to fulfil their tasks.

After many decades of subservience, we have undergone 15 years of war, including the period of World War II.

When withdrawing, the enemy took away all riches, and left us such difficulties as unemployment, poverty, and diseases. The U.S. imperialists and the like are plotting sabotage. Such are our immediate *difficulties*, which we should realize fully. However, they are *temporary difficulties*, and we should endeavour to overcome them all at any cost.

As well as these difficulties, we have *great fundamental advantages*: the North has been completely liberated: "Golden mountains and silver seas" are ours now, with our people as masters; our compatriots are united and hard-working, our Party resolute, our Government pure and impartial; the Party and Government are devotedly serving the country and the people; our brother countries are ready to help us.

At the beginning of the resistance, we met with many more difficulties and we were then almost empty handed. Nevertheless, we were victorious. Now in peace time, with our unity, strenuous efforts, strength, funds, determination, and our friends' assistance, we will certainly overcome all difficulties and win victory.

Long live a peaceful, unified, independent and democratic Viet Nam!

June 2, 1955

REPORT ON THE VISIT OF THE DELEGATION OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE D.R.V.N. TO THE SOVIET UNION AND THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

Dear fellow-countrymen, elders, youth and children,

At the invitation of the Government of the U.S.S.R., of the People's Republic of China and of the People's Republic of Mongolia, I have, together with Comrade Truong Chinh, four Ministers and three Vice-Ministers, visited our great brother countries.

The journey from Hanoi to Peking and then to Moscow passing through Ulan Bator (capital of Mongolia), and the return trip covered altogether 22,000 kilometres.

Our delegation set out on June 22nd and was back home on July 22nd. That makes exactly one month.

The visits had these aims:

1 — To further consolidate the friendship and solidarity between our people and the Soviet and Chinese peoples.

2 — To develop economic and cultural relations with the brother countries. Our delegation met and exchanged views with leaders of the two Governments on the situation in South-East Asia and in the world, on how to preserve peace, on the economic and cultural rehabilitation and development of our country. There was complete identity of views between our delegation and the leaders of the brother countries. The content of the talks was made known through the joint communiques issued by our delegation and the governments of the U.S.S.R. and of the People's Republic of China.

Now I will sum up the general impression of our delegation during these visits:

The bonds of friendship between the peoples and governments of the two brother countries and our people are very cordial, and their sympathy and support for us are very warm. Everywhere we went, we were greeted by thousands, tens of thousands of cheering people. Even the children enthusiastically shouted the slogan: «Long live the heroic Vietnamese people!»

What is the reason for this warm friendship?

It is because our people, under the leadership of the Viet Nam Workers' Party and the Government, united closely and fought valiantly during the Resistance War. At present, our people are resolved to struggle for peace, unity, independence and democracy in the whole country.

It is because the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China are democratic and socialist countries

which always support the just cause, support the peoples who struggle for their independence and freedom.

In the Soviet Union and in China, we saw a greatly developed agriculture and industry, high material and cultural standards, a determination of all to struggle for the preservation of peace.

* * *

On this occasion I am happy to inform you that the Soviet Union has decided to grant us aid amounting to 306 billion dongs* to be supplied during two years.

The People's Republic of China will give us aid amounting to 1,224 billion dongs spread over five years.

The other brother countries such as Poland, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Hungary, the German Democratic Republic, will also give us aid. The People's Republic of Mongolia, with a population of about one million will give us 500 tons of meat and a number of cattle and sheep to establish a breeding farm.

On this occasion, on behalf of our Government and people, I wish to express once again, our wholehearted thanks to the brother countries.

The brother countries have helped us in finance and material, they also send technicians to assist us in our economic, cultural and social construction, and to train our cadres.

Their aid is generous and disinterested. We do not have to pay them back what they give us. That is unconditional aid. They do their best to help us and at the same time they fully respect our sovereignty. This is quite different from the "aid" by the imperialist countries

* 306 million dongs of the new currency.

TALK AT THE CONFERENCE TO INCREASE PRODUCTION AND FIGHT FAMINE

A saying goes that "Eating is the people's heaven" which means that for the people, eating is heaven, without eating there is no heaven. Another motto says: "Only when food is secured, can good things be done" which means that without eating, nothing can be done.

That is why the policy of the Party and the Government is to pay the greatest attention to the people's livelihood. If the people are hungry, the Party and Government are at fault; if the people are cold, the Party and Government are at fault; if the people are illiterate, the Party and Government are at fault; if the people suffer from diseases, the Party and Government are at fault.

Therefore, the Party's and Government's cadres from top to bottom, should pay the greatest attention to the people's livelihood. They must guide, organize and educate the people to increase production and practise thrift. If the

people have enough food and clothes, they will easily implement the policies put forward by the Party and the Government. If the people are hungry, cold, illiterate and suffer from disease, our policies, however good they may be, cannot be carried out.

We must know how to educate, lead and assist the people to increase production and practise thrift. Thrift must be practised because if we live from hand to mouth, we will be in need. If the cadres skilfully lead and give practical assistance to the people, and if the people endeavour to increase production and practise thrift, they will be well fed and well clad, everything will go smoothly, taxes will be speedily collected, finance will be sound; if the people have enough food to eat, our country will be rich, because in an agrarian country like ours, everything depends on agriculture. If the cadres do not know how to lead and give practical assistance to the people to increase production and practise thrift, if the Party members do not set a good example, everything will be difficult to manage. That is why the policy of increasing production and practising thrift is one of our basic policies. We have to increase production and practise thrift to improve the people's livelihood, rehabilitate economy, develop culture and prevent and combat famine. The Party cadres at all levels and the government cadres should pay the greatest attention to increasing production and practising thrift. Party members must be exemplary in this regard.

The fact is that in localities where the population organize mutual assistance, conditions are better than in places where there are only donations by the government; there the population shows more enthusiasm in work and is more united, and production is higher.

The Party Central Committee has prescribed compulsory loans of rice because shortage of food in a place does not mean that the rice stock there has been exhausted, but that rice has been hoarded by the landlords. If compulsory loans are carried out skilfully, rice can be found; but some cadres do not do that and go on distributing rice. Worse still, in some places not only do the cadres not make compulsory loans, but even distribute government rice indiscriminately to the rich peasants and landlords. This is because the cadres do not have a firm class stand.

It is also because the class stand is not firm that the cadres become bureaucratic, that they deviate too much now to the left now to the right. When there is a rice shortage, the cadres do not organize production on a self-help basis and mutual assistance among the people, or they do not make compulsory loans. When government rice is received, it is distributed so indiscriminately and belatedly that the hungry people do not receive rice in time while those who are not hungry also receive it. Worse still, of the government rice distributed, only one half reaches the hungry, while the other half is swindled or wasted.

Swindling or wasting is already a crime but to swindle or to waste the rice intended for the starvelings is a more serious crime. It is like the spies massacring our fellow-countrymen. That is a crime against the Party and the Government, the people, and the brother countries. A very serious crime indeed. The cadres of the Party and Government must investigate the swindle and wastage to mete out proper punishment.

At present, rice has been harvested in many localities. Many cadres hurriedly think that there is no more famine. That is wishful thinking.

We should avoid subjectiveness.

I ask you to lead, to organize and to help the people, to practise thrift, not to waste the food we have and at the same time to increase production in order to prevent the famine in September.

In a word remember these three points:

1 — Fully grasp the policy of the Party Central Committee and the Government.

2 — Have at heart the people's livelihood, rely on the strength and creative initiative of the people.

3 — Have self-confidence that you will succeed in doing what you are resolved to do.

In this way, we are sure to increase production, to practise thrift to prevent and combat famine.

It is better to avert hunger than to fight it, as it is better to prevent disease than to fight it.

Among you there are people who have scored many achievements, others few achievements, there are people who have many shortcomings, others few shortcomings. I have a few prizes to give you. Award them to the most outstanding cadres or the localities which have recorded the greatest achievements.

July 1955

TALK WITH THE NEW ARMY HEROES

On the Government's decision, the Ministry for National Defence has today organized a solemn ceremony to confer the title of Army Heroes on 26 most outstanding emulation fighters in our army. During the Resistance our armymen did their utmost to fight the enemy and achieve glorious deeds, they enhanced the glorious tradition of the People's Army and of revolutionary heroism, they overcame all difficulties and hardships, fought valiantly, accomplished glorious deeds and achieved brilliant successes. Many heroes and outstanding emulation fighters have emerged who are worthy of being the beloved sons of the Fatherland.

At present, our Army is endeavouring to consolidate national defence for the preservation of peace and defence of the Fatherland. On behalf of the Party, the Government and the people, I commend the whole Army and congratulate the new Heroes and the outstanding emulation fighters in the Army.

In 1952, there were only four Army Heroes at the All-Vietnam Patriotic Competition Congress. This year, commemorating the 10th anniversary of the foundation of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, we have 26 more Army heroes. This is great progress for our Army and people in the armed struggle and in peaceful construction.

This time, there are Heroes from battlefronts in the North, the Centre and the South; Heroes of the National Regular Army, of regional units and guerilla units; of fighting units and specialized units, Heroes belonging to various national minorities; Party members and non-Party members brilliant fighters.

All the Heroes have splendid records and great revolutionary virtues. This proves that our Army is mature from every point of view. But do not think, comrades, that this is enough; don't be conceited, and satisfied with your achievements. You should continue to strive to make new progress.

On this occasion, I should like to give you some advice :

1 — During the last ten years, our determination in the emulation movement has produced brilliant success : we have preserved and developed the results of the August Revolution, we have completely liberated the North, establishing a firm basis for the struggle to reunify the country and to achieve independence and democracy for the whole country. At present, it is also thanks to our determination in the emulation movement that we have obtained a number of successes in the political struggle, in the consolidation of the North and the building up of the Army in peace time.

APPEAL ON THE DAY COMMEMORATING THE TENTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE FOUNDING OF THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF VIET NAM

Compatriots at home and abroad,
Soldiers and officers,
Old and young people and children,
Dear comrades and friends,

Ten years ago, on this same day and at this same place, the foundation of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam was announced.

Today, after years of glorious trials, our people joyfully celebrate the tenth anniversary of the foundation of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam.

This is a glorious day for our people, as well as a day of common joy for the oppressed nations and peace-loving people the world over.

Compared with the duration of history, ten years are not a long time. But if we look backward over the past ten years, we see very great changes and progress in our country and in the world: Not only has the great Soviet Union healed all their wounds of war since long but they are successfully building communism.

— The 600 million people of China have victoriously carried through their revolution and are building socialism.

— The People's Democratic Republic of Korea has succeeded in forcing back the advance of the invading troops of sixteen nations.

— The other people's democracies are rapidly advancing in the building of socialism.

— India, Indonesia and Burma have been freed from the fetters of colonialism and become independent and free states.

— The movement for national liberation is rising up powerfully everywhere. Many nations approve of the five principles of peaceful co-existence.

In short, during the last ten years, the forces of peace and democracy over the world have developed powerfully and won supremacy. Imperialism is manifestly impaired. The Big Four conference at Geneva has contributed to further ease world tension, which is a new victory gained by the forces of peace.

During these ten years, along with the changes in the world, our country has undergone great ones too:

— Our people's just resistance has been victorious.

— Last year's Geneva Conference has brought back peace to Indo-China, on the ground that every nation should recognize the independence, sovereignty, unity, and

territorial integrity of Viet Nam and its neighbours, Cambodia and Laos.

— The northern part of our country has been completely liberated.

— Our nation becomes an integral part of the big family of socialism and people's democracy consisting of 900 million people.

These are great victories gained by our people.

* * *

Despite these great victories, at present we are facing great difficulties which must be overcome:

— Peace has not yet been consolidated. Our country is provisionally divided into two zones.

— In the South, with the instigation and help from American imperialism, the Ngo Dinh Diem authorities strive to increase their armed forces, launch internecine conflicts in Nam Bo, terrorize the people, strangle democratic liberties, and try to evade a consultative conference with our Government with a view to avoiding general and free elections in the whole country and sabotaging the reunification of our nation.

In short, American imperialism and the Ngo Dinh Diem authorities are resorting to every possible means to sabotage the Geneva Agreement.

But despite any perfidious schemes of the American imperialists and their hirelings, Viet Nam's reunification is certain, because our nation is a monolithic bloc that no one can divide. Free general elections shall be realized, because this is a dear aspiration of our entire people from North to South, as well as a general hope of peace-loving people the world over.

Our people and our Government firmly decide to thoroughly implement the Geneva Agreement.

We demand the southern authorities to correctly implement this agreement. France, a party to it, must honour her signature and fulfil her duty.

We hope that peace-loving nations, chiefly those participating in the 1954 Geneva conference and those entrusted with the control and supervision, will endeavour to contribute to the correct implementation of the Geneva Agreement.

* * *

The present task of our people and Government is to go on struggling for the thorough implementation of the Geneva Agreement, namely, struggling for the consolidation of peace and realization of unity.

We must strive to enlarge and strengthen our National United Front.

We must strive to consolidate the North in every field:

- Satisfactory completion of land reform;
- Rehabilitation of economy, particularly agriculture;
- Strengthening national defence and consolidating public order and security;
- Raising resolutely and gradually the people's living standards, at first those of the workers, armymen and public servants, at the same time gradually reducing the peasants' contribution.

To fulfil the above-mentioned tasks, everybody and every branch of industry must enthusiastically take part in patriotic emulation, increase production and practise

economy, respect and save state property, and wipe out corruption and waste.

Can we fully carry out all these tasks? We must and we will! Because our fellow-countrymen are fervent patriots and earnest and hard workers! Because our Party's and Government's policies are just and in line with the people's aspirations! Because our cadres are zealous! And because our brother countries, first the Soviet Union and China, are striving to help us in a disinterested and generous manner, to enable us to be in better condition to work by ourselves.

Availing myself of this opportunity, I beg to renew, in the name of our Government and people, our best thanks to these brother countries. To consolidate the North is, in practice, to help our southern compatriots in their struggle for peace and reunification.

Our compatriots in the South have greatly contributed to the August Revolution and heroically resisted foreign invasion during nine long years. At present, though living in an atmosphere of terror and trouble, our compatriots always keep up their unshakable combativeness, and are constantly faithful to the Fatherland and eager to wage an unrelenting struggle.

The Government, the Party and I are always thinking of you, dear compatriots in the South. Availing myself of this opportunity and in the name of the Government and the Party, I affectionately convey my greetings and encouragement to you who are heroically struggling for peace and reunification.

* * *

During the past ten years, we have overcome many difficulties and won many victories. This is due to the unity and single-mindedness of our people, the great heroism of our troops, and the just and resolute leadership of our Government and Party. This is also due to our strong National United Front inside, as well as the support given from outside by the peace-loving people the world over.

From now on, we must so much the more consolidate and develop these forces.

As regards the National United Front, we must enlarge and consolidate it; furthermore, we are ready to unite and sincerely co-operate with anyone from South to North, who approves of peace, unity, independence, and democracy, should he have been in whatever party previously.

Unity is an invincible force.

The force of our unity has brought the August Revolution to success.

The force of our unity has made the Resistance victorious.

The force of our unity will mobilize our people throughout the country, from North to South, to struggle for peace, unity, independence, and democracy for the whole nation.

* * *

Many difficulties are still cropping up. We shall not subjectively minimize these difficulties, but will not be afraid of them. We are resolute to overcome any difficulty whatsoever and will overcome it.

We are boldly advancing, armed with the strength of the unity and single-mindedness of our entire people, an absolute confidence in the glorious future of our Fatherland and the determination of a heroic nation to win. We have won in our heroic nine-year resistance, we are sure to win in our present political struggle.

Long live the unity of the Vietnamese people!

Long live the great unity of the peace-loving people of the world!

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

Long live the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam!

September 2, 1955

TENTH ANNIVERSARY OF NATIONAL DAY OF THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF VIET NAM

(September 1955)

On September Second this year the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam is ten years old, and the Vietnamese people who are from now on free on the greater part of their territory, are commemorating this glorious National Day with indescribable enthusiasm and joy.

Right from the first days of colonial aggression and for nearly one century, the Vietnamese people unceasingly struggled against the invaders, evincing extraordinary gallantry and heroism. The guerilla activities of Truong Cong Dinh and Truong Quyen in Nam Bo (1867), the Resistance movements in 1874 and especially in 1884, the twelve-year-long struggle under the leadership of Phan Dinh Phung (1884-1896) and following it the fighting led by Hoang Hoa Tham until the eve of the First World War, the movement of struggle in Trung Bo (1907), the Bien Hoa uprising (1914-1915), the insurrection in Hue (1916), the Thai

Nguyen uprising (1917), etc., give evidence of the fierce struggle waged by the Vietnamese people for freedom and national independence. But at that epoch the Court and the feudalists who were still responsible for national interests, carried out the criminal policy of constant betrayal of the people's aspirations which consequently could not materialise.

The great October Revolution had given a new impetus to the struggle of the oppressed peoples. The prompt settlement by the young Soviet power of the question of former Czarist colonies and its giving back freedom to the peoples there had a strong repercussion in all the colonies and semi-colonies in Asia. Victorious Marxism-Leninism has pointed out to all nations the road to self-liberation. A Marxist-Leninist Party was born in Viet Nam in February 1930. While in the Yen Bai uprising (February 1930) the bourgeoisie lost all its influence on the national liberation movement, the working class and the toiling peasant masses re-organised their political party which became the only leader of the anti-imperialist revolution. In September 1930, the first people's power was set up in three districts in North Trung Bo. This movement was repressed by imperialism with unprecedented barbarity...

However, as early as 1940, many armed uprisings were organised in the North, Centre and South of Viet Nam against the French colonialists and Japanese imperialists. Although repressed, these insurrectionist movements were sparks and sparkles which, five years later, were to flare up into a revolution smashing to pieces the foreign rule in Viet Nam.

In May 1941, the Viet Minh National United Front was founded and this was the broadest united bloc ever

known in the national liberation movement of our country. The National Front, with the Party as its main force, mobilised and organised guerilla groups which fought throughout the Second World War on the side of the Allies against fascist aggressors.

The victories of the valiant Soviet army over Hitler Germany and later over Japanese imperialism greatly contributed to the success of the General Insurrection on August 19, 1945, and on September 2nd the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam was founded.

Thus, owing to the defeat of fascism the world situation became favourable and the August Revolution was successful because it possessed the three conditions that cannot be absent in any anti-imperialist revolution in a colonial country. These are the leadership of the working class, the setting up of a broad anti imperialist national front and the armed insurrection.

Thenceforward, the history of our country has opened a glorious page. The Vietnamese people were freed. The August Revolution has liberated them from the colonialists' yoke, from any other enslavement of the imperialists and from the mandarinat.

The toiling people have for the first time become masters of themselves and of the destiny of their country. They set to work to drive away the dreadful spectre of famine which had killed two million people in the last months of imperialist rule (from late 1944 to 1945). They strove to heal the devastating wounds left behind by the dirty enslaving system whose practice continued until the middle of this century of successful revolutions. The toiling people elected the National Assembly, began to build up people's

power and carried out various measures rapidly to wipe out illiteracy and ignorance left behind by the colonialists' rule.

However, the French colonialists still dreamed of the possibility of re-establishing their oppressive regime in our country. They regarded our peaceful attitude as a weakness. Encouraged by the British-American reactionary forces and in collusion with the Chiang Kai-shek clique, on September 23, 1945, they attacked the Vietnamese people in Saigon, then sought to penetrate the North. Afterwards, trampling on what they had pledged in the Preliminary Agreement of March 6, 1946 and the Modus Vivendi of September 14, 1946, the colonialists perpetrated a massacre in Haiphong, occupied Lang Son and staged repeated provocations until December 19, when began the Resistance war of our entire people against the invaders.

In response to the appeal of the Party and the Democratic Government, our entire people rose up as one man to defend the Fatherland and the achievements of the August Revolution.

The National salvation war began in material conditions unfavourable to the Vietnamese people: famine was rife; the henchmen of French colonialism and Japanese imperialism were still swarming while the People's Army could only be set up later in the course of the fighting. Therefore, in the prevailing situation, the French Expeditionary Corps seemed to hold military supremacy and the enemy took advantage of all our difficulties, believing that these difficulties would help them swiftly to triumph over our young army and annihilate our Democratic Government. But the situation developed completely contrary to their expectation and proved that they were utterly mistaken.

Backed by the U.S. reactionary circles, the enemy launched an all-out war against the Vietnamese people. But under the leadership of the Party and the Government, the Vietnamese people united their efforts and unremittently fought the enemy. They stepped up and spread guerilla warfare in enemy-occupied areas. They succeeded in consolidating their rear and enthusiastically built their own people's army. In co-ordination with the guerillas, the people's army valiantly fought and annihilated the enemy troops in many campaigns: in Viet Bac in Autumn-Winter 1947, on the Viet Nam-Chinese border in the last months of 1950, in the Midland and Red River delta, in Hoa Binh, Ba Vi and on the Da River in 1951, in South Viet Nam in 1952, in Lai Chau in 1953 and finally, on May 7, 1954 it won the decisive victory at Dien Bien Phu. The Dien Bien Phu victory which was won right on the eve of the opening of the Geneva Conference, exerted a great influence on the proceedings of the Conference and contributed to the signing of the Geneva Agreements guaranteeing the restoration of peace in Indo-China upon the basis of recognition of the national rights of the peoples of Viet Nam, Cambodia and Laos.

At the same time, all political schemes of the colonialists and imperialists namely "feeding war by war, using Vietnamese to fight Vietnamese", the "independence" and "democracy" farces to mislead our people, and the imperialist-pattern "land reform"... turned bankrupt.

Throughout that period, the Party and the Government also paid attention to the building and development of the economy, finance and culture of the Democratic Republic. First and foremost, the land reform on the principle of "land to the tiller" began to be carried out.

As a result of the efforts made to maintain and expand the indispensable branches of small industries and handicrafts, our people and army were supplied with more consumer goods. Growing of rice and subsidiary crops as well as all work for the improvement of irrigation and for flood fighting were encouraged. Transport and communications were developed to an adequate extent. The State sector in the national economy — national bank, trading concerns — came into being and grew up steadily; national education, the education given to the peasantry and the army, and the struggle against illiteracy, obtained extraordinary results in spite of difficult conditions.

Thus, in all military, political and economic spheres, our young democratic republic has victoriously stood the tests and trials of the war in which, according to Lenin, all the virtues of a people must be given full expression.

The ardent patriotism and the ideological and political unity of our people and army around the Party and the Government helped us to weather unimaginably difficult ordeals and create political, economic and military conditions for victory.

Their unshakable confidence in the success of their just cause inspired our people and increased their bravery.

The virtues and combativeness that our army men, guerillas and cadres succeeded in learning in the particularly rich history of the national liberation movement, helped our young army score historic feats of arms and tinge its banner with an eternal glory.

The bright example of the Soviet and Chinese armies and peoples continuously inspired our people and fighters and contributed to the tempering of our heroes. The French people and all peace-loving people in the world gave us

invaluable support. They were on our side in the most critical moments of the Resistance war and shared joy with us when peace was restored.

The Democratic Republic has won a glorious victory because this is the victory of the oppressed over the oppressor, the victory of freedom over slavery. Our people have escaped re enslavement and the achievements of the August Revolution — peace, unity, independence and democracy — are safeguarded and strengthened.

* * *

Peace has been restored in Indo-China on the basis of recognition of the independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia; peace has been brought to us by the 1954 Geneva Conference. It cannot be consolidated as long as our country remains partitioned by the provisional demarcation line at the 17th Parallel. Moreover the attitude of the southern authorities and their sponsors is a serious threat to peace which has been restored for only two years.

Indeed, if the first step i.e. the military stage stipulated in the Geneva Agreement, in general, ended satisfactorily, as the whole territory of North Viet Nam has been liberated, on the contrary, the second step i.e. the stage leading to the reunification of Viet Nam through general elections to be held in 1956, cannot as yet be started as a result of Ngo Dinh Diem's deliberate hindrance.

The southern authorities savagely massacre our compatriots and all patriotic and peace forces in the South. Within only one year, they committed more than 3,000 crimes and violations of the Geneva Agreement. At least

4,000 patriots were killed or wounded and over 19,000 arrested. In addition to these terrorist acts the Diem administration also feverishly carried out the U.S. political line with a view to turning South Viet Nam into a U.S. colony and military base, which would be permanently incorporated in the sphere of activity of the South-East Asian aggressive organisation (S.E.A.T.O.). Despite these deeds of his, Ngo Dinh Diem shamelessly boasted as being a "fighter" for peace, democracy and independence of Viet Nam.

This situation has determined the tasks of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam which has set itself as primary objective the strict and correct implementation of the Geneva Agreement; that is, immediately to hold the Consultative Conference between the North and the South, the first step towards the holding of free General Elections to reunify the country. Thus, peace and national reunification are our main demands for the time being.

Besides, we have to heal the war wounds, gradually raise the people's living standard and build up a genuinely free and democratic new life in our country. To do so, we have, on the one hand, to rehabilitate our national economy: agriculture, handicraft, transport and industry. Since they can enjoy peace, our people have enthusiastically entered this road. But greater efforts still have to be made to cultivate the land laid fallow, repair dikes to prevent floods, and build up an irrigation network to do away with drought and famine, as these two calamities are inseparable. On the other hand, the welfare of the Vietnamese toiling people must be raised gradually on the basis of increased labour productivity.

The above-mentioned tasks are really heavy and complicated as a result of the war, colonialism and the feudal system. However, thanks to the assistance of the brother countries, we have greater and greater possibilities and can have confidence in a successful future. Indeed, after the talks in July between the Vietnamese Government Delegation and the leaders of the Soviet Union and of the People's Republic of China, these two countries decided to grant us aid totalling 1,530,000 million dong^{*} in the coming years. The other democracies also give us priceless assistance in our work of rehabilitation. This aid is carried out in the form of supply of equipment, machines and technicians. Many economic and cultural sectors of Viet Nam benefit by this assistance.

This selfless and unconditional aid, beneficial to the people, is completely different from the "aid" conceived by the imperialists. Through their "aid", the imperialists always aim at exploiting and enslaving the peoples. The Marshall Plan that has gradually encroached upon the sovereignty of the recipient countries is eloquent proof of this.

In its relations with other countries, the policy of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam is clear-cut and transparent: it is a policy of peace and good relationship. This policy is based on the five great principles put forth in the Sino-Indian and Sino-Burmese joint declarations, which are: mutual respect for territorial integrity and national sovereignty, non-aggression, non-interference in internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, peaceful co-existence.

^{*} Old currency (now 1,530 million dong^s).

Particularly the Bandung Conference * has shown that these principles are supported by broad circles of public opinion in Asia and Africa.

We particularly urge the maintenance of peaceful relations with our neighbours, namely Cambodia and Laos. As regards France, we continue to advocate that we can establish with it preferential economic and cultural relations in conditions of complete equality and mutual benefit, first of all, mutual confidence and sincere co-operation.

On this tenth anniversary of the National Day, looking back to the past, we can rightfully be proud of the path traversed. But we also — and chiefly — turn to the future and are aware of what is still to be done. We still have to carry out a hard, long and intricate political struggle. However, if we are persevering, resolute and vigilant, if our Party and the National Front continue to apply the tested principles of criticism and self-criticism — we have every reason to believe that our Party and National Front will continue to apply them — we will certainly win complete success.

* * *

In the past ten years, the camp of peace and democracy has made big progress. The Soviet Union has triumphed over the fascist invaders and since then has obtained many important achievements in the building of Communism as well as in its policy of struggle for peace

* The Afro-Asian Conference held from April 18 to 24, 1955 in Bandung (Indonesia) was attended by 29 Afro-Asian countries. The Conference approved the Declaration on the condemnation of colonialism and worked out several measures to strengthen the economic and political relations among the Afro-Asian countries. It issued a statement on the ten principles for peaceful and friendly co-existence among the nations.

and international relaxation of tension. The people's democracies have also been strengthened in the political and economic spheres. The successful Chinese revolution has liberated 600 million people who are advancing hand in hand to happiness. With the brotherly support of the Chinese Volunteers, the Korean people have driven back the Syngman Rhee clique and the troops under the shadow of the U.N. banner. The Vietnamese people have won victory in the war started by the French colonialists and wrested back peace at the Geneva Conference. The peace forces are growing stronger and succeed in consolidating their position. All these great achievements have brought our people a boundless confidence in the magnificent future of our Fatherland and in the certain victory of our cause.

Though still meeting with difficulties and obstacles, we are going forward with the confidence and enthusiasm of the victors!

Article appearing in the review

*"For a lasting peace,
for a people's democracy"*

in its issue of December 2, 1955

**ADDRESS
TO THE CLOSING SESSION
OF THE VIET NAM FATHERLAND
FRONT CONGRESS**

Dear members of the Presidium,

Dear delegates,

After several days of hard work and animated discussion, the Congress has unanimously adopted the new Manifesto of the Fatherland Front. This is another victory.

We can say that this is a Manifesto of Broad Unity, the aim of which is to struggle for peace, reunification, independence and democracy for the whole country.

Everybody must recognize that the Manifesto of the Front is very firm, broad and practical.

It is practical because it is in perfect agreement with the deep aspirations of our countrymen from North to South. Apart from a handful of individuals who have sold

out their conscience to the U.S. imperialists, all Vietnamese wish that their country should be reunified, and reunified through peaceful means. Therefore, if all members of the Front endeavour to make the people understand the significance of the Manifesto, the great majority will certainly welcome and support the Manifesto.

The Manifesto is a broad one because it reads: the Front is ready to welcome into its ranks all those who are sincerely opposed to the US-Diem schemes to divide the country, and sincerely support national unity. The Front is ready to unite with all patriots whatever their political tendencies or their religions. Thus the Front will include persons who now sincerely want to serve the Fatherland, whatever parties or groups they may have belonged to in the past.

It is a firm one because the Front is based on the great majority of the people made up of workers and peasants, and at the same time covers all strata in our society.

The Fatherland Front is supported by the great majority of our people. It will be supported by all peace-loving people throughout the world.

This practical, broad and firm character will ensure a glorious future for the Front.

I avail myself of this occasion to express a few opinions:

— The Front has produced a correct Manifesto. This is very good for the coming struggle. But this is only the first step on the road leading to complete victory. From now on, we have to struggle hard to put the Manifesto into practice. This struggle will be fraught with difficulties and hardships. We must show patience and determination

The first and most urgent thing we have to do is to make everyone acquainted with the Manifesto, and make it clearly understood and widely known from North to South, so that everyone may fully grasp the spirit and contents of the Manifesto and wholeheartedly support it.

— The North is the foundation, the root of our people's struggle. Only when the foundation is firm, does the house stand firm. Only when the root is strong, will the tree grow well. To put the Front's Manifesto into practice, we must endeavour to consolidate the North in every way, we must make the North progress steadily and become strong; we should certainly not allow the consolidation of the North to slow down.

To make the North progress and become strong, is to take practical account of the South.

— Some people have said: « The Front has produced a good Manifesto. But in case the U. S.-Diem clique do not budge, what shall we do? »

Here is the answer: By its very nature, a stone will not budge of itself. But when many people join hands, a bloc of stone, however heavy it may be, can be moved.

We are united and resolved to consolidate the North, to put into practice the Front's Manifesto; thus we shall have a very great thrusting force. And the U. S.-Diem clique, although they want to stay, will not be able to do so, and although they do not want to move, they will have to.

That is why we should not ask: "What if the U.S.-Diem clique do not budge?" But each of us should ask himself: "What efforts have I made? Have I done my duty?" If all of us endeavour to consolidate the North and to put into practice the Front's Manifesto, we will,

with the support of peace-loving people in the world, force them to move.

Dear delegates,

History has shown, in the last few years, that the force of our people's unity is invincible, and the People's United Front has won many victories.

The Viet Minh Front has brought about the triumph of the August Revolution.

The Viet Minh - Lien Viet United Front helped to bring the Resistance war to final victory.

We may be sure that with the efforts of all of us, with the support of the entire people, the Fatherland Front will fulfil its great task of contributing to the building of a peaceful, unified, independent, democratic, prosperous and strong Viet Nam.

I ask the delegates to convey the Government's and my own greetings to all our fellow-countrymen and in particular, to our compatriots in the South who are now engaging in heroic struggle.

September 1955

LETTER TO TEACHERS, STUDENTS, YOUTH ORGANIZATION CADRES AND CHILDREN

Dear teachers, students, youth organization cadres, and children,

On the occasion of the new school year, I wish to tell you a few things:

In the last school year, after complete liberation of the North, the teachers and students have made great efforts, the students have made good progress in their studies. The schools were full and lively. We should rejoice at this achievement.

But that is only a first step.

Our schools are those of a people's democracy, the aim of which is to train good citizens, and good cadres, future masters of the country. From every point of view, our schools should excel those of the colonialists and the feudalists.

To achieve this, our teachers and students should strive to make further progress.

In the first place, we have to wipe out the vestiges of the enslaving colonialist education, such as: indifference towards society, standing aloof from manual work and from the people's struggle, studying with the sole aim of getting diplomas, and teaching by cramming.

And we should be imbued with this thought: to teach and to study to serve the Fatherland and the people. The school should not be divorced from the true conditions in the country and the life of the people. Teachers and students should, according to their situation and their abilities, take part in social activities useful to the country and people.

Besides, each education cycle should keep in mind its present tasks:

— University education should combine scientific theory with practice, endeavour to study the brotherly countries' advanced theories and science, at the same time keeping in mind the true conditions in our country, in order to bring practical contributions to the building of the country.

— Secondary education should give the students sound and practical knowledge, adequate to the requirements of the construction of the country. It should put aside education which is not useful in everyday life.

— Primary education should make the children love the Fatherland, the people, work and science, and respect public property. The method of teaching should be easy and lively, children should not be forced to imitate grown-up

people. Special attention should be given to the children's health.

I also wish the families to maintain close contact with the schools, to educate their children, encourage them to study diligently, to live a healthy life and to help the people. For the new school-year, I wish the teachers, cadres and children: Unity, Effort, Progress.

October 31, 1955

APPEAL FOR EMULATION TO INCREASE PRODUCTION AND PRACTISE THRIFT IN 1956

Fellow-countrymen and cadres in the provinces,

Early this year, the Party and Government made an appeal to the people for emulation to increase production and practise thrift. We have so far attained a number of achievements: the fifth-month and the tenth-month rice harvests were quite good, other crops, cattle rearing, forest exploitation, fishing and salt extraction have been given greater attention and initial results have been obtained. The fight against drought, floods, insects and storms has also obtained fairly good results. These achievements are a good basis for us to carry out the 1956 production plan.

In order to consolidate the North and make it a basis for the struggle to reunify the country, the Government will carry out a plan for economic rehabilitation

in 1956 covering agriculture, industry, trade, communications and transport. In these spheres, agriculture is the most important.

Agricultural production in 1956 should be a first step towards solving the problem of supplying food and raw materials for the restoration of small industries, handicrafts, and bigger industries, and supplying forest and farm products for developing trade with other countries.

In order to obtain the above-mentioned results, our peasants should practise emulation in:

- Growing more rice and other crops, increasing productivity and enlarging the crop area, growing more crops per year, cultivating all the land lying fallow and putting more waste land under the plough.

- Restoring the cultivation of industrial crops, especially cotton, sugar-cane, coffee, and other industrial plants and fruit-trees.

- Breeding more animals in order to have enough cattle for ploughing and more pigs and poultry for the people's food.

- Developing fishing and salt extraction and increasing supplies of fish and salt for consumption.

Forest exploitation should go hand in hand with forest preservation, attention should be paid to the planting of trees along the sea-coast.

To carry out these things satisfactorily, we should:

- Complete land reform speedily and well.

- Intensify the movement for improving technique in irrigation work, in the use of fertilizer, in seed selection and the manufacture of farm tools, etc.

- Endeavour to protect production against natural calamities and sabotage.

To do these things well we have to mobilize the people, make them take part eagerly in production, and consolidate and expand the movement for mutual-aid teams.

If these things are well done, the main part of the economic rehabilitation plan will be realized. Consequently the people's living conditions will be improved, and our country will progressively become a prosperous and strong one.

Leadership should pay close attention to the following points: in places where land reform has been carried out or is to be carried out later on, cadres should regard the leading of production as the most important task. In places where land reform is being carried out, the leading of production is very important; the Reform Leading Committees and the Reform teams should take steps to ensure the fulfilment of the production plan at the same time.

Leadership should be concrete, timely, practical, and focussed on some main targets, and should closely follow some typical cases. It should fight against the fear of difficulties, of expecting everything from others. Wide propaganda concerning the policies for encouraging production should be carried out.

The 1956 production and thrift competition is a very important one. Agricultural production is most important. I hope that all cadres and all our countrymen will enthusiastically take part in this competition.

The Peasants' Committees have the main responsibility for ensuring the fulfilment of the production plan.

The Youth organizations have the duty to set a good example and impel the movement forward. The women must endeavour to produce much and well.

All branches should have plans to assist agricultural production.

Our agricultural production is still meeting with many difficulties. There may be natural calamities, the enemy will do everything to sabotage our work, our people are suffering from shortage after so many years of ruthless exploitation by the imperialists and the feudalists. But many favourable conditions obtain:

— Our people are putting all their heart into increasing production and practising thrift.

— Land reform is expanding every day.

— The Party and the Government are carrying out clear and correct policies.

— The brother countries are helping us.

These are basic advantages; we are determined to avail ourselves of these advantages to overcome difficulties and fulfil our tasks.

Our plan for increasing production and practising thrift will certainly be carried out.

The Party and the Government are expecting good results and are ready to give awards to those cadres, countrymen and units with the best achievements in competition.

Let all our countrymen and all cadres enthusiastically take part in competition; if we are determined, we shall certainly win victory.

I wish you brilliant success.

December 19, 1955

NEW YEAR'S GREETINGS

To compatriots all over the country and Vietnamese residing abroad,

To the armymen and cadres of mass organisations, administrative services and the Party,

On behalf of the Party and Government, I affectionately send to you all, on the occasion of New Year Day, my wishes of solidarity, happiness, health, striving and progress.

On this occasion, we have to review the last year's situation and set the task for the new year.

In 1955, roughly speaking, the world situation was as follows:

Thanks to the policy and the efforts of the Soviet Union, China and other countries of the democratic camp, and the struggle of peace-loving governments and people, the world situation in general was less tense than before, although the imperialist camp still continued their preparations for war.

The N.A.T.O. military alliance and the Paris Treaty aimed at rearming West Germany, and the S.E.A.T.O. aggressive bloc headed by the U.S. are the cruel schemes of the warmongering imperialist camp. But the contradictions between them become deeper, and their difficulties ever increasing.

The conference of the Asian-African countries in Bandung in April, the Geneva Conference between the heads of four great nations in July, the visit of Indian and Burmese Premiers to the Soviet Union and other countries, first of all that of the two Soviet leaders to India, Burma and Afghanistan, etc. were very important events which have strengthened the world forces of peace.

But the situation in Indo-China was still tense because the U.S. imperialists increased their intervention in South Viet Nam, Cambodia and Laos, induced the southern authorities blatantly to violate the Geneva Agreements and the French government did not correctly implement what they signed in the Geneva Agreements.

Due to this situation, in the coming year the peace-loving governments and peoples all over the world must make further efforts to strengthen peace and develop the five principles of peaceful co-existence. Particularly, the Vietnamese people and the Cambodian and Laotian peoples must be more united to struggle against the U.S. imperialist intervention, and to fully implement the Geneva Agreements in order to bring genuine peace to Indo-China.

* * *

Concerning the situation at home, to struggle against the policy of intervention of the U.S. imperialists and the

fascist policy of the southern authorities, to oppose the farce of "people's referendum", and the schemes of separate elections to the "National Assembly" and preparation for a sham "constitution", our compatriots from North to South struggled for the correct implementation of the Geneva Agreements, and the holding of the consultative Conference to discuss free general elections throughout the country, and opposed every violation of the Geneva Agreements.

The just struggle of our people was wholeheartedly supported by the world people.

The International Commission whose chairman is the Indian delegate, has striven to control and supervise the implementation of the Geneva Agreements.

Last year, several parts of North Viet Nam were hit by drought, flood, storm and bad crops. But our compatriots, diligently and enthusiastically strove to overcome all difficulties and restore the economy. The recent crop was fairly good.

Land reform was carried out in the delta.

Industry and trade were restored.

Culture and education recorded good achievements.

The army scored many successes in study. National defence was consolidated.

The Thai Meo autonomous zone was set up and our mountain compatriots were very enthusiastic.

In short, all strata of the people were united and single-minded, enthusiastic for work and for increasing production.

This shows that our democratic republican system is very firm and beautiful, because it wholeheartedly serves the people and enjoys its full support.

Our southern compatriots are heroically struggling against the puppet dictatorial power of the U.S. for better living conditions, for democratic freedoms and the implementation of the Geneva Agreements. Our beloved South Viet Nam is always worthy of being the brass wall of the Fatherland.

The Fatherland Front has been set up with a platform which fully accords with sense and sentiment, that is why it has gained the support of our people and the sympathy of the peace-loving peoples the world over.

This situation sets before us the following tasks:

1 — The whole people should unite closely, resolutely wage the political struggle, carry out the Programme of the Fatherland Front, urge the southern authorities to correctly implement the Geneva Agreements, and to hold a consultative conference with our Government in order to carry out national reunification on an independent and democratic basis.

2 — Our compatriots in the North must strive to consolidate the North in every field, namely:

- Complete land reform in a satisfactory way.
- Emulate in production and practise economy, carry out the plan for economic rehabilitation and cultural development in 1956.

- Carry on the consolidation of national defence.
- Keep order and security, repress the saboteurs.

3 — *On the diplomatic field*: to tighten solidarity with the Soviet Union, China and other brother countries; strengthen friendship with the neighbouring countries: Cambodia, Laos, India, Burma, Indonesia; unite with the French people and the people of the world to safeguard peace.

These are very heavy but glorious tasks. While carrying them out, we shall face many difficulties: the U.S. will intensify their interference; their agents will blatantly sabotage the Geneva Agreements; the imperialists and feudalists, working hand and glove, will hinder the consolidation of the North by our people.

We must fully realize our difficulties, and the enemy's schemes, constantly be on the alert and fight the enemy's sabotaging activities, and be always resolute in overcoming all obstacles.

Though our difficulties are numerous, we have also very favourable conditions. Our people are more and more united, confident, enthusiastic and painstaking. Generally speaking, the world position is developing advantageously for us. The brother countries endeavour to help us. Many more friendly countries approve of and support us.

The key point is: all compatriots living at home and abroad must further unite within the Viet Nam Fatherland Front and strive together to consolidate the North in every field, for the North is the foundation of our people's forces; only when the North is firm and strong can the Democratic Republic regime be consolidated; our southern compatriots will have strong support in their struggle against the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys.

To consolidate the North, everyone, every branch should enthusiastically take part in patriotic emulation, increase production and thrift. We must fulfil at any cost the 1956 plan for economic restoration and cultural development.

If our entire people maintain their persistent struggle and their deep confidence, while combating impatience and subjectiveness, our adversaries can no longer persist in

their deliberate stubborn attitude. They are doomed to failure because they run counter to our people's aspirations.

Compatriots!

We have waged a long and hard struggle before we secured the present victory; now that we are waging a hard and complex political struggle to consolidate and extend that victory, to maintain peace, realise unity, achieve independence and democracy in the whole country, we are determined neither to shirk any difficulty nor spare any effort. Therefore, we shall certainly win.

* * *

I wish again:

For elders, good health and long life;

Compatriots of all walks of life, to unite as one and take part in patriotic emulation and progress;

Youngsters to enthusiastically enrol in shock-teams; pioneers to learn studiously and be of good behaviour;

Armymen to drill successfully;

Cadres to be determined to fulfil their tasks and score many achievements.

I wish all compatriots new successes in the new year.

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

Long live world peace!

January 1956

TELEGRAM TO THE 20th CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION

Dear comrades,

On behalf of the Viet Nam working class and people, we convey to the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union our warm brotherly greetings.

The 20th Congress of the C. P. S. U. is an historical event of great importance. Not only does the success of the Congress exert direct influence on the success of communist building in the Soviet Union, but it is also associated with the future prospects of the world movement of struggle for peace, democracy and socialism. The 20th Congress of the C. P. S. U. marks an important step forward of the Soviet people in building communism and safeguarding world peace. The achievements recorded by the Soviet Union in peaceful construction and in extending friendship among the peoples are evidence of the extraordinary power of Marxism-Leninism. They stimulate

the working people all over the world, enhance their confidence in their self-liberation from all oppression and exploitation. They inspire more strength in the people of colonial and independent countries who are struggling to liberate themselves from foreign imperialist yoke. They spur forward the peace-loving people throughout the world to further cement their solidarity around the Soviet Union, to frustrate the imperialist warmongers' schemes and broaden the world peace areas.

The Viet Nam Workers' Party and people are enthusiastically turning towards the 20th Congress of the C. P. S. U. because this Congress is a source of new strength to the Vietnamese people in their struggle for a peaceful, unified, independent, democratic, strong and prosperous Viet Nam.

The Vietnamese people consider the Soviet people's achievements as their own. With the disinterested and generous assistance given by the Soviet Union, China and other brotherly people's democracies, we pledge to realise a broad and solid unity among the Vietnamese people, for the purpose of economic and cultural restoration and development; besides, we shall struggle to smash all schemes engineered by the U. S. imperialists and their henchmen, strictly implement the Geneva Agreements, achieve national reunification, thus contributing a positive part to the safeguarding of peace in South-East Asia and the world.

Dear comrades,

The Vietnamese people, who are now keenly watching the work of the 20th Congress of the C. P. S. U. are sincerely grateful to the Soviet Union and have unshakable

confidence in the glorious future of the Vietnamese people and that of mankind.

I wish brilliant success to the 20th Congress of the C. P. S. U.. The Viet Nam Workers' Party and people believe that under the clear-sighted directives of the Congress and the talented leadership of the Central Committee of the C. P. S. U., the heroic Soviet people will successfully fulfil the Sixth Five-Year Plan, thus making the Soviet Union a more powerful country and consolidate world peace.

Long live the great Communist Party of the Soviet Union!

Long live invincible Marxism-Leninism!

Long live the Soviet Union, the bulwark of world peace!

Long live the unshakable friendship between the Soviet and Vietnamese peoples!

February 1956

SPEECH AT THE MEETING OF HANOI PEOPLE TO WELCOME THE DELEGATION OF THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT*

Comrade Head of the Delegation of the Soviet
Government,

Comrades in the Delegation,
Fellow-countrymen,

Today the people of Hanoi and the entire people of
Viet Nam are happy to welcome the delegation of the
U. S. S. R. Government led by Comrade Mikoyan.

We enthusiastically welcome the delegation and
present our warmest greetings to the leader of the dele-
gation and to the comrades in the delegation. The Soviet
delegation brings to the Vietnamese people, to the people

* The Soviet Government Delegation, headed by Mr Mikoyan, First
Vice Chairman of the Soviet Council of Ministers, visited Viet Nam from 2
to 6 April 1956.

of Hanoi the cordial feelings of the Soviet people. The
visit of the Soviet delegation to our country will certainly
contribute greatly to promoting sincere friendship between
our two peoples.

The Vietnamese people and the Soviet people are
brothers in the great family of socialism and people's
democracy. For so many years, our two peoples have been
united and struggling under the victorious banner of
Marxism-Leninism, for the cause of the people, of free-
dom and democracy, for building socialism and preserv-
ing world peace.

The triumph of the Russian October Revolution
awakened the oppressed peoples and opened the way of
liberation to the peoples of colonial and dependent coun-
tries, among which was our own Viet Nam.

The Communist Party of the U. S. S. R. founded by
Lenin has led the Soviet people to socialism and is
leading them to communism; at the same time, it is
showing the way to the peoples of the world to unite
and struggle for their liberation.

After nearly forty years, the Soviet Union has suc-
ceeded in building socialism and is making big strides
towards communism. The Soviet Union has become a
most powerful country and a strong bastion for the de-
fence of world peace.

The Vietnamese people will for ever be grateful to
the Soviet Union which has defeated the fascists in
Europe and in Asia and contributed in a decisive manner
to the cause of the liberation of mankind from slavery
and helped bring our August Revolution to victory.

All through the long and hard Resistance, our people
enjoyed the deep sympathy of the Soviet and Chinese
peoples, and of peace-loving peoples the world over.

The Governments of the Soviet Union and of the People's Republic of China were the first governments to recognize our country, and this is for our people a further encouragement to struggle until complete victory is achieved.

At the Geneva Conference in 1954 the delegation of the Soviet Union and that of the People's Republic of China most strongly supported our diplomatic struggle, and helped us achieve a great victory: the restoration of peace in our beloved Fatherland on the basis of international respect for Viet Nam's independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity.

As a result of our victory in the Resistance war and at the Geneva Conference, North Viet Nam has been completely liberated.

Since the restoration of peace, the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China and the countries of the people's democracies have given generous aid to our people and our Government, to help heal our war wounds and reconstruct our country. They have given us unconditional aid, and have also sent technicians to help us.

To express our gratitude to the Soviet Government and people, to strengthen further the brotherly solidarity between our two peoples, a Government and Party delegation from our country last year visited the Soviet Union and was given an impressive and fraternal welcome. We express our heartfelt thanks to the people, Government and Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

The Soviet Union has rendered our country great services. It has rendered great services to the cause of world peace. The 20th Congress of the Communist Party has summed up the rich experience of the Soviet people's

struggle through many years, and has set forth the 6th Five-Year Plan to make the Soviet Union still richer and stronger. The Congress has been a source of inspiration and joy for the peoples of the world, it has still more clearly shown the Soviet people the way to victory, and at the same time it has helped our people and the peoples of the world discover the correct line to follow in the struggle for independence, democracy and peace.

Feeling a deep gratitude to the Soviet Union, our people in Hanoi are extremely happy to greet our dear comrades representatives of the great Soviet Union.

On this occasion, I wish to remind our fellow-countrymen in Hanoi and throughout Viet Nam of the tasks before us.

The North has been liberated, but our country has not yet been reunified. That is why we should endeavour to consolidate peace, consolidate the North, and at the same time struggle hard to achieve reunification on the basis of independence and democracy, by peaceful means.

Since the restoration of peace, we have in a short time made the North much stronger. We have made efforts, we must make still greater efforts.

This year we have satisfactorily completed land reform and provided land for all the peasants in the North.

We have to fulfil the State Plan, rehabilitate our economy and begin to develop culture. I commend my fellow-countrymen in the villages, the towns, on the construction sites, in the factories and schools, etc... for their achievements in the realization of this year's plan.

At the same time, we have further to consolidate national defence, repress the saboteurs and maintain security and order for the people.

With these efforts, the living conditions of all strata of the population will gradually improve, our people will have enough food and clothes and will be healthy and literate.

Agricultural taxes have to some extent been lowered. Salaries have been increased. But this is only the first step. Together we have to endeavour to make the people's life increasingly comfortable and happy. This is the policy set forth by our Party and our Government.

To consolidate the North is to provide a solid basis for the struggle to reunify the country.

As long as our country has not been reunified, our entire people have to struggle with determination to reunite North and South, to build a peaceful, unified, independent, democratic, prosperous and strong Viet Nam.

We fully implement the Geneva Agreement and demand that the opposite side do the same. We must struggle on the basis of the Geneva Agreement to achieve reunification of our country through peaceful means.

The French Government, which has signed the Agreement, should not shirk its responsibilities. We demand that the French Government correctly carry out the signed Agreement.

From a juridical point of view, the South Viet Nam authorities have the responsibility to implement the Geneva Agreement. The reunification of Viet Nam should be discussed between representatives of the North and of the South, with a view to bringing about free general elections. Those who do not want to discuss these questions, and who do not respect the people's will, are going against the people's aspirations and interests and will be opposed by them.

The implementation of the Geneva Agreement is meeting with difficulties. But this should not discourage our people. We must believe in the great force of united struggle from North to South on the basis of the Fatherland Front Programme. Our struggle has to be a persevering one, but it will certainly succeed.

On the international plan we must be closely united with the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China and the other brotherly countries.

We wish to maintain peaceful and friendly relations with all countries, in accordance with the five principles of peaceful co-existence. We wish to have good relations with neighbouring Cambodia and Laos. We will further promote friendly relations with the countries of South East Asia, especially with India, Burma and Indonesia.

Fellow-countrymen,

To bring about its present-day great victory, the Soviet Union has gone through innumerable difficulties and hardships. Because the Soviet people are united and determined in their struggle, because the Communist Party and the Government of the Soviet Union have observed correct policies, the Soviet people have overcome all difficulties and won great victories.

The Vietnamese people's struggle for independence has won a great victory in the North. The road to national reunification is still strewn with difficulties. But our present difficulties cannot compare with those of the Soviet Union in former days. Therefore, if we are united and struggle hard, victory will certainly be ours.

Once more, on behalf of our fellow-countrymen in Hanoi and throughout Viet Nam, I present our warmest greetings to the Soviet Government delegation led by

Comrade Mikoyan and request the delegation to convey to the Government and brotherly people of the Soviet Union our affectionate and most grateful greetings.

— Long live the eternal friendship between Viet Nam and the Soviet Union !

— Long live a peaceful, unified, independent, democratic, prosperous and strong Viet Nam !

— Long live the great Soviet Union !

— Long live world peace !

April 3, 1956

SPEECH CLOSING THE 9th (ENLARGED) SESSION OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE VIET NAM WORKERS' PARTY

Comrades,

The 9th (enlarged) session of the Central Committee has achieved good results. After several days of intensive work, we have grasped the great significance of the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. This Congress has :

Analysed the new situation prevailing in the world, pointed out the new conditions favourable to the preservation of peace and the advance towards socialism by the Revolutionary Parties of the working class and the labouring people ;

Clearly shown the Soviet Union's victorious road, giving us still greater enthusiasm and making us believe still more strongly in the invincible force of the Soviet Union, the bastion of revolution and of world peace ;

Pointed out the tasks of the Communist Party in the ideological and organisational fields. The Congress particularly emphasized the application of Marxist-Leninist principles to collective leadership, and opposed the cult of the individual.

While recognizing that war may be averted, we must be vigilant to detect the warmongers' schemes; for as long as imperialism exists, the danger of war still exists.

While recognizing that in certain countries the road to socialism may be a peaceful one, we should be aware of this fact: in countries where the machinery of State, the armed forces and the police of the bourgeois class are still strong, the proletarian class still have to prepare for armed struggle.

While recognizing the possibility of reunifying Viet Nam by peaceful means, we should always remember that our people's principal enemies are the American imperialists and their agents who still occupy half our country and are preparing for war; therefore we should firmly hold aloft the banner of peace, and enhance our vigilance.

In speaking of the cult of the individual, we should have a balanced view with regard to Comrade Stalin. Comrade Stalin made great contributions to the Revolution, but he also made serious mistakes.

The Congress has taught us a lesson in very courageous criticism and self-criticism. This is a victory for the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and also a common victory for the brother parties.

This lesson is very valuable to the brother parties and to our Party. Our Party has grown up in the condition of a colonial and semi-feudal country only half of which has

just been freed from the imperialist and feudal yoke. That is why bad thoughts, non-proletarian thoughts, can easily get into our Party.

The clear conclusions and the exemplary courageous criticism and self-criticism by the Congress testify to the continuous progress and successes of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. This has increased the enemy's fears and they are intensifying their slanderous propaganda.

In speaking of our own Party, we make this special remark: We have collective leadership but we also have a number of shortcomings because:

We are still weak in political theory and we have not fully grasped the practical situation.

We have not set forth proper Party work regulations.

Democracy within the Party has not been fully extended: self-criticism and criticism, especially criticism from below, have not yet been developed.

To overcome these shortcomings, we have further to develop collective leadership from the Central Committee down to the Party organisations in the localities, in government organisations as well as in Party organisations.

Collective leadership should be on a par with individual responsibility.

Party work regulations should be clearly defined, the highest principle of the Party, the principle of collective leadership, should be ensured.

Democratic principles should be broadened, self-criticism and criticism, especially criticism from below, should be widespread. We should raise our theoretical level. Theory must be closely linked with the realities of the Revolution; we should always take into account the prevailing conditions, and maintain close contact with the masses.

We should always remember that the most important point in our present economic plan is gradually to improve the people's living conditions.

We have to recognize that the cult of the individual exists in some measure inside and outside the Party; although it has not yet brought serious consequence it has already limited initiative and diminished the enthusiasm of Party members and the people.

This cult of the individual exists from the Central to the communal levels.

To fight this evil, the principal means to be used is education; at the same time, we have to enhance the role of the Party, of the collectivity and of the people.

In this session, you have sincerely criticized yourselves and criticized the Central Committee and the Political Bureau; this is very good. We are not afraid of shortcomings, because we have sufficient will and determination to correct them.

Sincere self-criticism and frank criticism is the most effective weapon to overcome shortcomings and develop qualities. Therefore, not only have we to develop criticism and self-criticism in the Party and in the government organs but also to welcome frank criticism from the people.

We are united and one-minded, we have great confidence in the Soviet Union, the socialist camp, the forces of peace in the world, in our people and our Party.

Let us boldly go forward. Victory will certainly be ours.

April 24, 1956

LETTER TO THE CADRES FROM SOUTH VIET NAM REGROUPED IN THE NORTH

Dear cadres from the South regrouped in the North,

From May 19 to this day, I have received from you and your children many letters conveying to me your wishes of longevity. I am writing this letter to thank you all.

On this occasion, I wish to answer some of your questions.

— It is often said that "*North and South belong to the same family and are brothers*".

These words have a deep significance. They testify to the firm, unshakable solidarity of our people from North to South. Your very presence here testifies to this solidarity. Since the day you were regrouped here, you have regarded the North as your home, you have overcome all difficulties, and eagerly taken part in the construction of the North. A number of you are in the army to contribute to the consolidation of national defence. Others are

in government services. Yet others are engaged in agriculture, working in factories and on construction sites. Everyone has endeavoured to do his duty. Many have attained brilliant achievements and have been awarded medals. Among other such units, there is the 7th company, which has taken the lead in every task and has been commended eight times. It has set a good example of the Southern cadres' heroic labour.

In the name of the Party and the Government, I congratulate you all and urge you to make continuous efforts and constant progress.

Our policy is: to consolidate the North and to keep in mind the South.

To build a good house, we must build a strong foundation.

To have a vigorous plant with green leaves, beautiful flowers and good fruit, we must take good care of it, and feed the root.

The North is the foundation, the root of the struggle for complete national liberation and the reunification of the country. That is why everything we are doing in the North is aimed at strengthening both the North and the South. Therefore to work here is the same as struggling in the South, is to struggle for the South and for the whole of Viet Nam.

Struggle is always accompanied by difficulties. But your difficulties are our common difficulties.

After fifteen years of devastating war the newly liberated North is suffering many privations. In addition to this, the different administrative levels and responsible cadres have not paid enough attention to your material and spiritual life, have not proceeded as had been decided

by the Party and the Government. There has not been sufficient supervision and continuous control on the part of the Party and the Government.

The Party and the Government have realized these shortcomings and are actively putting things right with a view to carrying out the policy which has been set forth. I hope that you will actively contribute to putting things right in a constructive manner.

From the moral aspect, if everybody understands that our political struggle will certainly be victorious but will be a long and hard struggle, then the tendency to become impatient, pessimistic, and to succumb to other cares, will disappear.

— *The political struggle will certainly be victorious, national reunification will certainly be achieved.*

As you know, the camp of socialism and people's democracy led by the Soviet Union is growing stronger and stronger. The area of peace includes countries with a total population of 1,500 million people and is continuously expanding. Recently, three African countries have recovered independence. Several small countries, like Cambodia Ceylon... have adopted a policy of neutrality and peace. In many countries in the U. S. camp, such as Thailand and the Philippines, there is also an anti-American movement. Thus the United States is becoming more and more isolated. Therefore the world situation is favourable to us.

The Americans and their agents are endeavouring to sabotage the Geneva Agreement. They refuse to hold political consultations with us, to organize in due time free general elections as has been stipulated in the Geneva Agreement, they are scheming to divide our country

permanently. They are betraying the people's interests, their ranks are being torn by internal strife, that is why, despite their arrogant attitude, their strength is unstable like that of a palace built on sand.

As to our struggle, it is a just struggle, the peace-loving peoples of the world support us. Our people from North to South (including the patriots among the religious sects and parties in the South) hate and oppose the American-Diem clique. The North is being increasingly consolidated to become a firm support, a strong base for our entire people's struggle. For these reasons, our political struggle will certainly be victorious.

The present political struggle is a stage in our national democratic revolution.

Ever since our country was first occupied by the French colonialists, our people have been struggling continuously for over 80 years. The result was the triumph of the August Revolution. Then came the Resistance war which lasted nearly nine years. Our brilliant military victory brought about a brilliant diplomatic victory. The Geneva Agreement has recognized our country's independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity.

But the Americans and their lackeys are striving to hinder the reunification of our country. We must continue our struggle.

The Revolution and the Resistance have been victorious thanks to our people's close unity, great enthusiasm, firm belief in victory and extremely persevering struggle. In the present political struggle, as in the Revolution and the Resistance, our compatriots in the South are in the vanguard, closely united, and struggling heroically and perseveringly.

The situation in the world and at home is favourable to us, our people are united and firmly believe in final victory, that is why our present political struggle, although long and hard, will certainly be victorious.

This letter is quite long enough, and I think you have all understood.

I wish you good health and much progress.

I send many kisses to you and to the children.

June 19, 1956

LETTER TO THE VIETNAMESE PEOPLE THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY

Dear fellow-countrymen,

For nearly a century, our people heroically struggled against the colonialists. The result was the triumph of the August Revolution and the foundation of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam.

But the colonialists were plotting dark schemes, they provoked war in an attempt to reconquer our country. After nearly nine years of our entire people's extremely heroic and hard struggle, the Resistance was victorious. The Geneva Agreement restored peace, recognized Viet Nam's independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity, stipulated that free general elections be held throughout the country in July 1956 to reunify the country.

Strictly implementing the Geneva Agreement, the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam has repeatedly proposed to the South Viet Nam authorities the

holding of political consultations to discuss free general elections to reunify the country.

But the U.S. imperialists and the pro-American authorities in South Viet Nam are scheming to divide our country permanently, and preventing the holding of free general elections at the time prescribed by the Geneva Agreement. They are acting against the interests of our Fatherland and our people's wishes.

Faced with this situation, our sacred duty is: to continue to struggle with determination for the implementation of the Geneva Agreement and the reunification of our country by peaceful means, on the basis of independence and democracy, for the completion of the glorious task of national liberation.

Our present line of struggle is: the entire people from North to South united closely and on a broad basis in the Viet Nam Fatherland Front, will endeavour to consolidate the North and make it a strong base for the struggle for national reunification.

All those who are descendants of the Hong Lac *, all those who have a conscience, cannot do otherwise than to approve and support this noble aim. That is why we are uniting on a broad basis all those Vietnamese at home and abroad who love their Fatherland, peace and unity. With this strong unity, we are making continuous efforts to bring the North and the South near each other, we are struggling with determination to consolidate peace, to achieve unity, independence and democracy in the whole country.

Our present political struggle is a long, hard and complex one, but it will certainly be victorious. Victory is

* Ancient name for the Vietnamese people.

certain because our cause is a just cause, our people are closely united and one-minded, and our fellow-countrymen in the South and in the North are struggling with heroism, because the peoples of the world are supporting us, the world peace movement is growing stronger every day, and the imperialists' warlike schemes are being increasingly foiled.

To comply with our people's ardent wishes, which are to consolidate peace and achieve reunification on the basis of the Geneva Agreement, the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam has decided on these practical measures:

1. *To restore normal relations* and free movement between the two zones; to create the required conditions for establishing contacts between political, economic, cultural and social delegations of the North and of the South.

2. *To open political consultations* between representatives of the two zones in order to discuss free general elections to reunify the country on the basis of the Geneva Agreement.

Dear fellow-countrymen at home and abroad,

Our Viet Nam must be reunified. Fellow-countrymen in the South and in the North will certainly be reunited. All our countrymen should be resolved to unite closely and on the broad basis of the Programme of the Viet Nam Fatherland Front, should participate wholeheartedly in the patriotic emulation movement, endeavour to consolidate the North and struggle with determination and perseverance for a peaceful, unified, independent, democratic and prosperous Viet Nam.

Reunification is our people's life-line. Broad unity is an invincible force. Thanks to broad unity, our Revolution has triumphed, our Resistance has been victorious. With broad unity, our political struggle will certainly win victory, our country will certainly be reunified.

July 6, 1956

INSTRUCTIONS GIVEN AT THE CONFERENCE REVIEWING THE MASS EDUCATION IN THE FIRST HALF OF 1956

On behalf of the Party and Government, I inquire after your health — cadres and mass education fighters — and congratulate the mass education service on its achievements during the first six months of the year. Over the past six months, 2,100,000 persons attended classes. This is a great achievement. Formerly, in the imperialist and feudal days, over 90 per cent of our population were illiterate. Later, the late Mr. Nguyen van To and a number of progressive people worked for the popularization of the national script. They made great efforts but only 5,000 persons per year went to classes. In the first six months of this year, there were over two million pupils. This is a great achievement, but we should not consider it as sufficient, we should make further efforts and avoid self-conceit and complacency.

After seven days of discussion and exchange of experiences, you are now probably more experienced than I am. But I would like to contribute a number of my own experiences.

1) In order to wipe out illiteracy among the great masses, where the overwhelming majority are peasants, the education movement should be a mass movement. We should stand close to the masses, discuss with them, apply forms and methods suitable to their life, and rely upon them to promote the movement.

Formerly, a number of other cadres and I carried out clandestine revolutionary activities in Cao Bang. The majority of our compatriots there were Nung, Man, and Tho*, who knew little Vietnamese, lived scattered in the mountains far from one another, and were busy with their work and both teaching and studying had to be done in secret. We carried out mass education in these difficult conditions, but we succeeded. The cadres drafted a plan, in consultation with our compatriots, and the latter told them what to do. The literate taught the illiterate, those who knew much taught those who knew little.

Classes were run in caves; each village sent a person to study for a few days, then he went back and taught his co-villagers. When his knowledge was exhausted he returned to the class and learned some more. While teaching others, the teachers also learned for themselves. Such was the method we adopted for the mass education work and for its development into a movement.

At that time, in spite of the enemy restrictions and continuous persecutions, our compatriots were very studious, women and children being more studious than men.

* National minorities.

At present, on my visits to the classes, I also find that women and children are more numerous than men. Many men have not attended classes yet. There were no classes or schools then; people who went weeding or gathering vegetables appointed a place and went there to teach one another. Buffalo boys gathered at a certain spot and learned from one another. Cadres going to the fields to work were often stopped by the villagers and asked to hear them recite lessons; if the lessons were wrongly read out, the cadres would correct them; if they had been well learned, the cadres would be asked to give a new lesson.

Workers and peasants have a lot of work to do. If the method of teaching is not suitable to the learners, to their work and mode of life, if we expect classes provided with tables and benches, we cannot be successful. The organization of teaching should be in accordance with the living conditions of the learners, then the movement will last and bear good results. Our compatriots are still poor and cannot afford paper and pens, therefore a small pocket exercise-book is enough for each person. Reading and writing exercises can be done anywhere, using charcoal, the ground or banana leaves as pens and paper. Clandestine cadres were to teach and make one person literate every three months. At that time, there was no assistance from the Government, no Ministry, or department in charge of educational problems, but in such precarious conditions, the movement kept developing, like oil spreading, the literate teaching the illiterate.

In studying like in teaching, the youth is the main force of the mass education movement. Everywhere, we should make the youth understand this task. In teaching as well as in studying the youth must always be in the van.

2) Mass education work is also teaching work, but not in schools or classes provided with lamps and books as in general schools. It is a wide, complicated, and self-sufficient movement. General schools are divided into first, second, third, and fourth forms, but in mass education, there are students of all kinds, the young, the old, some know much, others just a little, some assimilate quickly, others slowly, therefore this is a hard task which requires much patience and effort. The fear of difficulties and hardships is not admissible in mass education. Sometimes, we have to come and teach a mother of many children at her own house. With those aged people who are reluctant to attend classes, we should patiently convince them to do so or sometimes come and teach them in their own houses. In order to wipe out illiteracy from among the people, industriousness is indispensable, bureaucratism and ordering about are impossible.

The work is inconvenient and hard, and gives no fame at all. In the Resistance war, if we succeeded in killing many of the enemy we could become model fighters or heroes; working in factories, if we make many innovations or surpass the production target, we become also outstanding workers or labour heroes. Mass education work though not giving us fame, nor being a well-sounding job, is however very glorious. We should not stand in one place and wish for another one; we should not nourish the wrong intention of giving up mass education work and entering a technical school, or teaching in a general school or taking another profession.

In social life there are many professions, a division of work is therefore inevitable. I do one work, you take up another. Mass education work is an important one,

having a great bearing on the nation and society, and also on the building of our Fatherland. Although not a well sounding, famous or outstanding job which makes one become a hero, it is really a very important one. A person who is now a mass education worker should refrain from the desire of assuming another profession.

3) Mass education work is also placed under leadership. We have the Ministry, the Department, the Zonal and the Provincial services. To lead is not to sit and write office notes at the desk. In the Resistance time, there were cadres who could draft a good programme for secondary education but were unable to take charge of a mass education class because they were always in the office. The leaders should closely unite with and assist the cadres to overcome difficulties; bureaucratism and ordering about are to be avoided. In any work, close connection with the people is essential, mass education services at all levels should correct their own mistakes if any, and learn from the experience of others.

4) Formerly, being poor, workers and peasants could not send their children to school; only a small number of children could attend class, the majority of these were from well-to-do families which had enough food to eat. In the countryside, only the children of landlords and rich peasants could go to school. Some cadres put the question as to whether the children of landlords and rich peasants should be allowed to teach in a mass education class. This is posing the question incorrectly. Any youth, male or female, is given this job if he or she is good, otherwise the work will not be entrusted to them. A worthy young person who does not approve his or her parents' exploitations and does not side with them to act against the people,

will be accepted as a teacher in a mass education class. If he or she has committed serious faults, the job will not be given to them, either in mass education work or any other works. If a certain young person whose parents are guilty landlords, does not follow his or her parents, he or she is not guilty and can maintain citizenship rights like other young people. He or she can attend classes or take part in public work or join people's organizations. This point should be well understood and correctly applied by you who live in the countryside.

5) Mass education work, though apparently not heroic, can be of a very great service to the nation if it can wipe out illiteracy among the people in three years. Our country would be proud of having rapidly eliminated illiteracy. In so-called civilized countries such as the U.S.A., Great Britain and France, there are still some illiterate people. To wipe out illiteracy in two or three years is a very great victory. We should realize this and make further efforts. By so doing, it will not be this young man or that young woman who becomes a hero, but all cadres and teachers working for mass education will be heroes; and collective heroes are all the better.

If illiteracy is wiped out in three years, new tasks are set for the Government, the Ministry of Education, and the Ministry of Culture; you too, you will be faced with new tasks. It does not mean when everybody knows how to read and write, you will have fulfilled your tasks and you may rest or take up another work.

Illiterate people should learn to become literate. When they have learned to read, they should push further in their studies. Literate people will fall into illiteracy again if they have no reading materials. The Government

and the Ministry of Education have therefore the task of furnishing books and newspapers suited to the standards of these readers.

You have the task of helping our illiterate compatriots to become literate, then to push forward their studies. So you yourselves should push forward your studies in order to be able to teach at a higher level. Our nation goes forward, the cadres should also go forward. They should march in the lead in order to ensure the continuous progress of the nation.

To conclude, the Party and the Government will reward such communes as wipe out illiteracy first in a district, such districts as can do so in a province, and such provinces as can do so in the whole country.

If you want to be rewarded, you should make efforts. Making efforts does not mean issuing order and compelling people to come and study, or to force them to study beyond their capacities; you should be industrious, and make efforts in accordance with the mass-line.

Our compatriots are very studious, we have experiences of this. If our cadres endeavour to enrich their experiences, exchange their views, and discuss matters with one another, the work will certainly be successful.

I present you with 15 remembrance insignia as rewards to those cadres who have obtained good achievements.

July 16, 1956

TALK WITH INTELLECTUALS ATTENDING THE POLITICAL COURSE OF THE VIET NAM PEOPLE'S UNIVERSITY

I am very pleased to see that despite the difference of ages, professions, and abilities, you are all prompted by the same will, that is to make progress so as to serve the Fatherland and the people more effectively. That single-mindedness has resulted in your solidarity even in this class. Unity is the force which leads us to all victories.

Here are some ideas of mine for your consideration.

Revolutionary forces: The main revolutionary forces are the workers and peasants. The reason for this is that they are the producers of all wealth that keep Society alive, and that they make up the most numerous and also the most heavily exploited section of the population. It is also because their revolutionary spirit is firmer and more persevering than that of all other social strata.

However, the revolution also needs the force of intellectuals (generally called brain workers). For instance: doctors are necessary for the preservation of people's health; teachers for the education of people and the training of cadres; engineers for economic construction, etc.

So, brain workers play an important and glorious role in the revolution and in socialist construction; *and workers, peasants, and intellectuals should be closely united as one bloc.*

Close link with the workers and peasants: The colonialist and feudal regimes have deliberately separated the intellectuals from the bloc of workers and peasants. They have created the thought that "Everything but book-reading is worthless". They used intellectuals in their ruling apparatus for their own profits. To sow dissension between brain workers and manual workers is also a part of their 'divide and rule' policy.

Nowadays, such severance should be gradually wiped out, and the working people (brain workers and manual workers) should be closely united in order to join efforts in the building of a new and happy society.

I am of the view that, on the way towards unity, intellectuals should take the initiative in making the first step to come to the workers and peasants; I am sure they will be warmly welcomed by the latter.

Method of study: To study is a lifelong matter. Theory should be closely coupled with practical work. No one can pretend to have sufficient or thorough knowledge. The world changes every day. Our people are progressing day by day. We should therefore continue to study and practise what we have learnt so as to keep pace with the people's progress.

The time you spend in this class being relatively short *the object of your studies cannot be too great nor too high.* What you learn here can be compared to a small seed. Later, you shall continue to take care of that seed. You shall make it grow into a plant, then make the plant gradually blossom and bear fruit.

In my personal opinion, that seed can be described in these eleven words "Dai hoc chi dao, tai minh minh duc, tai thân dân" (The doctrine of University education consists in promoting lofty virtues and in uniting with the people).

Briefly speaking, 'minh minh duc' means *to have righteous mind*, and "thân dân", *to serve the people* and put the people's interests above all.

In other words, 'to undergo sufferings before the people and to enjoy happiness after the people.'

We all have more or less inherited the thoughts, habits, and manners of the old society. Therefore, it is not easy to materialize the two words 'chinh tâm' (righteous mind).

We have to go through a struggle between the old and the new in ourselves, an arduous, hard and unrelenting struggle but if we are resolute, the new will win over the old and the righteousness of mind will achieve success.

Freedom of thought: Our regime being a democratic one there should be freedom of thought. What is freedom? In all matters, everyone is free to express his own view, thereby contributing to the establishing of the truth. That is a right and also a duty of all people.

After everyone's view has been expressed and truth has been established, freedom of thought turns into *freedom to obey the truth.*

Truth is what is beneficial to the Fatherland and to the people. What is detrimental to the interests of the Fatherland and people is not truth. To strive to serve the Fatherland and the people is to obey the truth.

Attitude of the Party and the Government towards intellectuals: As a part of the revolutionary forces, intellectuals have the task of carrying out emulation for serving the Fatherland and the people. Our Party and Government therefore highly appreciate the people's intellectuals who work for the people.

To build the country, an increasing number of good intellectuals is required. The Party and Government should on the one hand help the present generation of intellectuals to progress day by day and on the other hand strive to train new intellectuals.

The Party and Government should help the intellectuals by educating them so as to give them a firm class stand, a correct viewpoint, sound thinking, and democratic manners. In short, intellectuals should be helped to achieve a righteous mind and close connections with the people.

As far as the method of education is concerned, it should follow the principle of voluntariness and self-consciousness. There should be explanations, discussions, and persuasion instead of compulsion. Intellectuals should be helped to emulate each other in their studies and work. They should also be shown how to practise the method of 'sincere self-criticism and frank criticism' so that all of them may make uninterrupted progress, unite with one another, and serve the Fatherland and people.

Reactionary propaganda puts out the slander that intellectuals are disregarded by the revolution. In fact, the

capitalists and feudalists do nothing but use the intellectuals for their own profits. Only under the Revolution are intellectuals highly valued. Only under the new democratic regime and socialist regime will intellectuals have the right conditions in which to develop all their abilities. A salient example: American papers themselves admit that at present Western countries have altogether 760,000 experts and engineers, while the Soviet Union has 890,000; China has planned to train within 12 years as many new experts and engineers as the most advanced country in the world. You know only too well that our country has very few experts and engineers. We have to train many more.

The task of the intellectuals is to carry out emulation in their work and at the same time help the Government to train new intellectuals.

Since the intellectuals of our country have confidence in the great future of the nation, in the correct policy of the Party and Government, and in their own ability to make progress, I am firmly convinced that you will gloriously fulfil your tasks.

As regards *cadres and other personnel*, I congratulate you on your efforts to serve the class and assist the students. That is good.

There are among you both Southern and Northern people. South and North are of the same family. There should be genuine unity, mutual affection and assistance, and serenity of mind in your work. It is also an important and glorious task for you to help the political class to be successful. I hope you will do your best.

This political class is the first of its kind. That is why the attendance is limited. Many other people wish to come here for political studies too. I hope you will endeavour to

make this class brilliantly successful so as to set an example for the classes to come.

With workers, peasants, and intellectuals being closely united we shall be able to overcome all difficulties and obstacles and shall be victorious in the consolidation of the North, taking into consideration the South, and in the strengthening of peace and realization of national unity. We shall certainly be successful in the building of a peaceful, unified, independent prosperous and strong Viet Nam.

I wish you good health and much progress.

July 21, 1956

CONSOLIDATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF IDEOLOGICAL UNITY AMONG MARXIST-LENINIST PARTIES

The 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union was warmly greeted in the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam as in all other countries and considered as an extremely important historical event. The new measures taken following the Congress in the home and foreign policies of the Soviet Union, the development of the revolutionary energy of the masses pointed out by the Congress, show that the significance of the Congress of builders of communism cannot be fully appraised. It is beyond question that the great programme translated into the targets of the Sixth Five-Year Plan, the raising of all political, economic and social forces of the country as put forth in the Congress, the checking of the personality cult and its consequences, are brilliant successes recorded by the Soviet Union, which allow us to look forward to new great achievements of the Soviet Union in the near future.

The important theoretical principles set forth by the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union on peaceful co-existence between countries with different social systems, on the possibility of preventing war in the present phase, on the multiform character of the transitional period towards socialism in various countries, all these principles have contributed to the consolidation of the forces of peace, democracy and socialism throughout the world.

The Congress also revealed new possibilities and opened new prospects to the working class movement for socialism and to all peoples who are defending their national independence.

The effective struggle against the personality cult as unanimously approved by the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, exerts a great influence over the whole communist movement. The June 30, 1956 resolution of the Central Committee helps us understand more deeply the question of the personality cult, and that of overcoming its consequences.

Speaking about the conditions required for the admission of various parties into the Communist International, V.I. Lenin pointed out that: "In the present phase, that of fierce internal war, the Central Committee can fulfil its task only if it is organised in the most centralised way, if there is inner-Party iron discipline, almost as rigorous as military discipline, and if the central organ of the Party is influential and enjoys the general esteem of all its members."

Obviously, Lenin meant that the stage of fierce civil war and the restriction of democracy imposed on the Soviet people were only provisional and had to be abolished as soon as the new regime was consolidated.

However, our enemies hoped to undermine the socialist camp from inside. They made a big error in thinking that their hopes could come true, mistaking the development of socialist democracy for a beginning of disorder and utter loss of spirit of organisation and inner Party discipline among Marxist-Leninist parties.

It is crystal clear that once victorious, socialism can never tolerate the personality cult and its harmful consequences. The energetic measures taken by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to do away with the personality cult and its consequences, set a brilliant example of unprecedented political boldness in history. The strict implementation of these measures in no way weakens but consolidates ideological solidarity among builders of communism, centered around the leading nucleus faithful to Lenin. The absolute prestige of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is more and more enhanced and consolidated. Starting from Lenin's position regarding the question of criticism and self-criticism, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union clearly stated that it had more concern with the necessity to correct mistakes and educate the party of the working class and of the masses of people, than with the question of "what would the reactionaries say". Lenin held it as the criterion of a correct and serious Party which is clearly aware of its responsibility and grasps the fact that the future interests of the movement should always come before everything.

Such a policy certainly enhances now as in the future the prestige of the C.P.S.U. in the socialist camp, as well as among the toiling masses of the capitalist countries and dependant countries.

An uproarious campaign of slander, launched by our enemies on the Communist Party of the Soviet Union for having worked out measures to liquidate the consequences of the personality cult, proves that they were blind politically; history will confirm it before long. The C.P.S.U. again demonstrates that the most important aspect of self-criticism is to practically and effectively correct one's errors. The scientific analysis of the conditions engendering errors has the effect of preventing their recurrence. All fraternal parties can draw valuable lessons from the documents of the 20th Congress, the high level of developing further Marxist-Leninism. It is beyond question that the resolutions of the 20th Congress will help brother parties correct their errors and improve their work.

In the struggle to build a peaceful, unified, independent, democratic, prosperous and strong Viet Nam, the Viet Nam Workers' Party has always grasped the identity between the interests of the struggle for the liberation of all peoples from imperialist yoke and those of the struggle for the liberation of the toiling masses from exploiting capitalism. Therefore, it has been able to lay the foundation for a solid friendship between the Vietnamese people and other peoples such as the Cambodian, Laotian and French peoples. In a wider meaning, in the struggle for national reunification, the Viet Nam Workers' Party has never isolated itself from the fraternal parties, in its whole practice, it has proved that genuine patriotism can never be separated from proletarian internationalism, and that the fraternal alliance between all fighters for a common cause — liberation of mankind, building of a classless society, peaceful co-existence and lasting peace — is unshakable.

While the imperialists increased their organisation and set up international aggressive blocs such as the S. E. A. T. O., N. A. T. O., Baghdad Pact, the Viet Nam Workers' Party has never departed from its policy of cementing relations with the brother parties.

The Viet Nam Workers' Party is aware that international reaction is hatching big schemes, especially in South Viet Nam and in the whole "Pacific area" (Taiwan, South Korea...). It is also aware that through these plots, international reaction is spearheading its forces at the national liberation movement, at the working class and peasants in Asia; that while carrying out these schemes, imperialism is seeking every means to weaken the ideological unity and fraternal solidarity between the Marxist-Leninist parties of the working class in various countries.

In the present international conjuncture, national features and conditions peculiar to each country become a more and more important factor in the elaboration of the policies of every communist and workers' party. At the same time, Marxism-Leninism remains the unshakable basis of the common struggle of all parties, exchange of experiences on this struggle keeps its full meaning and questions arising for this or that party is in no way this or that party's 'own concern', but has vital connection with the international proletariat as a whole.

For example, we, Vietnamese people, not only have to define our own methods and measures in the struggle against the U. S. imperialists' and south Viet Nam administration's schemes to perpetuate the division of our country and in our struggle to gradually advance to socialism — this is obvious — but, our Party also clearly

understands that our activities now and in the coming period cannot be confined within the mere national limit, that these activities are connected by thousands of ties with the general struggle waged by the progressive world, and that the genuine solidarity shown by the socialist camp and the peace-loving peoples throughout the world is as necessary to us as it was formerly, during the Vietnamese people's resistance war for national salvation.

The 9th plenary session of the Central Committee of our Party, held from April 19 to 24, 1956, made a deep study of the documents of the 20th Congress of the C. P. S. U.. Participating in the work of the Session were members of the Central Committee, secretaries of the Party committees of zones, provinces and important towns and a number of responsible cadres in central organs.

The Viet Nam Workers' Party has recorded big results in the creative application of Marxism-Leninism to the Vietnamese reality. Our people scored great victories during and after the war, in the consolidation of the completely liberated North, and in the political, economic and social spheres. Besides, the Party could unite in the Viet Nam Fatherland Front all patriots struggling for independence and national reunification through peaceful means.

The resolutions of the 9th plenary session of the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Workers' Party also emphasised the great significance of the principles of collective leadership in the building and consolidating of the Party, the importance of which was emphasised at the 20th Congress of the C. P. S. U.. In general, our Party has carried out the principle of collective leadership.

However, a profound study of it has spotlighted many shortcomings.

We must admit that the personality cult has also existed to some degree in Viet Nam, both inside and outside the Party. Though it has not led to serious errors, yet it has limited the initiative and fighting spirit of the active elements and of the people. We have found manifestations of the personality cult both in leading central and local organs; to overcome these shortcomings, we have decided to improve ideological work in the Party and among the people.

In a recent session, the Council of Ministers highlighted the great achievements made in the carrying out of land reform and in economic rehabilitation, in raising the people's living standards and in the political consolidation of our people's democratic State. The Congress also pointed out many shortcomings and errors in the implementation of the policy of alliance against feudal influence in the countryside, in methods of struggle against the enemy of the working class, in the implementation of the finance policy and in the readjustment of organisation.

In the press and at Party meetings, we have constantly called on all Party members to strengthen their ties with the masses and take into account the situation in the South while putting forth and carrying out the Party policies. Our struggle is not yet over. We still have to overcome many difficulties, especially those arising from the partition of our country and the wrong execution of correct policies. We are firmly convinced that these difficulties can be overcome and that we shall be victorious,

because our Party enjoys the confidence of the people, the support of the socialist countries and the sympathy of progressive forces all over the world.

By severely criticising Stalin's errors and by launching a resolute struggle against the personality cult, the 20th Congress of the C. P. S. U. has set us a brilliant example of political boldness and deep confidence in the people. The Viet Nam Workers' Party considers the criticism of the personality cult as an eloquent proof of strength, and a great victory of the C. P. S. U. and of the world revolutionary movement.

Our enemy has attempted to make use of the criticism of personality cult to mitigate the influence of the great achievements recorded by the Soviet Union and to blemish the revolutionary movement which is ceaselessly gaining more victories. They try to sow confusion among the communist and workers' parties and to split the ranks of the toiling people. But their efforts will be set at naught. Like other brother parties, the Viet Nam Workers' Party is clearly aware that the struggle of the C. P. S. U. and its fraternal aid has a very great significance for the liberation of all peoples. All manoeuvres of the enemy of communism to blemish the Soviet Union and its Communist Party will certainly fail.

We are clearly aware that our common enemy's clamours only betray their fear in face of new forces and new victories. Faced with the ever more perfidious schemes of the imperialist reactionary influence, now more than ever, we must strengthen and develop ideological unity, solidarity among communist and workers' parties,

and tirelessly struggle to defend the purity of Marxism-Leninism, which is our common treasury; study and apply correctly the theoretical principles of Marxism-Leninism to the realities of each country. We are confident that under the banner of Marxism-Leninism, victory will certainly be ours.

Article appearing in *Pravda*, August 3, 1956

LETTER TO COMPATRIOTS IN THE VIET BAC AUTONOMOUS REGION*

Dear compatriots in the Viet Bac Autonomous Region,

On the occasion of the founding of the Viet Bac Autonomous Region, on behalf of the Party and Government, I convey my affectionate greetings to compatriots, army-men, and cadres in the whole region.

The aim of the founding of the Autonomous Region is to get the brother nationalities in the entire region to join hands and manage their own affairs, to develop their capacities, and to make rapid progress from all aspects: political, economic, cultural, social. In order to reach this aim, our compatriots should:

Realize close unity between the various nationalities and between the different strata of the population; mutual

* The Congress to establish the Viet Bac Autonomous Zone opened at Thai Nguyen on August 10, 1956. The Viet Bac Autonomous Zone is the second to be set up after the Thai-Meo (North-West) Autonomous Zone.

assistance and affection should be as between brothers and sisters.

Closely unite with their compatriots in the whole country.

Endeavour to emulate with one another in promoting production and fulfilling the State Plan, with a view to providing enough food and clothing for everybody, enabling everybody to study, and making the Viet Bac Autonomous Region prosperous and wealthy.

Eagerly contribute to the consolidation of national defence, the building of security forces, the safeguarding of the country, and a peaceful and happy life for the people.

Cadres of the Army, of popular organizations, of the administration and of the Party should be closely united, mingle their lives with the people, endeavour to serve the people, be industrious, thrifty, honest, and righteous, and resolutely fight against bureaucratism, ordering about, corruption and waste.

With the heroic revolutionary traditions and the deep patriotism of the people of Viet Bac, our autonomous region will certainly make continuous progress. Being an integral part of the D. R. V. N., the Viet Bac Autonomous Region will make valuable contributions to the common cause of the entire people: to consolidate the North, while paying regard to the South, and to build a peaceful, united, independent, democratic, prosperous and strong Viet Nam.

Greetings of affection and victory
August 10, 1956

LETTER TO THE PEASANTS AND CADRES ON THE SUCCESSFUL COMPLETION OF LAND REFORM IN THE NORTH

Two years have passed since the victorious end of the Resistance, the northern part of our country has been completely liberated from the colonialists' shackles; now the peasants in the North are also freed from the yoke of the feudal landlords.

Nearly ten million peasants have received land, tens of thousands of new cadres have been trained in the countryside. The organization of the Party, administration, and peasants' associations in the communes has been re-adjusted.

This is a great victory which opens the way for our peasants to build a life with enough food and clothing, and brings a valuable contribution to the economic rehabilitation and development, and the consolidation of the North into a solid base for the struggle to reunify our country.

This victory has been scored thanks to the correct policy of our Party and Government, the united struggle of the labouring peasants, the active support of the Army and the people, and to the cadres' sacrifice and efforts.

On this occasion, on behalf of the Party and Government I affectionately:

Congratulate our peasants on their victory;

Congratulate the land reform cadres, the communal cadres and activists who have undergone hardships, overcome difficulties and perseveringly struggled;

Congratulate the people and the Army who have actively contributed to the common victory.

Land reform is a class struggle against the feudalists, an earth shaking, fierce and hard revolution. Moreover, the enemy has frenziedly carried out sabotage work, a number of our cadres have not thoroughly grasped the land reform policy or correctly followed the mass line; the leadership of the Party Central Committee and of the Government is sometimes lacking in concreteness, and control and encouragement is disregarded. All this has caused us to commit errors and meet with shortcomings in carrying out land reform: in realizing the unity of the countryside, in fighting the enemy, in readjusting the organization, in applying the policy of agricultural taxes, etc.

The Party Central Committee and the Government have rigorously reviewed these errors and shortcomings and drawn up plans resolutely to correct them with a view to uniting the cadres and the people, stabilizing the countryside and promoting production.

We have to correct such shortcomings as: not relying fully on the poor and landless peasants, not uniting closely

with the middle peasants, and not establishing a sincere alliance with the rich peasants.

The status of those who have been wrongly classified as landlords or as rich peasants should be reviewed.

Party membership, rights, and honour should be restituted to Party members, cadres and others who have been wrongly convicted.

With regard to landlords, we should abide by the 8-point regulation when dealing with them, pay attention to those landlords who have taken part in the Resistance and supported the revolution, or those whose children are enrolled in the army or working as cadres.

Wherever land area and production output have been erroneously estimated, a re-adjustment is required.

The correction of errors should be resolute and planned.

What can be corrected immediately should be dealt with without delay. What cannot be corrected forthwith should be done in combination with the checking-up operation.

It is necessary to further the achievements we have made, and at the same time resolutely to right the wrongs committed.

At present, *the people* have become masters of the countryside; they should therefore be closely united, enthusiastically engage in production, develop and consolidate the mutual aid teams, etc., in order to become wealthier day after day and to contribute to the enriching of our people and the strengthening of our country.

Cadres should endeavour to study general culture and politics, to set an example in work and production, and in a practical way take care of the people's living conditions.

The people should frankly criticize and help the cadres in their work.

Cadres at zonal and provincial levels should give practical assistance to cadres of district and commune so that their work and production may have good results.

Unity is our invincible force. In order to consolidate the North into a solid base for the struggle to reunify our country, our entire people should be closely and widely united on the basis of the worker-peasant alliance in the Viet Nam Fatherland Front. It is all the more necessary for *veteran and new cadres* of the Party and Government to assume identity of ideas, to be united and single-minded, and to compete to serve the people.

All the cadres and people should closely unite around the Party and Government, and endeavour to emulate with one another in making our democratic countryside happier and more prosperous.

Greetings of affection and unity

August 18, 1956

APPEAL ON THE OCCASION OF NATIONAL DAY

Dear fellow-countrymen,

On the occasion of the 11th anniversary of the National Day, that glorious historic day on which our people were freed from slavery, recovered independence and began to build up the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, on behalf of the Party and Government, I extend affectionate greetings to:

Compatriots at home and abroad,
Cadres and people regrouped from South Viet Nam,
Armed men and people's police,
Model workers, cadres and public employees,
Old people, youth, and children,
I sympathetically comfort the wounded and sick army-men, and ask after the soldiers' and war martyrs' families.

On behalf of the Vietnamese people, I also thank our brother countries for their wholehearted assistance in the past as at present.

On this occasion, I would like to briefly report the present situation to you:

It is known to everybody that socialism has become a strong world system. The policy of peace has gained the support of more and more countries. The peace area is increasingly expanding. The movement for national liberation is on the upsurge. Aggressive colonialism is disintegrating. In a word, the international situation is in our favour.

This does not mean however that the aggressive imperialists have desisted from their manoeuvres to sabotage peace; therefore our people and the peoples of the world should unceasingly heighten their vigilance.

In the last two years, our country has succeeded in maintaining peace. This victory is due to the effort and struggle of our people, the support of peace-loving people in the world, and also partly to the endeavour of the International Commission for Supervision and Control presided over by India.

Since the restoration of peace, in spite of many difficulties, we have recorded many achievements in the North.

Land reform has been successfully completed in the main, over eight million labouring peasants having received land. They have become the masters of the countryside and the work-exchange movement is expanding.

Thanks to the sacrifice and efforts of the workers, we have rehabilitated former enterprises and built a number of new factories. Security and order have been maintained, the number of schools has increased and mass education work has strongly developed.

Our compatriots in the North-West and in Viet Bac have successfully founded two autonomous regions.

Despite great difficulties and hardships, the people of South Viet Nam have kept up the heroic struggle for

democratic freedoms and national reunification; indeed they deserve the title of Bronze wall of the Fatherland.

In the diplomatic field, we have further tightened our relations with the brother countries and promoted friendship with neighbouring countries.

These are the important achievements our people have recorded in the past two years.

* * *

However, besides these great achievements, a number of major errors and shortcomings have been committed; but we are resolved to correct them, and we shall succeed in doing so.

Our immediate job is to strive for the completion of the following main tasks: *to consolidate the North and make it stronger, and to struggle firmly for the correct implementation of the Geneva Agreement by the other side to reunify the country.*

For this purpose, we should:

— Resolutely correct any errors, such as those committed in land reform and in the readjustment of organization;

— Perfect and develop the democratic regime;

— Emulate in successfully fulfilling the 1956 State Plan;

— Resolutely improve the people's living conditions step by step, first and foremost those of workers, army men, cadres, and public employees;

— Resolutely struggle against the manoeuvres of the U.S. imperialists and their agents to undermine the Geneva Agreement and to permanently partition our country;

— Resolutely struggle for the re-establishment of normal relations between North and South Viet Nam, and advance to the reunification of the country.

* * *

To fulfil these tasks, we should be more widely united in the Fatherland Front.

Cadres should be united and single-minded, maintain such virtues as industriousness, thriftiness, integrity, and righteousness; firmly stand against bureaucracy corruption and waste; devotedly serve the people; strictly carry out Government policies and State laws.

All the strata of our people — workers, peasants, intellectuals, industrialists and traders, and minority peoples — everyone should fulfil his duty as a citizen, as master of the country; help the authorities maintain security and order; strengthen unity, assist and supervise the cadres in promoting all work.

Our people are a mighty force.

Our regime is full of vitality.

Our Government is an excellent one.

The whole of our people from North to South are closely united, confident and single-minded in their persevering struggle, they enjoy the generous assistance and the support and sympathy of the brother countries. All difficulties will certainly be overcome. Our country will certainly be reunified.

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

September 2, 1956

EXCERPT FROM THE SPEECH AT THE NATIONAL CONGRESS OF THE VIET NAM YOUTH UNION

I cordially greet the whole youth to be united, to struggle, be bold, cheerful and ceaselessly to progress in order to help in the building of a peaceful, unified, independent, democratic, prosperous and strong Viet Nam. Here are the experiences drawn from my young days:

Experiences in the world situation:

I have witnessed two world wars. In World War I, in spite of the lack of development of the technique of airplanes and tanks, the belligerents suffered heavy losses. Eight to nine years afterwards, the pre-war situation had not been restored.

During the war, tens of thousands of our youths were forced by the French colonialists to go to the front. A great number of them went but never came back. After the war, the French colonialists high-handedly exploited

our people in order to retrieve the casualties created in France by the war.

While the war was on, the socialist revolution in Russia broke out and succeeded.

After the war, the imperialists strove to foster the German, Italian and Japanese fascist forces with the aim of urging them to defeat the Soviet Union. But the imperialist countries were the first to be attacked by the fascists. And this was the beginning of World War II.

At that time, new weapons such as airplanes and tanks were well developed, and the United States began to use atomic bombs in Japan. As a result there were tens of millions of people killed, thousands of towns and cities and tens of thousands of countryside places entirely destroyed. In this Second World War, our youths were used as cannon fodder by the French colonialists; and our people's property was ransacked by them.

In both world wars, American capitalists took advantage of the difficult situation of other countries to trade and get rich, first in the supply of weapons. That is why the United States became the ringleader of the war-like imperialist camp.

The first experience is: War only leads the people throughout the world to death and misery; that is why the people all over the world, first of all the youth, must unite to struggle against war and to safeguard peace.

During the past forty years, besides witnessing two great wars, the world has undergone very great changes.

Thirty nine years ago, there existed in the world only the domination of capitalist and imperialist countries over colonies and semi-colonies.

From 1917, after the triumph of the socialist revolution in Russia, one sixth of the earth was liberated from capitalism and feudalism; a new regime was built, a regime where man was no longer exploited by man. But at that time it was a socialist regime newly built in a very isolated country, attacked by fourteen imperialist countries (headed by the United States, Great Britain and France). The Soviet Union succeeded, and the imperialists failed, thanks to the unity of its people.

For ten years, the great family of the socialist regime has increased in number: rising from one to 12 countries, including the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, and from 200 million to more than 900 million people.

Thirteen Asian and African countries, formerly colonies or semi-colonies, have now been liberated and have become independent and free, including great countries such as China, India, etc... All these countries are in the camp for peace comprising 1,500 million people, that is more than a half of the population of the world. The majority of them are young people.

The second experience is: Imperialism is weakening, the socialist and peaceful forces are becoming stronger and stronger.

Experiences in the internal situation:

Twelve years ago, our country was in turn ruled by the French colonialists and Japanese imperialists. Our people were oppressed and exploited; they were very miserable and in a shameful situation. Whoever spoke of *patriotism, unity and freedom* was arrested, imprisoned, exiled or killed; the youths and even the old men were not spared. During scores of years of revolutionary struggle, many youths heroically sacrificed themselves.

The youth are particularly interested in education; yet they were driven by the imperialists into darkness; when their service was required, they were given an enslaved education. The French themselves recognized that opium-dens were more numerous than schools. For instance, in 1944 there were only 534,600 pupils in primary schools, 7,000 pupils in secondary schools, including Cambodian, Laotian, French and Indian pupils, and 618 students in higher educational establishments.

The whole country had only about 540,000 pupils. More than 80 per cent of our population were illiterate.

In spite of many difficulties in economy and finance — due to the colonialist regime and the years of war — North Viet Nam has this year:

750,000 primary pupils, not including more than 400,000 pupils in infant-schools,

58,000 pupils in secondary schools,

6,500 pupils in high schools,

3,900 students in higher educational establishments,

11,000 students in vocational schools,

A total of 829,400.

In the first half of this year alone, 410,000 of our compatriots were freed from illiteracy. And at the end of this year, the population in many communes and towns will know how to read and write; the greater part of this fine result is the achievement of our youth.

If there were not the American-Diem fascist regime in South Viet Nam, our people and first of all our youth, would make further progress in every respect, and this progress would be more satisfactory.

The experience is: From being an oppressed and exploited colony, North Viet Nam became completely liberated, and now has a democratic republican regime. Our people are the masters of their country. The task of our youth is to unite in the struggle, support our regime, and enthusiastically contribute to national reunification.

Personal experiences :

When I was your age, the situation in the world and in our country was very dark as described above. At that time the youth and I were oppressed and exploited like all our compatriots.

Distressed by the enslavement of our country, I went abroad, and did many jobs to earn my living in order to embark on the revolutionary path. Even when I was over 25, I did not yet know what the Party was, what the League was, and I had to waste much time getting to know about them. At present, not only the youth but also children of ten years upwards know about the Party and the League, and understand many other works.

It is thanks to the influence of the October Revolution and the Chinese Revolution that the revolutionary movement in our country developed more strongly, and the Party and the Youth League were founded — at that time I was over 35. The Party and League had to work underground for many years. The enemy harshly and continually used terrorizing methods. Many comrades gloriously sacrificed themselves for the Fatherland, the people and the revolution.

It is thanks to the correctness of the Party's political line and policy, and the determination, courage and firm

belief of Party members and Youth Leaguers that, in spite of the mostly difficult and dangerous situation and of the arrest and sacrifice of many comrades, the Party and the League continued to develop more and more strongly. It is thanks to the education and fostering of the Party and the League that many fighters and young heroes blossomed in the August Revolution, in the Resistance war waged by the entire people and are still doing so in the present national construction.

The experience is:

Compared with the former young generation of which I was a part, the present youth are making greater progress and are happier.

At present, the youth are citizens of an independent and free Viet Nam, having their own Party, League, administration, Front and army, and are the future masters of the country.

It is because they are the future masters that they must be closely united, struggle heroically, overcome every difficulty, and emulate in the building of a beautiful country — a peaceful, united, independent, democratic, prosperous and strong Viet Nam — in order to lead it in future.

I have just summed up my experiences.

In conclusion I greet the Congress and wish it every success; I send my cordial greetings of unity and progress to the whole youth at home and abroad.

October 15, 1956

EXCERPT FROM THE SPEECH AT THE NATIONAL CONGRESS OF THE VIET NAM LABOUR YOUTH UNION*

Delegates,

Nieces and nephews,

Youth Delegates from friendly countries,

The recent National Congress of the Viet Nam Youth League gained satisfactory successes. I hope that this time the National Congress of the Viet Nam Labour Youth Union will be brilliantly successful. I am confident that from now on, our youth movement will progress unceasingly like blossoming Spring and the rising sun.

During the period of underground revolutionary agitations, in the years of patriotic war and for the last

* The Viet Nam National Salvation Youth Union held its Second National Congress from October 25 to November 4, 1956. The Congress summed up the experiences gained from the Union's activities, and discussed new tasks. It took the decision to change the Union's name into Viet Nam Labour Youth Union, and revised its statute.

two years of peaceful construction, in the Army, in enterprises, on construction sites, in the countryside, in offices and at schools, our youth have struggled enthusiastically to make their worthy contribution to the Resistance war and national construction of the entire people.

The Party and the Government can be proud of having trained a valiant young generation such as you who, it is hoped, will enthusiastically continue the struggle for national defence and construction.

For the last two years, the youth have made strenuous efforts and achieved pretty good deeds in every work. But due to mistakes and shortcomings committed in land reform and organisational readjustment the Party and the Union have suffered heavy losses. Therefore, at present the correction of mistakes has become emergency work of first importance.

Being the right arm of the Party in the implementation of revolutionary lines and policies, the Labour Youth Union will do everything in its power to fulfil its task in carrying out the foregoing work.

In correcting mistakes, we must have determination, brave difficulties, avoid impatience, and oppose pessimism.

The Union must consolidate its organization, practise close inner unity, and widely unite with other strata of youth.

In this way we are certain to overcome difficulties, correct mistakes, and develop achievements.

From now on, the Central Committee and the various levels of local Party branches will pay more attention to the Union's activities in order to develop its vanguard role in every aspect.

As to the Union, it must study and devise many adequate forms and methods to widely and firmly unite and organize the youth for the fulfilment of the tasks given them by the Party and the Government, such as correction of mistakes, increase of production, economic rehabilitation, cultural development, consolidation of the North, winning over the South, struggle for national reunification, etc.

To fulfil the foregoing tasks, the Union must have close and wide relations with other strata of youth. It must be concerned about the life, work and study of the youth, must not be narrow-minded and must not live secludedly and must ward off prejudices. It must practise genuine unity and co-operation with the youth in the Viet Nam Youth League.

To consolidate and develop the Union, all its members must set good examples:

— They must firmly maintain their revolutionary virtues: modesty, industriousness, enthusiasm and heroism. They must avoid conceit and self-interestedness and must not be arrogant or rest on their past laurels.

— They must be in the van in every work. To be in the van means to be first to go forward, first to work in order to involve the masses in the movement and not to separate from them.

They must endeavour to study to raise their political, cultural and professional levels in order to make continuous progress and be ready to become good cadres and Party members.

— They must do physical training to become healthy. Only with good health can they consistently take part in work useful to the nation and beneficial to the people.

The youth must bear this advice in mind and put it into practice; they must fulfil their tasks and overtake the youth of friendly countries.

The Youth Delegates coming from brother countries to attend this Congress have brought the warm international friendship and invaluable experiences to the Vietnamese youth. These are some examples:

Apart from other works, the Soviet Union youth have reclaimed 35,500,000 hectares of virgin land (that is to say fifteen times the acreage under cultivation in North Viet Nam) in three years. Due to this effort foodstuffs in the Soviet Union have become more abundant.

The Chinese youth and pioneers have planted tens of millions of hectares of forest, thus not only protecting land from sand storms, but also increasing national wealth and beautifying their Fatherland.

The French youth whose representatives, comrades Henry Martin and Raymond Dien, are present in this Congress, braving imprisonment and exile, have struggled heroically for peace in Viet Nam, for the honour of the French people and for friendly relations between the two peoples.

The youth of democratic Korea and Germany are no less heroic.

On this occasion, on behalf of the Vietnamese people and youth, I present you my thankful greetings.

Affectionately I wish the Congress good success.

I wish you all unity and continuous progress.

November 2, 1956

SPEECH AT THE TRADE-UNION SCHOOL

Coming to see you today, I shall speak about trade-unions in general and trade-union cadres in particular. I shall briefly deal with a few points:

1 — The trade-unions must make propaganda for the Party general line and policies, because ours is a Party of the proletariat, its general line is national and class liberation. Without the Party leadership, the working class cannot carry out the Revolution, and inversely, without the working class, the Party is powerless. The Party is the vanguard of the working class and of the nation as well.

Therefore, the trade-unions must understand and make the workers understand that without the Party leadership, the workers cannot bring the Revolution to victory; therefore, the general policies of the Party must be widely and deeply popularised among the working class.

2 — The trade-unions must educate the workers in proletarian virtues and revolutionary ethics.

What are proletarian virtues and revolutionary ethics?

Every worker must realise that during the last decades, our Party, working class and people have been waging a revolutionary struggle to expel the imperialists and colonialists, overthrow feudalism, in order to enable the people in general and the working class in particular to wrest back the right to be masters of the country.

Then, as masters of the country, how should they behave?

The workers must realise that their future and that of their enterprises are one. They should understand that the enterprises are theirs; that they are masters of their country in general, and of the enterprises in particular; their future is closely associated with the development of the enterprises.

How should each worker behave with respect to the State?

This regime is ours, we must protect it. The Democratic Republic of Viet Nam State is ours, we must safeguard it. We should oppose, either by words or by deeds, whoever infringes upon our State and our regime.

What next?

Workers must understand that "Labour is glory". Formerly we worked for the capitalists, the feudalists and the imperialists. Workers in South Viet Nam are still compelled to do so. But now we work for ourselves. Any occupation useful to the country, the people and the working class, is glorious. Whether you are a cook, a sweeper or a president, you have to work, any job useful to the country and the people is glorious.

The fruit of our labour is the property of the nation and the people; it belongs to us, and to the collective.

The people, especially the working class, ought to protect it. To this effect, we must fight corruption and waste.

Is this enough?

Not yet, as masters of the enterprises and the country, the workers must voluntarily observe labour discipline. To come late to work and stop working ahead of time is not the behaviour of the masters of enterprises and of the State. It would not do either if, among enthusiastic workers there remain a few sluggards! To observe labour discipline we must foster an enthusiastic and creative spirit! You know what "enthusiasm" means. What about creativeness? In former times, the capitalists prevented the workers from developing their abilities. In the Nam Dinh Weaving Mill they allowed each worker to handle only one loom at one time; now that the mill has become ours, each worker can operate several looms. Factories have become ours, we endeavour to produce more and better and progress unceasingly; this is creativeness, this is a progressive approach to work.

Enthusiasm and creativeness are fully displayed in emulation. Emulation is not rivalry. Everyone must do his utmost to progress, not jealously keep his professional experience to himself; skilled workers should guide those who come after them so that everyone may progress.

Emulation means good work. A sub-standard article turns rapidly useless. More, we must produce in great quantity, quickly and cheaply to satisfy the people's needs, avoid waste of time and raw materials, etc.

At present two slogans are prevailing: to increase production and practise economy. These two tasks must always go hand in hand. The aim of the trade unions is gradually to improve the workers' living conditions, raise

the material and cultural life of the working class in particular and that of the people in general.

Now our workers are hoping for an increase in their wages. Is it a legitimate hope? Yes. But if their wages double whereas costs are high, it would come to nothing. It is not possible to eat much meat when you rear only a few pigs.

The trade unions must understand and explain it to the workers; the latter must understand and explain to the people that we must both increase production and practise economy. Currency and goods must go together.

Regarding our budget, the State collects agricultural, trade and industrial taxes, etc, and spends them for works of public utility: but our receipts are still low compared with expenses, therefore we still have to rely on aid granted by brother countries. This proletarian internationalism is invaluable. However there is a limit to this aid. The fundamental problem is our self-reliance and effort in production.

Concerning the betterment of living conditions, trade unions are committing deviations in making propaganda about the present-day happy conditions of the Soviet and Chinese workers, who receive high wages and are provided with roomy lodgings, cars, etc. This is correct, but only half. After the triumph of the October Revolution, the Soviet Union lacked everything; however, she had to exchange her best goods for machines. It could be said that the Soviet people and working class had to tighten their belts for national construction. Only nine years later could the situation take a turn for the better. It was the same for China: although the Revolution was successful in 1949, it was not until 1954 that the workers' conditions could

be initially improved. We have been carrying out peaceful reconstruction for only two years. In present conditions it is not reasonable to demand everything available. However, the Party and the Government constantly concern themselves with the improvement of the workers' conditions. The situation is better now but we still have to carry out this task step by step; every season and every year, the workers' life should be improved little by little. Some people do not understand or deliberately refuse to understand it. They attempt to sever the Party from the workers and the Government from the people. Slandorous allegations must be opposed.

In brief, regarding proletarian ethics, workers must be aware of their roles as masters of the enterprises, of the country, and understand that "Labour is glory"; they ought to take care of public property, oppose waste and corruption, observe labour discipline and emulate to produce more, better, quicker and cheaper. Improvement of living conditions must be based on increase of production and practice of economy.

3 — Trade unions and trade-union cadres must be the first to study to master science. What is science? In former times, we thought that thunderbolts were released by the Thunder God, that rain was due to dragons gushing water, and diseases were caused by evil spirits. This is anti-scientific. Now, we have discovered the real causes. Likewise, we must have a scientific outlook on society. Followers of religions are idealists but workers must be materialists.

4 — We must realise unity among the workers, unity between factories and between workers native of North and South Viet Nam. It is a common saying that "Unity is

strength". We brought our Resistance war to victory thanks to unity. We are successfully carrying out peaceful construction, thanks to unity too.

We have to realise unity among the workers and consolidate the alliance between workers and peasants, the two biggest and strongest classes.

5 — The trade unions and trade-union cadres must seek every means to explain the situation at home and abroad to workers. Some people may ask: "What is construction in the North"? "What is winning over the South? Why must it be done to reunify the country?" We must explain it to them. Otherwise, they would worry about it. After the October Revolution, the Soviet workers understood that should each one of them produce one more kilogram of coal, it would benefit the construction of the Fatherland and help repel foreign invasion. It is now the same with us: should each one increase production, it would not only benefit the Northern people but would also be helpful to the Southern people in their struggle against the U.S-Diem clique. The victories gained by Egypt and Hungary have further evidenced the decline of the imperialist camp and the growing strength of our camp. These are some examples of events we have to explain.

A better understanding of the situation will raise the workers' patriotism.

6 — The trade unions must lead and guide the workers. Leadership must be practical, avoid bureaucracy. Leading cadres must foster democratic style of work, discuss problems with workers. They must exercise control. Without control, we cannot appraise the result of our work

and cannot discover the errors and deviations so as to timely set them right.

Finally, I inform you that the Sixth Session of the National Assembly has passed the resolution entrusting the Government with the elaboration of the trade-union Law. Trade unions must help the Government in the good elaboration of this law.

January 19, 1957

REPORT TO THE MEETING OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE HANOI PEOPLE ON THE SUCCESS OF THE 6th SESSION OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY (FIRST LEGISLATURE)*

Today, as representatives of our compatriots in the capital city of Hanoi, we take upon ourselves the task of reporting on the work of the 6th session of the National Assembly. I am very pleased to say that this session of the National Assembly has scored great successes.

** The National Assembly (First legislature) held its 6th session from December 29, 1956 to January 25, 1957. At this session agreement was reached between the National Assembly and the Government on the following tasks: land reform, economic re-habilitation, struggle for national reunification, etc. The National Assembly was unanimous in declaring that the successes achieved in all fields were great and fundamental whereas the errors and shortcomings committed in a number of works were limited and temporary and could certainly be overcome. The success of this session of the National Assembly testified to the greatest identity of views in political matters between our people and the Party and Government.*

Through 29 days, our deputies have worked unremittingly and diligently, even at night and on Sundays.

The people throughout our country have had their mind turned toward the National Assembly. Nearly 4,000 letters and telegrams have been received from all corners of the country welcoming the session. Many delegations sent by the people of the capital and other provinces came and greeted the National Assembly. An atmosphere of solidarity and enthusiasm prevailed between the National Assembly and the people.

The National Assembly has heard the Government report on the various works carried out during last year such as, struggle for national reunification, land reform, economy and finance, social and cultural affairs, budget, national defence, the question of nationalities, foreign affairs.

The deputies have worked with a spirit of broad democracy. The various sub-committees have carried out animated but thorough debates on the questions reported by the Government. During the whole session the deputies have read 123 reports which proved to be very useful to the forthcoming task of the Government.

The National Assembly has assessed that the policy and political lines followed by the Party and Government during the past period were in the main correct. Generally speaking, in every work, we have recorded great achievements, though a number of errors and shortcomings still exist.

The National Assembly has discussed the question of national reunification. The struggle waged by our people for this purpose is long and difficult but will certainly be

victorious. To achieve national reunification, all our people must unite closely, make further efforts to consolidate the North and make it a basis for national liberation. Our deputies have voiced the iron will of our people in the work of national reunification. The National Assembly has many a time warmly welcomed the firm and consistent combativeness of our compatriots in the South.

With regard to land reform, the National Assembly has affirmed that the land reform law sanctioned at its Third session was basically correct because it aimed at abolishing the system of feudal ownership which has hamstrung the onward march of our people, and restituting land to millions of toiling peasants. Though serious mistakes were committed, land reform has obtained great results insofar as it has overthrown the feudal landlord class and given land to the tillers. The mistakes are now being rectified. We must resolutely correct these errors in order to make land reform a success, and to this end, we must strengthen solidarity among the rural population and grasp the Party and Government line in the countryside.

As far as economic and financial matters and the 1956 budget are concerned, the National Assembly has confirmed the great achievements scored by our people in the rehabilitation work during the past two years, especially the successes achieved in food production which has exceeded the 1939 figure. At present, our difficulties are still great because our country suffered long imperialist domination and was devastated by fifteen years of war. We must keep firm our virtues of economy and industriousness and boost production, then certainly these difficulties will be gradually removed and our livelihood will be improved step by step.

The National Assembly has debated on the cultural and social question and agreed that many achievements have been recorded in this regard — opening of new schools and building of new hospitals. However greater efforts should still be made.

With regard to the strengthening of national defence, the National Assembly has clearly set the task for the army and the people to safeguard peace and defend the country. Over the past two years our armymen made great progress and are now gradually embarking on the path of modernisation. Our armymen must be more zealous in their study and work; our people must heighten their spirit of strengthening national defence and helping the Army.

In foreign affairs, the National Assembly has realised that since the restoration of peace, the international position of our country has been raised a great deal. We must further strengthen our solidarity with the brother countries in the socialist camp, cement friendship with peace-loving countries, especially with our neighbours and other countries in Asia and Africa. We must gain greater sympathy from the world's people and continue our struggle for the implementation of the Geneva Agreement.

At its sitting on January 22nd, the National Assembly wholeheartedly carried out the resolution by which it placed entire confidence in the Government. The resolution read, "The National Assembly confirms that in 1956, the work of strengthening the North and struggling for national reunification was crowned with great successes though errors and shortcomings still existed in some work. Our successes are fundamental, and will certainly be developed. Our errors and shortcomings are few and temporary,

and will certainly be removed, and are now in the process of being overcome."

* * *

The National Assembly has passed many laws which Dr. Tran Duy Hung will presently report to you. The spirit and content of these laws have testified to the policy of broadening democracy and strengthening dictatorship. Ours is a system of people's democracy; we must broaden democracy towards the people and strengthen dictatorship vis-à-vis the people's enemy. Only by strengthening dictatorship towards the enemy can we defend our people's freedom and democracy.

To develop the democratic activities of the State and prepare favourable conditions for their constant improvement, the National Assembly has passed a resolution by which it will streamline its organisation and define the competence and responsibilities of its Standing Committee; it has decided to hold supplementary elections in the localities of North Viet Nam where the deputies are lacking and to set up a committee entrusted with the task of studying the amending of the Constitution so as to enable it to reflect the achievements recorded by the Revolution and the Resistance and fall in line with the development of our system. I have the honour to tell you that I have been appointed head of this committee. This is not only an honour for myself, but for all the Hanoi citizens; I request all our compatriots, especially those in Hanoi, enthusiastically to take part in the work of amending the Constitution. I am sure that we shall have a new Constitution worthy of our people.

* * *

The National Assembly has also defined its attitude regarding major international problems.

It has approved a declaration welcoming the appeal of the Supreme Soviet of the U. S. S. R. on the banning of atomic weapons and on reduction of armament. Once again we voice the peace policy of our people and Government.

The National Assembly has warmly supported the people and the Revolutionary Workers' and Peasants' Government of Hungary who are now struggling to strengthen their socialist system. We regard the success of the Hungarian people as our own.

This declaration testifies to the international solidarity between our country and the socialist countries headed by the Soviet Union.

The National Assembly has approved a statement by which it warmly supports the Egyptian people who are struggling to defend their sovereignty and independence, and the Algerian people who are valiantly fighting against French colonialism. We are confident that the struggle waged by the peoples of Asia and Africa will certainly be crowned with success.

For the implementation of the decisions sanctioned by the National Assembly and the policies and political lines followed by the Government and to win further successes, the National Assembly has called on our compatriots throughout the country and residing abroad and our People's Army to closely unite in their struggle, consolidate the North, maintain and extend the struggle waged in the South and strengthen our international solidarity.

The National Assembly has appealed to our compatriots in the South to struggle perseveringly and to strengthen their will for national reunification and independence. "No force can hamper the determination of our people for unity and fraternal love."

Our regime is now developing powerfully. Our people possess a huge force; our country will certainly be united, independent, democratic, rich and strong.

Compatriots,

The 6th session of the National Assembly has come to a successful end. It was successful because the single-mindedness between the National Assembly and the Government has symbolised the unity and single-mindedness of our entire people. It was successful because the policies and political lines followed by our Party and Government during the past years were correct in the main; because our people were united in their efforts to implement these policies and political lines, did their best to develop their good points and were resolved to correct their mistakes; because our deputies, the people's representatives in the National Assembly, were anxious to discuss matters in the interest of the country and the people so that our people are enthusiastic and have confidence in this session of the National Assembly.

We are duty bound to unite and struggle in order to carry into practice the decisions of the National Assembly, implement the policies and political lines of the Party and Government, speed up the tasks set for this year, increase production, practise savings, consolidate the North and unite the people throughout the country on the basis of

the programme of the Fatherland Front for the struggle for national reunification.

Our compatriots in Hanoi are entrusted with the glorious task of setting an example for the people of the whole country in strengthening solidarity, broadening democracy and instilling the spirit of the 6th session of the National Assembly into our people. If our compatriots in the capital city and in the whole country are able to do so, certainly this year we shall achieve more glorious successes.

February 15, 1957

ANSWERS TO A CORRESPONDENT OF THE HUNGARIAN NEWS AGENCY

Question 1 : Please give us your views, in the capacity of President of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, on the latest international events, first, those occurring in the socialist camp, in particular in Hungary.

Answer : The noteworthy features in the recent international situation are: the continuous development of the movement of national liberation, the disintegration of colonialism, and the growing unity among the countries of the socialist camp. Imperialism has frenziedly exerted itself to undermine the people's democratic system in Hungary in an attempt to divide the forces of the socialist camp, but it has failed. The Vietnamese people are very glad to see that the brotherly Hungarian people, with the just help of the Soviet Army, have united and struggled to frustrate the dark schemes of the imperialists.

Question 2 : What do you think of the prospect of the reunification of Viet Nam, alongside the new international changes? In your opinion, will the international situation

and the present development of the political situation in Asia lessen or increase the possibilities for Viet Nam's reunification?

Answer : The struggle waged by the Vietnamese people for national reunification is a just struggle. The U.S. imperialists and their stooges are now exerting themselves to undermine the Geneva Agreement in an attempt to prolong the partition of Viet Nam; the struggle waged by the Vietnamese people for reunification is encountering many difficulties. However, with the solidarity and fighting spirit of the whole Vietnamese people from North to South, with the support of the people of the brother socialist countries, the Afro-Asian peoples and all peace-loving peoples throughout the world, this struggle long and hard as it may be, will certainly be victorious.

Question 3 : What do you think of the activities of the Hungarian Workers' and Peasants' Revolutionary Government aimed at setting and consolidating on new foundations, the order of the people's democratic system in Hungary.

Answer : The Hungarian Workers' and Peasants' Revolutionary Government has won fundamental successes: it smashed the counter-revolutionary schemes of the reactionaries, agents of imperialism, and safeguarded the people's democracy. These successes are due to the solidarity and fighting spirit of the Hungarian people, the wholehearted support of the brother socialist countries and people's democracies. I am certain that on the basis of these achievements, the Hungarian Workers' and Peasants' Revolutionary Government will record more victories in the great work of socialist construction.

Question 4 : Have you a message for the Hungarian people, especially the workers, peasants and progressive intellectuals?

Answer : The peoples of our two countries cherish a common ideal and are bound to each other by very solid relations of friendship rooted in proletarian internationalism. The Vietnamese people constantly sympathize with and support the Hungarian people in their struggle against all perfidious imperialist schemes and for a strong Hungary. I wish greater achievements to the workers, peasants and progressive intellectuals together with the whole Hungarian people, closely united round the Socialist Workers' Party and the Hungarian Workers' and Peasants' Revolutionary Government, in their great work of socialist construction.

February 19, 1957

APPEAL ON THE OCCASION OF INTERNATIONAL LABOUR DAY

Dear compatriots,

Today, our people together with the working people throughout the world joyfully greet May Day in an atmosphere of victory.

The socialist and people's democratic countries with the Soviet Union and China as the mainstay are more and more united. The world peace forces are growing. The national liberation movement is in full flood.

In the past year, the imperialist camp sustained defeats in Hungary, Egypt and other places. However, at present they are trying to provoke sabotage and plot war. Our people and the peace-loving peoples throughout the world must always heighten their vigilance, and be ready to thwart their new schemes.

With the ever increasing solidarity between the socialist camp and the democratic peace forces all over the world, peace will certainly succeed.

Particularly in Viet Nam, since the restoration of peace, our people have made great efforts and scored many achievements in the strengthening of the North and the struggle for national reunification.

North Viet Nam has been liberated from the colonial and feudal yoke. We are doing our utmost to restore economy, develop culture, and strengthen national defence; *the achievements of our people are fundamental.*

We are striving to correct the errors committed in agrarian reform and organisational re-adjustment. Due to our people's virtues and our cadres' devotedness, we have got fairly good results in the first drive of righting the wrongs. We are determined to correct the previous errors in order satisfactorily to complete agrarian reform.

In South Viet Nam, in spite of the terror and repression by the U.S. imperialists and their stooges, patriotism and the yearning for peaceful reunification of our compatriots will never be weakened. Our working people and compatriots in the South continue to struggle resolutely and persistently, enlarging the united front against the U.S.-Diem authorities, demanding democratic freedoms and improvement of the people's livelihood, and opposing their scheme to increase military equipment and prepare for war.

The struggle of our people to restore normal relations between North and South, to demand the implementation of the Geneva Agreement, and to reunify the country, is a long-term and hard revolutionary one, but it will certainly succeed.

On the onward march of the revolutionary struggle, we have advantages, but also many difficulties, so we cannot completely avoid shortcomings in our work. But

these difficulties and shortcomings are temporary. As we are united and single-minded, and our people are united as one, the difficulties will certainly be overcome and the shortcomings corrected. The final victory will certainly be ours.

This year, the most important task of our Party, Government and people is to concentrate forces satisfactorily to carry out the 1957 State plan aimed at basically restoring economy, thus laying a good foundation to advance. To achieve this plan is to take a further step in the strengthening of North Viet Nam, making it stronger for the struggle for national reunification.

To achieve the State plan satisfactorily, *each of us must do his utmost to increase production and practise economy.*

The increase of production and the practice of economy are two keys to restore economy, develop culture, improve the people's living conditions step by step, consolidate the North, win over the South, and strengthen the force of struggle for national reunification.

They are the most indispensable things for the development of the people's democratic system gradually to advance to socialism.

To impel the increase of production and the practice of economy, each of us must clearly see that labour is a sacred task of each citizen towards the Fatherland. Each of us must, according to his ability, willingly participate in labour, thus contributing to national construction.

Each of us must clearly realise that labour — manual and intellectual — is honourable and invaluable. We must oppose the tendency to disdain labour.

It is necessary for the enterprises, offices, schools, people's organisations, etc., to strengthen labour discipline, heighten the spirit of responsibility, and oppose every extravagant act and excess of democracy.

If, while the great majority of people do their utmost to produce and economize, there are people who do not strive to work, but are instead given to speculation and hoarding, rob public property or waste people's labour and wealth, production and economy will be badly influenced. Therefore, opposition to speculation and hoarding, corruption and waste is also a common task for cadres and the people.

Industriousness, simple life, and ardent patriotism are the good tradition of our people which must be heightened. Cadres must endeavour to make propaganda among, and explain to the people, and set examples. When each compatriot understands that to increase production and practise thrift is to love the country, to be useful to the country and beneficial to himself, this movement will certainly spread far and wide and be deep-rooted, and will no doubt succeed admirably.

On this occasion, on behalf of the Party and the Government I sincerely :

— Congratulate the labour heroes, emulation fighters and workers who are enthusiastically carrying out the 1957 State plan ;

— Congratulate the cadres and peasants who are pushing forward the correcting of errors combined with the increase of production in the countryside ;

— Congratulate the intellectuals who are doing their utmost to contribute their ability to the economic restoration and the cultural development of the country ;

— Send my good wishes to manual and brain workers in the South who are heroically struggling against the U.S. imperialists and their stooges;

— Greet Vietnamese labourers residing abroad;

— Greet the working people of the brother and neighbouring countries, and of the countries all over the world.

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

May 1, 1957

INSTRUCTIONS GIVEN AT THE MEETING FOR IDEOLOGICAL REMOULDING OF GENERAL AND FIELD OFFICERS

Dear comrades,

The recent Twelfth Session of the Party Central Committee has assessed that, since the restoration of peace our army has maintained and developed its fine revolutionary tradition, has fulfilled the tasks entrusted to it by the Party and the Government. It has scored achievements in all fields and begun to set up good bases for turning it into a regular and modern army. This is the result of the clear-sighted leadership of the Party Central Committee and the Government, of the correct guidance of the Party General Committee in the army, of the warm support of the people and the active efforts of all the officers and men and the whole Party branch in the army. The Central Committee was warm in praise of the army as a whole. You are general and field officers who have

made noteworthy contributions to these achievements. So today I praise all of you.

In this one-month long meeting you have carefully studied the Central Committee's resolutions on the building of the army and the strengthening of national defence. You have made frank and serious criticism and self-criticism. The Party General Committee in the army has listened attentively to your ideas, accepting what is correct and explaining what is wrong and has made first remarks on the strong and weak points of the officers. You have succeeded in distinguishing the right from the wrong in a number of important questions and are in complete agreement with the Central Committee about all questions mentioned in the resolutions and have seen a number of your own strong and weak points. As a result of this, the proletarian class-stand and viewpoints of each of you has been strengthened further, and the confidence in the Party's leadership raised higher, creating good conditions for the strengthening of the solidarity and single-mindedness between the high and low ranks, which is the most important condition for all success of the army. This is the good result of the democratic life, of correct criticism and self-criticism in the Party. On behalf of the Central Committee, I am very pleased to praise you for the results of the meeting.

On the way of revolutionary development our Party, our army, just as each of us, always have strong points and cannot avoid committing mistakes. Only by ceaselessly making criticism and self-criticism to distinguish the right from the wrong in order to develop what is right and correct what is wrong can we make ourselves, our Party and our revolution advance steadfastly.

We have obtained big achievements, yet the tasks facing us are very heavy. This year, we have to successfully carry out the correction of mistakes, fundamentally achieve the economic rehabilitation of the North, prepare ourselves to enter a new stage to consolidate the North, gradually advancing to socialism. Simultaneously we must carry on the struggle for national reunification by peaceful means and must be prepared against all the enemy's manoeuvres. For the building of the army and strengthening of national defence we have this year on the one hand, to continue to fulfil the plan for military training and, on the other, to prepare to implement the regular rules and regulations and study the settlement of the problem of strengthening the rear. These are very great and important tasks for the whole Party, the whole army and the whole people. In undertaking these tasks we have many advantages and shall certainly be successful, but we also have great difficulties. In face of the big revolutionary struggle in the present stage and of the complicated and heavy tasks, there are in our Party and army, besides good and active ideas which are being consolidated and developed, vague and deviated conceptions and ideas which must be overcome to enable us to step up the revolution.

To overcome all difficulties and to fulfil our immediate and heavy tasks, the most important question for our army this year is, as decided by the Central Committee, to carry out the political remoulding campaign, to raise higher the political consciousness of the whole army; to make criticism and self-criticism, to overcome the vague and deviated thinking; to bring the political and ideological level of the army nearer to the demands of the revolutionary task in general and of the task of building

the army in particular. In carrying out the ideological remoulding we must firmly stick to the principle of educating and raising the proletarian ideas, overcoming wrong ideas, highlighting the good points and correcting the weak points by patiently educating, convincing and promoting the self-consciousness of everyone. We must succeed in strengthening the single-minded solidarity in the Party and in the army. The officers must seriously study, make criticism and self-criticism to make progress and to set a good example to the soldiers.

I hope that you will strive to fulfil the tasks of this year. I am looking forward to the good results of this year's ideological remoulding of the whole army and to the new achievements in all fields which will be scored by the army and by you.

I wish you good health and good progress and send my greetings to all the officers and men.

May 16, 1957

SPEECH GREETING PRESIDENT K.E. VOROSHILOV* AT THE BANQUET GIVEN IN HIS HONOUR

Dear President,

Dear Soviet comrades,

Dear friends and comrades,

Today, we have the honour to gather together with Comrade President Voroshilov and the comrades of the Delegation under the same roof; how happy we are!

Throughout 60 years, Comrade Voroshilov has heroically struggled, and has, together with the Communist Party, greatly contributed to the success of the October Revolution, to the safeguarding of the Soviet Union, and to the building of communism.

Comrade Voroshilov, one of the most beloved leaders of the Soviet people, is also one of the most respected

* Marshal Voroshilov, President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. visited Viet Nam from May 20 to May 24, 1957, at President Ho Chi Minh's invitation.

friends of the Vietnamese people. On behalf of the Vietnamese people, the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and the Viet Nam Workers' Party, I warmly welcome Comrade Voroshilov and the comrades of the Delegation.

Under the banner of Marxism-Leninism, under the leadership of the great Communist Party, the Soviet people have gloriously succeeded in the building of socialism, and are steadily advancing to communism.

The success of the Soviet people has helped and is helping many peoples to liberate themselves from slavery and to advance gradually to socialism. Therefore, 40 years ago, the Soviet Union was the only socialist country, but at present socialism has become a world system, embracing 900 million people united as one. And this system is constantly developing. The national-liberation movement also rises higher and higher. Many countries which were under colonial imperialist yoke are now independent.

Throughout 40 years, the Soviet Union has ceaselessly struggled for the happiness of mankind and the principles of peaceful co-existence. The Soviet Union and the socialist countries have become the bulwark of world peace.

As regards the Vietnamese people, the light of the October Revolution has helped the August Revolution win success, and the Resistance War victory. At present the Vietnamese people are doing their utmost to consolidate the North, win over the South, and struggle for national reunification by peaceful means.

With lofty internationalism and kind fraternity, the Soviet Union, together with China and other brother countries whole-heartedly help Viet Nam in every field. With their own efforts, added to this disinterested help, the

Vietnamese people are determined to overcome every difficulty to build a peaceful, unified, independent, democratic, prosperous and strong Viet Nam.

Dear Comrade President,

Your visit to China, Indonesia and Viet Nam shows once more that friendship between the socialist countries, and between the peace-loving countries is more developed and more consolidated with every passing day. The future of peace and progress, and that of mankind are brilliant. Your work is very glorious.

Let us touch glasses and wish:

— Long live the lasting close friendship between Viet Nam and the Soviet Union!

— Long live the solidarity of the great socialist family headed by the Soviet Union!

— Long live the constant development of the peaceful and democratic forces all over the world!

— Long live the Soviet people and Government and the great Soviet Communist Party!

— Good health and longevity to Comrade President Voroshilov!

— Good health and progress to the Soviet comrades!

May 20, 1957

TALK ON THE OCCASION OF THE 12th ANNIVERSARY OF THE FOUNDING OF THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF VIET NAM

Dear compatriots,

On the occasion of the 12th anniversary of the National Day, on behalf of the Party and the Government, I cordially greet you,

Compatriots living in the country and abroad,

Southern cadres and compatriots regrouped in the North,

Armymen and people's security men,

Emulation fighters, all cadres and public employees,

Old people, youth and pioneers.

This anniversary is a glorious historical day for our whole nation. Twelve years ago, our entire people, from South to North, rose up as one man, brought the August Revolution to success and founded the democratic republic regime.

Since then, throughout nine years, our entire people, millions like one, have waged a valiant and hard resistance. As a result, the resistance was victorious, the fruit of the August Revolution was preserved, peace was restored the country over, the North was completely liberated and the Geneva Agreement has recognised the sovereignty, independence, unity and integrity of our country. This anniversary is a day of confidence, enthusiasm, solidarity, faith in the unity of the entire people, in the final victory of peace, reunification, independence, democracy throughout the country.

Since peace was restored, our people's revolutionary struggle has entered a new phase. The Party and the Government have united and led the entire people to consolidate the North and take it step by step to socialism and to carry on the struggle for national reunification on the basis of independence and democracy by peaceful means, thus contributing to the safeguarding of peace in Asia and the world.

During these last three years, our people in the North exerted all out efforts, worked hard and obtained big achievements in healing war wounds, rehabilitating national economy, setting out to develop culture, lessening difficulties, and gradually improving the people's livelihood both in the plains and in the mountains. Land reform was basically completed, the correction of its errors and the furtherance of its success were satisfactorily carried out in many localities. Agricultural output outstripped the pre-war level. In industry, former enterprises were restored and new ones built. Security and public order were maintained and national defence consolidated. On behalf of the Party and the Government, I congratulate our people's industriousness and unity, our armymen and cadres' devotion to the people and the fatherland.

Our task this year is to further promote production and thrift, in order to fulfil the State plan aimed at achieving in the main the economic restoration of the North, improving our people's livelihood, and creating conditions to build the North according to a long plan from 1958 onwards.

While the North grew stronger, in the south of our country the U.S. imperialists increase their intervention, stepped up their military build up, controlled the economy, and worked hand in glove with the Southern authorities to sabotage the Geneva Agreement, peace and Viet Nam's reunification. They resorted to every means of terror and repression in an attempt to quench the patriotism and will for unification of our heroic Southern compatriots. But the latter replied by an ever broader union, a struggle for improvements in their living standards, democratic freedoms and national reunification by peaceful means. Lately, our Government once again proposed to the Southern authorities to renew contacts between the two zones, re-establish normal relations to advance towards discussion on general elections to reunify the country. But the Southern administration persisted in their refusal, thus trampling upon the cherished aspirations of our entire people.

Our compatriots in the South and throughout the country must perseveringly carry on their struggle, urging the Southern authorities to respect the people's will. Viet Nam is a unified country, North and South are under one roof, no reactionary force can divide them. Our Viet Nam must be reunified.

To fulfil these great revolutionary tasks — building socialism in the North and struggling for national reunification — our entire people must enhance their solidarity,

promote their work, intensify their struggle and ceaselessly display their enthusiasm, confidence and resolution to go forward. Victory will be ours.

In the work of national construction and reunification, we have enjoyed the disinterested help of the brother countries, especially of the Soviet Union and China. We enjoy the sympathy and support of the peace-loving peoples the world over, particularly of the Afro-Asian countries such as India, Indonesia, Burma, Egypt. Recently the friendship between our neighbours — Cambodia and Laos — and us, recorded much progress. The efforts of the International Commission in our country also contributed to the consolidation of peace, on the basis of the Geneva Agreements.

On this occasion, on behalf of the Government and the people, I sincerely thank the brother countries and the friendly countries. We have to enhance the international solidarity and friendship between the peoples of the world. I am very happy to report to you that our recent visit to the brother countries has proved that the unity between the socialist countries is growing firmer with each passing day.

* * *

Now I will briefly report on our visit to the brother countries.* Two years ago, with a delegation of our Government I visited three brother countries: China,

* At the invitation of the Parties and the Government of the brother countries, from July 6 to August 30, 1957. President Ho Chi Minh visited the Korean People's Democratic Republic, the Republic of Czechoslovakia, the People's Republic of Poland, the Democratic Republic of Germany, the People's Republic of Hungary, the People's Republic of Albania, the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the People's Republic of Rumania.

Mongolia and the Soviet Union. This time, at the invitation of the Governments of other brother countries, with comrades Hoang Van Hoan, Hoang Minh Giam, Pham Ngoc Thach, I visited Korea, Czechoslovakia, Poland, the Democratic Republic of Germany, Hungary, Albania, Bulgaria and Rumania. On our journey we stayed some days in the Soviet Union and China.

The results of our good-will visit are very good. We have conveyed our compatriots' thanks and friendship to the peoples of the brother countries. Now, we have to convey the latter's affectionate greetings of solidarity to you. On your behalf we have thanked the brother countries for having supported us during the resistance, and for their present help in our peaceful national reconstruction.

The Parties, the Governments and the peoples of the brother countries have received us most solemnly and most intimately as blood brothers. From big cities to localities hundreds of kilometres distant from the capitals everywhere the population has given us a warmest welcome. The warmheartedness shown by workers, peasants, intellectuals, youth and old people alike, eloquently bespeaks the close union and friendship of the peoples of the brother countries with the Vietnamese people. This tribute is paid not to us personally but to our entire people, our Fatherland. That is a manifestation of lofty proletarian internationalism, underlying the everlasting relations between the community of socialist countries.

The workers at factories and the peasants in collective farms we met, inquired about the achievements of our emulation in production and saving, and conveyed their greetings and encouragements to our workers and peasants.

Factory workers, at the Pyongyang weaving mill, the Tirana mill, etc., expressed their desire to emulate with our workers. I am very glad that the Nam Dinh weaving mill has taken up the offer and are enthusiastically carrying out this friendly competition. I hope that our workers at other enterprises will also emulate with the workers in the brother countries.

Peasants in the brother countries pay sympathetic attention to our peasants. For instance: the Salibi agricultural co-operative in Czechoslovakia promised to offer a ploughing-machine and sponsor one of our newly-established co-operatives.

Intellectuals in the brother countries conveyed their heartfelt greetings to our intellectuals.

Youth and pupils in the brother countries have very good experiences on attitude to labour and contribution to national construction. For instance, (North) Korean students and pupils do manual work for one month every year. Bulgarian youth and students organise labour teams to participate in various works. As is known, Soviet youth have volunteered to reclaim scores of millions of hectares, Chinese youth and students are busying themselves with practical work.

Most eager are the pioneers. They buttonholed us and asked to correspond with our pioneers. I hope that our pioneers will willingly communicate with them, in an organised way.

We met our students and pioneers studying in the brother countries. They are carefully looked after, united, healthy, lively and painstaking. They conveyed their greetings to their families, the Party, the Government and their compatriots.

We rejoice very much at the outstanding progress of the brother countries in socialist construction. All of us have known how quickly they develop their economy. It is on the spot that one can realise this momentous creative work.

Clearest proof of this is that many capitals and big cities such as Pyongyang, Warsaw, Berlin completely destroyed by the enemy during the war have been rebuilt most magnificently. In the Soviet Union, many big cities such as Stalingrad, Odessa, Sebastopol, Minsk which were razed to the ground by the German fascists have been rebuilt more splendidly. Such achievements in the economic reconstruction in the brother countries are due to their people's spirit of hard struggle, of devoted labour, of strict discipline and their ever improved labour organisation. They are also the fruit of labouring endeavour. I remember comrade Voroshilov's words when visiting our country: The Soviet Union has a history of 40 years only, during which time the Soviet people for 18 years, had to tighten their belts, suffer hunger and hardship and exert many efforts to build up the country. Thanks to the assistance of the Soviet Union, the other brother countries have endured a shorter period of difficulties and trials, but there were many years before they obtained the present achievements.

I would like to tell you something more: in our recent visit we have paid attention to the struggle for national reunification of the Korean and German peoples. We should learn from the peoples of these two brother countries their endeavour to reconstruct North Korea and East Germany. They have scored many achievements and each achievement gained in the peaceful national

reconstruction has its effect on the whole country, on the struggle for reunification.

I am also very glad to report to you that when we visited Hungary, I saw the people's real enthusiasm and their daily life returned to normal; factories, mines, State farms have been re-engaged actively in an emulation drive for increasing production. This is a great victory for all of us.

In the brotherly countries, we had many opportunities to have talks with the Party and Government leaders. Such meetings and talks have proceeded in a cordial and sincere atmosphere; we are of one mind on the important international issues and on the problems pertaining to the relation between the brother countries and ours.

On the international situation, we hold the same views as to the necessity to struggle for a lasting peace, and to settle every international issue through peaceful negotiation. It is necessary to struggle for the implementation of the policies of peaceful co-existence, to carry out arms-reduction, collective security in Europe and in Asia, and a ban on A. and H. bombs. When arriving in Moscow, we learnt that the Soviet Union successfully carried out its tests of intercontinental ballistic missiles. This momentous event will make its influence felt on the safeguarding of peace, on the speeding up of the struggle against the arms-race and for disarmament.

On the relations between the socialist countries, we unanimously hold that it is necessary to strengthen our solidarity on the spirit of internationalism, on the principle of mutual aid and respect of each other's sovereignty between the brother countries within the great socialist family.

With regard to Viet Nam, all the brother countries wholeheartedly support us in the struggle for the implementation of the Geneva Agreements, for national reunification by peaceful means. The leaders have promised to further promote the cultural and economic co-operation between their countries and ours.

In short, between the brother countries and ours, we are of one mind on every matter, for we are in the great socialist family, fighting under the glorious banner of Marxism-Leninism and struggling for a noble ideal, socialism. As our unshakable solidarity and unity are daily strengthened, victory will certainly be ours. It is safe to say that our visit was successful and has further strengthened the solidarity between the brother countries and further raised the international position of Viet Nam.

Availing ourselves of this opportunity, we once again express our heartfelt thanks to the brother countries.

Beloved compatriots,

During the recent period, we were very happy to welcome the Heads of brother and friendly States. They are comrades Voroshilov, Mikoyan, Chou En-lai, Siroky, Cyrankiewicz, Prime Ministers Nehru, Nu, Phouma, and the Speaker of the Indonesian Parliament Sartono.

I am glad to inform you that the supreme leaders of the other brother countries have promised that they will visit our country to convey their people's friendship to our people. I am sure that all our compatriots will warmly welcome this happy news.

Our recent trip to the brother countries lasted 55 days, and ran through almost 40,000 kilometres, nearly the circumference of the earth. Everywhere we went,

we felt at home, and met bosom comrades, because 900 millions of people in the great family of the socialist countries are united as brothers. How great and powerful indeed our socialist family is. Viet Nam can be proud to be a part of this glorious great family.

With the correct leadership of the Party and the Government, with the solidarity and unity of mind, with the firm confidence and the spirit of self-reliance of our people, with the disinterested assistance of the brother countries, the support of the peace-loving peoples throughout the world, especially of the peoples of Asia and Africa, our people will certainly overcome all difficulties and fulfil the glorious tasks set forth by the Party and the Government.

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

Long live the solidarity of the great family of the socialist countries headed by the Soviet Union!

Long live the friendship between the peoples of peace-loving countries all over the world!

Long live world peace!

September 2, 1957

SPEECH OPENING THE FIRST THEORETICAL COURSE OF NGUYEN AI QUOC SCHOOL*

Dear comrades,

To day the theoretical Party school opens. On behalf of the Party Central Committee I wish you to make efforts and wish the school success.

Here is my view on theoretical study.

Why do we have to study theory?

Our Party has established the theoretical school for cadres to raise the level of their understanding in order to meet the requirements of its revolutionary tasks and the practical situation so that it can better carry out its work and fulfil its great revolutionary tasks.

* The First theoretical course of Nguyen Ai Quoc School, Branch I, opened on September 7, 1957. This was the first long-term theoretical course held in Viet Nam by the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Workers' Party with a view to fostering and raising the level of political and ideological understanding of Party cadres.

Our Party is a Marxist-Leninist Party which has been tested and tempered for a long time in hard struggles, that is why it has a great many strong points, for example: loyalty to Marxism-Leninism, and to proletarian internationalism, determination in fighting, great revolutionary ardour, and traditional solidarity and unity. However, our Party has also many weak points and a great one is the low level of its ideological understanding.

Because of its many strong points our Party has led the Revolution to great and fundamental successes. But on the other hand, due to the low level of its ideological understanding, when facing new and more complicated revolutionary tasks, perplexity and errors are inevitable in our Party leadership. For example: we have committed errors in the carrying out of land reform and re-adjustment of organisation, and economic management.

At present, what are the revolutionary tasks of our Party? On the national plan, we have not yet completed the task of national people's democratic revolution. As for the North alone, since the restoration of peace, it has been liberated completely and has stepped into the transitional period to socialism. In the South, we are carrying on the task of national people's democratic revolution and are struggling for national unity: socialism has become a powerful world system; the movement for peace, democracy and national liberation is on the upgrade; the liberated North is being built up and consolidated; our people in the South have been tempered in the Resistance war and in these three years of struggle by peaceful means. Nevertheless these tasks also have many difficult and complicated aspects, for example: changes in international and home situation require from us the proper line, principle and

method of action; our enemy is very wicked; our cadres and people have not thoroughly understood that the struggle for national re-unification by peaceful means is a long and hard struggle. This demands that our Party raise its ideological understanding; to do so Marxist-Leninist studies must be conducted in the whole Party, first of all among high-ranking cadres.

The North is in the transitional stage to socialism. The socialist revolution is the most difficult and far-reaching change. We have to build up a completely new society unknown to our history. We have to change radically thousand-year-old customs and habits, ways of thinking and prejudices. We have to change old relations of production, abolish the exploiting classes and establish new relations of production without exploitation and oppression. Therefore we have gradually to turn our country from a backward agricultural country into an industrial one. Step by step collectivisation of agriculture has to be implemented. Private industry and commerce, and handicraft must go through socialist transformation. Our ignorant and poverty-ridden country must be turned into one with an advanced culture and a happy and merry life.

These tasks must be undertaken in the particular conditions of our country, that is on the basis of a very backward country newly freed from colonialist and feudal rule and being divided into two zones.

In such conditions what must be our method, form and speed to gradually advance to socialism? These are problems facing our Party at the present time. To solve them with less gropings and errors we must learn from the experiences of the brother countries and apply them in a creative way. We have to intensify our Marxist-Leninist

training in order to apply the Marxist-Leninist stand, viewpoint and method in summing up our Party's experience, and correctly analyse the peculiarities of our country. In this way we shall gradually succeed in grasping the laws governing the development of the Vietnamese revolution, and working out the line, guiding principle and concrete steps of socialist revolution adequate to the situation in our country. Thus, the Party's general level of Marxist-Leninist understanding must be raised and Marxist Leninist studies carried on by the Party, primarily by high-ranking cadres.

On the other hand, in the period of socialist revolution, the Party must be stronger than ever. Society cannot be transformed unless the Party members transform and elevate themselves. The socialist revolution demands of the Party members and cadres a firm proletarian stand and high socialist consciousness. It demands of them to sweep clean the influence of the exploiting class' ideologies, individualism, and to forge collectivism. It requires them to overcome bureaucracy and narrow-mindedness in order to maintain close contact with the masses, thereby to develop to the full the creativeness of the masses of people in building socialism, because socialism can be built only by the creative labour of millions of fully conscious people. Consequently the general level of ideological understanding of the Party must be raised and Marxist-Leninist studies made in the Party, first of all among high-ranking Party cadres.

Thus, we see that Marxist-Leninist studies are an urgent need for our Party.

What is the importance of theory to our Party? Lenin, our great teacher, summarized the importance of

theory in a few sentences as follows: "There cannot be a revolutionary movement without revolutionary theory" and "Only a party guided by a vanguard theory can possibly fill the role of vanguard fighter". The Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the first party which blazed the trail of liberation for mankind, has always paid attention to theory because it has realised that theory shows it the correct path to Communism.

The Chinese Communist Party which is a model of Communist Party in a semi-colonial and semi-feudal country has for long taken great care of theory. Mao Tse-tung said that, if among the leading Party cadres there were about one or two hundred who succeeded in making a systematic and practical study of Marxism-Leninism, then it could be considered that they were able to defeat the Japanese imperialists. When summing up experiences, the Eighth Party Congress concluded that good or bad Party leadership depended first of all on whether training in Marxism-Leninism of high-ranking cadres was good, and that the carrying on of Marxist-Leninist studies for Party cadres and members was the key for better work thenceforward.

Through the experience of brother countries, we all the more see the pressing need and importance of theoretical study for the Party, in the first place high-ranking cadres.

* * *

What is our cadres' attitude to theoretical study?

It can be said that our Party has never been confronted with so many complicated, big and difficult problems as at the present time. In this situation, our cadres, in

general, have felt that their weakness lies in lack of theory, and consequently they have understood the need for theoretical study and have asked the Party to organise theoretical study for them. This is a very good sign. We must promote this yearning for study and for progress, in order to step up the movement for theoretical study in our Party. However, this does not mean that all our cadres have understood in this way. For example, at present, there are many cadres who bury themselves all day long in routine work without being aware of the importance of theory, hence there are signs of slighting study or lacking determination to find ways and means to combine work with study. Or after a period of study on the job, there are cadres — chiefly those with low education who are not used to reading and meditation — who grumble when encountering difficulties inherent in reading documents, in going deeply into and pondering over them. Or having fruitlessly applied a number of experiences without creativeness, we lack conviction in the need to study theory and to learn from the experiences of brother countries, etc. These are manifestations of empiricism to be overcome. These are also expressions of a revisionist character to be watched in order to step up the present movement for theoretical study.

* * *

I have dealt with the importance of theoretical study and now I shall speak of integration of theory with practice. Theory is very necessary but unmethodical study yields no result. Therefore in studying theory we have to stress that: *theory must be integrated with practice.*

Unity of theory and practice is a fundamental principle of Marxism-Leninism. Practice without the guidance of theory is blind practice. Theory without integration with practice is mere theory. For that reason while laying stress on the importance of theory, Lenin repeated over and over again that revolutionary theory is not dogma but a guide to revolutionary action; and that it is not something rigid, but of a rich creative nature; that theory needs be constantly improved by new conclusions drawn from living practice. Communists of various countries must put Marxism-Leninism in concrete form proper to circumstances of the given time and of the given place.

The Party school is the school to train outstanding fighters devoted to the proletarian cause. You are all high-ranking cadres of the Party. Your theoretical study does not aim at turning you into mere theoreticians, but at enabling you to work well. It means that you must study the spirit of Marxism-Leninism, its stand, viewpoint and method, to put them into practice in order satisfactorily to solve practical problems in our revolutionary work. How is theory integrated with practice?

— We study theory in order to apply it, not for its own sake, and not to make a capital for ourselves later to bargain with the Party. All bad motives should be extirpated.

— We do not carry on studies to learn by heart every sentence and every word and apply the experience of brother countries in a mechanical way. We must learn Marxism-Leninism to analyse and solve the actual issues of the revolution in our country according to its particular conditions.

While applying theory we must improve and enrich it with new conclusions drawn from our revolutionary practice.

Theory is the summing up of the experiences of mankind, the synthesis of knowledge of nature and society in the course of history. Marxist-Leninist theory is the summing up of experiences of workers' movements of all countries down to the present time. Stalin said that theory is the science of laws governing the development of nature and society, the science of revolution of the oppressed and exploited masses, the science of success of socialism in all countries, the science of communist construction.

Reality is problems to be solved, and contradictions lying within things. We are revolutionary cadres, our reality is problems to be solved that the revolution puts to us. Real life is immense. It covers the experience drawn from the work and thought of an individual, the Party's policies and line, its historical experiences and issues at home and in the world. In the course of our study these are realities to be kept in contact with. However, in this school we must primarily compare theory with our thought and work, that is to use the theory we have acquired to make an analysis of the success and failure in our work, and discover the origin of our correct or wrong stand, viewpoint and method. To do so is to sum up in order to improve our approach to these issues and to work with better results. We carry out the revolution with a view to transforming the world and society. To transform the world and society we must first and foremost, transform ourselves. Therefore we must, in the first place, integrate theory with our actual work and

thought in order to transform ourselves, to improve our Marxist-Leninist stand, viewpoint and method.

In our study, we have also to bring into focus the actual issues in the country and in the world, the revolutionary problems and tasks ahead of our Party, using the acquired understanding to find the correct line and method for the solving of these issues, or to analyse the experiences drawn from work done by the Party and to discover the causes of its successes and failures. This will help us consolidate our stand and enhance our viewpoint and method.

However, it is necessary to refrain from demanding the solving of all actual issues in the course of the study. The practice of the revolution is very extensive and the solving of all the issues put forth by this practice is a long-term work for the whole Party. At school we can only lay the foundation for integration of theory with practice. The experience of brother Parties as well as ours has given many lessons in the harm done by *dogmatism* divorced from real life. The Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, while criticising the cult of personality, pointed out the harm done in ideological work. As a result, the Party succeeded in correcting its mistakes and obtained big achievements. Since the Twentieth Congress the brother Parties have actively overcome the bad consequences of dogmatism, which were manifested in the fact that in many places experiences of brother countries were applied mechanically, disregarding the peculiarities of one's own country. Many times, the Chinese Communist Party also made mistakes in its line and suffered losses from dogmatism. In the fight against it, the Chinese Communist Party under Mao Tse-tung's

leadership succeeded in combining the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the revolutionary practice of China, thereby taking steps proper to the Chinese society and made a great contribution to the treasure-house of Marxist-Leninist ideology and experience.

Thanks to its ability in combining Marxism-Leninism with the actual situation of our country, our Party has scored many successes in its work. However, the combination of Marxist-Leninist truth with the practice of the Vietnamese revolution was not complete and brought about many mistakes, namely those committed in the land reform, re-adjustment of organisation and economic construction. At present, in building socialism, although we have the rich experiences of brother countries, we cannot apply them mechanically because our country has its own peculiarities. Disregard for the peculiarities of one's nation while learning from the experiences of the brother countries is a serious mistake, is dogmatism. But undue emphasis on the role of national peculiarities and negation of the universal value of the great, basic experiences of the brother countries will lead to grave revisionist mistakes. For that reason, while laying emphasis on the importance of theoretical study stress must always be laid on the principle of integrating theory with practice. We have to overcome dogmatism, and to be also on our guard against *revisionism*. In short, we must be aware of the importance of theory to study enthusiastically. In the course of your study, only by making use of what you will have learned to analyse and solve the practical questions in your ideological work and in the Party, can you obtain good results.

* * *

To put into practice the principle of integration of theory with practice, and to reach the aim of your study, that is highlighting theory, ideological transformation and strengthening Party spirit, it is necessary to have a correct attitude to study:

— To be modest and frank. The level of ideological understanding of our Party is rather low, nobody can boast about being good at it. Therefore *modesty* and *frankness* are to be highlighted. To go deep into and ponder over Marxist-Leninist works and the lectures given by the professors from friendly countries, modestly to learn from them, recognising what one knows and what one does not know. *Conceit, self-assumption and self-complacency are enemies number one of study.*

— Voluntarily and consciously to consider study as a task to be completed at all costs by a revolutionary cadre, thereby actively and on one's own initiative to fulfil the plan for study, highlighting industriousness and unflinching efforts when confronted with difficulties in study.

— To highlight independent and free thinking. To go deep into and thoroughly understand the documents without having blind faith in every word and phrase of the documents, boldly to put forth for discussion the questions one has not thoroughly understood until one fully grasps them. To ask "why?" when faced with any question and carefully to consider whether it is in conformity with real life and reason, absolutely to refrain from obeying the book with blindfold eyes. There must be ripe thinking.

— To defend truth and stick to principle; indiscriminate 'yesses' and compromise are not allowed.

— To help each other in study, to conduct bold criticism and sincere self-criticism from a desire for solidarity with the aim of building new solidarity on a new basis.

You must gradually build up this attitude to study into a habit in the course of the study. Only in this way can you realise the principle of integration of theory with practice, enabling your study to reach its aim, that is to train cadres capable of applying the Marxist-Leninist stand, viewpoint and method in solving concrete revolutionary issues.

These are my views for you to examine. I again wish the school success.

September 7, 1957

THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION AND THE LIBERATION OF THE PEOPLES OF THE EAST*

The October Revolution brightened the history of mankind with a new dawn.

Like the rising sun driving away the shadows, the October Revolution brightened the history of mankind with a new dawn.

Forty years ago, under the leadership of the Leninist Party, the Russian proletariat, firmly united with the working peasants, overthrew the power of the capitalists and landlords. The Soviet state, the state of proletarian dictatorship, bringing a genuine democracy to the people, has given proof of its vitality and invincible strength.

The October Revolution was the victory of the revolutionary forces of the toiling masses; it was an extremely violent upheaval creating conditions which clearly

* This article was written by President Ho Chi Minh on the proposal of the National Political Publishing House of the U. S. S. R. on the 40th anniversary of the October Revolution.

showed the creativeness of the toiling masses. The victory of the October Revolution confirmed the correctness of Marxism-Leninism; it paved the way to new victories of the working class in social life, on the basis of great loyalty to Marxist-Leninist principles. Thanks to the clear-sightedness and heroism of the Leninist Party, the Party of the proletarian class, the October Revolution won victory and ushered in a new era in the history of mankind and a new stage on the long and glorious path covered by the revolutionary Party of the Russian proletariat.

Owing to the success of the October Revolution, the Leninist Party was able successfully to fulfil the historical tasks of great significance entrusted to it. Peoples who were erstwhile oppressed have become masters of their own destiny. The Czarist empire was suppressed; this empire was formerly the prison of many nations and at the same time was enslaved by a handful of cosmopolitan financiers. The people were no longer the toys, the slaves, the cannon fodder of rival imperialists. The toiling masses wiped out the wretchedness of bourgeois Russia where, as in other countries, the labouring people had suffered under the dreadful yoke of the capitalists and landlords; they were the creators of all wealth but were kept in misery and ignorance — both are the atrocious and age-old fate of the overwhelming majority of mankind. For the first time in human history, the working people started to build a society without class exploitation and national oppression — a Socialist society. With their exemplary enthusiasm in labour, high consciousness, ever-growing labour efficiency and with boundless faithfulness to the cause of their own, that of their children, and of their

brothers who still suffer in slavery, the Soviet people have transformed their age-old dream of happiness into a dazzling reality on a sixth of the earth.

The October Revolution has nationalised factories, mines and principal means of communication and liaison. It has brought land to the peasants. On the basis of socialist industrialisation and socialist transformation of the countryside along the path drawn by Lenin, the Soviet Union has developed its economy at a prodigious speed, a rhythm unknown until then: socialist economy has proved its superiority over capitalist economy.

The fundamental law of socialist economy is to satisfy the ever-growing material and cultural needs of the working people, it is completely contrary to the monopolistic capitalist economy which relies on the ever-increasing exploitation of the working class, on the impoverishment of the labouring masses and on the plundering of the enslaved peoples. The Soviet workers, peasants and intellectuals who have wiped out the regime of exploitation of man by man, and class antagonism on the vast Soviet territory, are constantly consolidating their socialist brotherhood, which is growing more splendid and blooming with every passing day. The glorious achievements of the Soviet people are preparing the way for the future society — a communist society.

The October Revolution has proved the possibility of overthrowing the dictatorship of the exploiting class and establishing the socialist society which ensures the country's brilliant development at an unprecedented speed and takes the toiling masses to a dignified, glorious and ever more prosperous life; it brings to the working people a free, happy and powerful Fatherland and leads them

towards a bright horizon, formerly undreamt of. This is an inspiring example for the working people throughout the world, especially for the peoples of the East who were and are still being enslaved by imperialism. The monopolist imperialists want to keep the Eastern countries in a backward economic state, the masses in misery and always trample on their nationalism.

The October Revolution has opened up the era of a new foreign policy, the policy of peace and friendship among nations. On October 26, 1917 — the day following the establishment of worker-peasant power — the second Congress of Soviets adopted a decree concerning peace, which was the basis of the Soviet state's foreign policy. Since then, the Soviet Union has constantly been carrying out an active struggle for peace and against the warmongers. This policy was prompted by the very nature of the socialist Soviet state. The truth is that the working people hate all aggressive wars because, first of all, for the profit of the exploiters, war causes ravages and sufferings to the broad masses. That is why the working people's power genuinely defends peace in which the peoples of all lands display keen interest.

The October Revolution overthrew the capitalists' and landlords' state in a vast country, shattered the imperialists' chains and thus eliminated all power of the exploiting class for whom war is a source of profit. The Soviet Union consistently stands for peaceful co-existence among nations, whatever their political and social systems.

The communists are convinced of the superiority of the socialist system. The Soviet Union is cogent proof of this. For this reason it does not fear peaceful competition,

on the contrary it advocates it. Not long before the October Revolution, Lenin quoted the principle expressed by Engels in 1882: "*The victorious proletariat cannot impose any happiness whatever on another people without in this way undermining its own victory*"* and regarded this principle as indubitable and absolutely conforming to the spirit of internationalism.

At the same time the Soviet Union unceasingly supports other nations in their struggle for national independence, against imperialist enslavement and aggression. The firm peace policy of the Soviet Union constitutes a decisive mainstay for all nations in their struggle against the forces of war. This policy is of particular importance for the peoples of the East, considered by the imperialists as ready prey and as sources of manpower and material wealth for the stepping up of their predatory wars.

A bulwark of peace, the Soviet Union is at the same time an invincible force ready to repel any aggression. From 1918 to 1920, Soviet power actively supported by the international proletariat crushed the internal counter-revolutionary forces and wiped out the armies of fourteen interventionist imperialist powers. During the Second World War, the Soviet Union annihilated the huge armed forces of the fascist aggressors, which had been carefully prepared with the assistance of all imperialist countries. Thus it saved the world from the barbarous Hitlerite enslavement and dealt a decisive blow at the main forces of Japanese militarism. All the peoples, especially the peoples of the East felt gratitude for the Soviet Union. Full of enthusiasm, the peoples of the East were aware that the

* Lenin: "Summing up of the discussion on the right of nations to self-determination". Autumn 1916.

imperialists who enslaved other peoples were not invincible. The fascist aggressors were crushed, despite their modern weapons and their long preparation before the Second World War for their criminal aggression.

The October Revolution and the building of socialism in the Soviet Union have considerably increased the revolutionary forces of the working class in the capitalist countries. The labouring peoples of many European and Asian countries have followed the example set by the Russian revolutionary proletariat.

In a short space of history, socialism has become a world system, now embracing twelve countries with more than 900 million people.

The October Revolution has shattered the fetters of imperialism, destroyed its foundation and inflicted on it a deadly blow. Like a thunderbolt, it has stirred up the Asian peoples from their centuries-old slumbers. It has opened up for them the revolutionary anti-imperialist era, the era of national liberation.

The Soviet Union is the strongest and most powerful bulwark of progress, democracy and peace. Its invincible and constantly developing strength and its consistent peace policy constitute the firmest guarantee for the independence of all nations, big and small. The Soviet Union has always made worthy efforts and has tabled practical proposals for arms reduction. It has persistently struggled for the suppression of nuclear and thermonuclear weapons which are threatening all nations. It has many a time asked other states to adopt collective security systems aimed at safeguarding peace in Europe and Asia. It has always upheld the five principles of peaceful co-existence and has endeavoured to make these five principles

the basis of international relations between countries throughout the world.

Contrary to the peace policy of the socialist states the aggressive warmongering imperialists, first of all the U. S. imperialists, are aggravating international tension. They refuse arms reduction, prohibition of nuclear and thermonuclear weapons, which are a terrible threat to mankind. They cherish the senseless hope of keeping the whole world under the threat of their military bases. They form aggressive blocs like fetters, in an attempt to re-shackle and re-enslave the free and independent nations. They resort to every manoeuvre to threaten the peoples of the East and to re-establish colonial rule in the countries which have recovered their independence. This is the true nature of the war unleashed against Egypt by the aggressors in London and Paris, with the practical assistance of the U.S. imperialists. While fostering the aggressive schemes of the others, the U. S. imperialists make an attempt to impose their yoke on the peoples in the Near East, Southeast Asia and the Pacific, to turn those countries into new bases of aggression and to oust from these countries their allies and rivals — English, French, Dutch, etc.

The imperialists seek to sow discord and division in the great family of socialist countries. This is the very nature of their aggression against the Hungarian People's Republic, against the historic achievements of the Hungarian people, who, thanks to the heroism of the Soviet people during the Second World War, were liberated from the fascist yoke. But events have confirmed the assessment made by the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union: "Thanks to the powerful socialist camp which loves peace, the [forces] of peace have not only

moral means but also material means to check aggression"*. Owing to this fact and the existence of a "vast zone of peace", the peace movement of the broad masses and the development of the workers' movement in the capitalist countries, today "powerful social and political forces have sufficient means to prevent the imperialists from unleashing war, and will deal them deadly blows and frustrate their adventurist plans if they venture to launch war."**

In Egypt, the aggressors met with ignominious defeat. The plot of subversion against the Hungarian People's Republic was foiled. Everyone sees that the powerful strength, vigilance and determination of the Soviet Union have crushed the plot of the warmongers and aggressors. At the same time this is also the victory of the cause of peace and independence of all nations. The Soviet Union does not step back when facing the imperialist maniacs who want to sow trouble among the peoples so as to easily carry out their wicked schemes. Soviet Union is determined to defend freedom and the peaceful labour of all peoples and the security of all nations big and small. The Soviet Union constantly shows loyalty to international solidarity, sympathise with and support the struggle for liberation of all oppressed nations. All countries of the East, whatever their state or social regime, are deeply grateful to the Soviet Union for its peace policy and its proletarian internationalism. These policies

* *Resolution of the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the U. S. S. R., National Political Publishing House, 1956, Russian edition, page 9.*

** *Resolution of the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the U. S. S. R., page 9.*

inspire the peoples of the East with an ever-growing confidence in the great socialist ideology.

The power brought into being by the October Revolution set an example of genuine freedom and friendship between nations.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung said: "The gun-shots of the October Revolution have brought us Marxism-Leninism. It has helped the whole world and the progressive elements in China to examine the destiny of the country in the world outlook of the working class and revise their own problems: The conclusion was to follow the path of the Russians." *

As early as 1913, Lenin said: "Everywhere in Asia a strong democratic movement is growing, spreading and being consolidated. There the bourgeoisie is still siding with the people to fight the reactionaries. Hundreds of millions of people are rising up in life, light and liberty... All young Asia, that is, hundreds of millions of toiling masses in Asia have a staunch ally — the proletariat of all civilised countries. No force on earth can prevent its victory, which will liberate all the peoples of Europe as well as of Asia." **

In 1919, at the Eastern Communists Congress, Lenin said: "A task is laid before you here, which has previously not been laid before the communists of the whole world: basing yourselves on the general theory and practice of communism, you must, in adapting yourselves to specific conditions which do not exist in the European countries, learn how to apply this theory and this practice to the conditions, when the peasantry forms the basic masses,

* Mao Tse-tung; On the dictatorship of people's democracy.

** Lenin: Works. Russian edition, Vol. XIX, pages 77-78.

when it is necessary to settle the task of struggle not against capitalism but against mediaeval vestiges." *

Dealing a telling blow at the common enemy — imperialism, the October Revolution has brought to the Eastern peoples assistance of a decisive character; it has given them the example of the liberation struggles of the countries once oppressed by Czarism.

The October Revolution has brought to the people of all nations the right to decide their own fate and the practical means to implement this right. It is well known that Lenin attached particular importance to the recognition of the right of all nations to secession and to build up independent states. Opposing Bukharin's theories, Lenin resolutely demanded that this right should be inserted into the Party's Political programme expounded at the VIIIth Congress in March, 1919. The Soviet Union of the October Revolution recognised the independence of Mongolia and Finland, which seceded to build up independent states. Of course, for the formerly oppressed nations, the right to secession does not signify the obligation to secede from a state where the people have overthrown the oppressors. On the contrary, it creates conditions for a voluntary alliance between free nations on the basis of complete equality of interests. It was on this basis that in December 1922, the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics was founded — a great example of a multi-national socialist state built on friendship, mutual confidence and good co-operation between nationalities.

Today, in the Soviet Union, thanks to the friendly assistance of the Russian people, the nationalities formerly

* Lenin: Works, Russian edition, Vol. XXX, page 140.

oppressed by the Czarist regime have reached an unprecedented level of development. They are able to establish their own institutions, restore and develop their own culture in their own language. All Soviet citizens, regardless of nationality and race, enjoy complete equality and the same freedoms, not only written on paper but actually ensured. This is a situation unknown to the workers of even the most democratic bourgeois countries where acknowledged freedoms guaranteed by law are cancelled out by actual social conditions. That is why the freedoms enjoyed by the Soviet peoples have fired the hearts of millions of people who are living under colonialist oppression. The ruling circles in the imperialist countries are stifling the most elementary freedoms of the colonial and dependent peoples, while inscribing the ironic legend "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity" in jails and places where tortures are carried out.

The Soviet Union establishes the equality of peoples by basing itself on special concern for the interests and requirements of the once oppressed nationalities. It helped them build up a modern economy, sweep away the centuries-old backwardness bequeathed them by their exploiters. The national republics of the Soviet Union have developed even more rapidly than the Russian Republic in industry as well as in all other fields. The recent measures taken in the light of the decision of the XXth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to improve the organisation of industrial and construction management, bring a new contribution to the bold and ingenious policy steadily carried out by the Soviet power since the October Revolution. They will further accelerate the economic and cultural

development of all the republics in the Soviet Union. The peoples of these republics are setting for the peoples of the whole world an example of socialist peoples united into a monolithic bloc in political, social and moral fields, a solidarity unknown in the conditions of the capitalist regime.

All the Soviet nationalities are animated by an ardent and genuine patriotism — a patriotism inseparable from proletarian internationalism.

For the first time in history, the national question has been solved by the victorious working class in a satisfactory way, on the basis of Marxist-Leninist principles.

Marxism-Leninism has elaborated a just and complete theory of anti-imperialist national revolution. The era of monopoly capitalism is also one where a few great powers, swayed by a handful of financiers, exercise their domination over dependent and semi-dependent countries; therefore the liberation of the oppressed countries and peoples has become an integral part of the proletarian revolution.

Hence there arise in the first place the possibility of and the need for a close fighting alliance between the colonial peoples and the proletariat of the imperialist countries, to triumph over the common enemy. The revolutionary struggle of the workers of the capitalist countries directly helps the oppressed peoples free themselves, by striking direct blows at the heart of the oppressors; this was vividly demonstrated by the October Revolution which has overthrown the power of the exploiters in Russia and resolutely abolished the oppressive colonial policy of the Czarist regime and the Russian bourgeois class. In its turn, the revolutionary struggle of colonial and semi-colonial peoples directly helps the proletariat of the capitalist

countries in their fight against the ruling classes to free themselves from the yoke of capitalism. The unity of the anti-imperialist struggle carries the certainty of victory for all colonial and semi-colonial peoples and for the proletariat in the capitalist countries.

Therefore, the national question can no longer be viewed from an abstract and isolated point of view. Marxism-Leninism has shown that national movements, effectively directed against imperialism, unfailingly contribute to the general revolutionary struggle; that national claims and national movements must not be estimated according to their strictly local political and social character in a narrow-minded way, but according to the part they play against the imperialist forces in the world. Marxism-Leninism has unmasked bourgeois democracy, which dissimulated behind sermons on the abstract "equality" between nations to conceal the oppression and exploitation of the great number of nations in the world by a handful of imperialist countries. Marxism-Leninism makes a clear distinction, between "oppressed, dependent and subject nations, and the oppressing, exploiting and sovereign nations..." *

To handle in a scientific way those problems on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and of the inexhaustible theoretical and practical experiences of the Soviet Union, at the same time to pay heed to the peculiarities of all dependent countries, is of great importance for the study of political lines, to continue the development of the national liberation movement and the organisation of social forces in the revolutions for liberation in the Eastern

* Lenin: Works, Russian edition, Vol. XXXI, page 123.

countries. In 1923, Lenin wrote on the dependent countries as follows: "Our European philistines never even dream that the subsequent revolutions — in Oriental countries, which possess much vaster populations and a much vaster diversity of social conditions, will undoubtedly display even greater peculiarities than the Russian revolution." *

During the course of the emancipation struggles of the Eastern peoples, the Marxist-Leninist principles in the question of colonial liberation have been triumphantly confirmed. The October Revolution provided strong impetus for this struggle, and the existence of the Soviet Union constituted an important historic factor which helped that struggle develop rapidly.

The revolution in the colonial and semi-colonial countries is a national-democratic revolution. To make it successful, it is possible and necessary to form a very wide national front, uniting all social strata and classes longing for liberation from colonialist yoke. In particular, one should bear in mind that the role played by the bourgeoisie in colonial and dependent countries in general is not similar to that played by the bourgeoisie in capitalist countries. The national bourgeoisie can be won to participate actively in the national-democratic revolution.

The revolution in the colonial and semi-colonial countries is first and foremost a peasant revolution. It is inseparable from the anti-feudal revolution. The alliance of the broad peasant masses with the working class is the fundamental base on which a wide and firm national front can be formed. Consequently, agrarian reform is a fundamental task of the national democratic revolution.

* Lenin: Works, Russian edition, Vol. XXXIII, page 439.

To lead the national revolution to victory and to cover the successive stages of the development of the national democratic state, the working class and its Party must take up their role of leading the revolution.

The revolution for liberation of the oppressed countries and the revolution of the proletariat of the oppressing countries must support each other. In the oppressing countries, the central task in the education of internationalism is to help the toiling people clearly understand the right of oppressed nationalities to secession and to found independent states, and in the oppressed countries this task consists in allying the various nationalities on a voluntary basis. Lenin said: "The situation which presents itself provides no other path leading to internationalism and the concord between peoples, no other path leading to this goal." *

The October Revolution gave an impetus to the movement of national liberation, which has become a surging wave in all Eastern countries: China, India, Indonesia, Viet Nam, etc. After the Second World War, many colonial and semi-colonial countries have shattered imperialist chains. Several of them have broken away from the capitalist system.

The victory of the Chinese revolution was a historical event of great significance. It struck a new blow at the imperialist system, the severest since the October Revolution.

Today, more than one thousand two hundred million inhabitants of Asia and Africa have already freed themselves from colonial and semi-colonial enslavement.

* Lenin: Works, Russian edition, Vol. XXII, page 332.

The colonial system of imperialism is collapsing beyond remedy; the question of total liquidation of the colonial system is the foremost one. The peoples of the East are rising up against their aggressors and are determined not to let anyone oppress them.

As Lenin had foreseen, the time has now come when, heads held high, these peoples enter the international arena.

The Vietnamese people advance towards socialism under the glorious Marxist-Leninist banner.

Thanks to the French Communist Party and the Chinese Communist Party, the Vietnamese revolutionaries have received the invigorating influence of the October Revolution and of Marxism-Leninism. That is like a thirsty and hungry traveller who, after a long journey, receives water and rice.

The Indochinese Communist Party was founded on February 3, 1930, thirteen years after the October Revolution. It became the undisputed leader of the whole people in the struggle against imperialism.

In September 1930, in Nghe An province, under the leadership of the young Indochinese Communist Party, the peasants seized power and established the Soviets, marking a step in their heroic struggle. The Soviets adopted a resolution on agrarian reform which was put into effect by the peasants. But going mad before the development of the movement of national liberation and the activities of the Soviets, the French imperialists savagely repressed and terrorised the Vietnamese people. They succeeded in crushing the Soviets only by mobilising all their available forces, bombing the liberated zones,

razing whole villages to the ground, and settin' gup a regime of bestial terror everywhere. However, the Indochinese Communist Party throughout the country kept on struggling persistently and heroically throughout the country to lead the movement of national liberation of the Vietnamese people.

Twenty-eight years after the October Revolution the victory of the Soviet army over the Japanese imperialists created favourable conditions for the August Revolution which brought independence to Viet Nam.

But the French imperialists were not content with their defeat and wanted to re-enslave Viet Nam. For nine years, the Vietnamese people had to wage a hard and heroic resistance war against the colonialists. United in a broad patriotic front and standing around the Viet Nam Workers' Party which inherited the experiences and traditions of the Indochinese Communist Party, the Vietnamese people have defeated the forces of French and world imperialism.

In 1954, the Geneva Agreement was signed thanks to the help of the Soviet Union and China, and the support of peace-loving peoples all over the world. It put an end to the aggressive war of the colonialists. The independence, unity and territorial integrity of Viet Nam were officially recognised.

Since then the Vietnamese people have perseveringly carried on the struggle for the implementation of the Geneva Agreement to reunify the country, because South Viet Nam is still ruled by the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen. In completely liberated North Viet Nam power is in the hands of the people; this is a firm basis for the peaceful reunification of Viet Nam, a task which receives

ever-growing and generous help from the Soviet Union, China and other brother countries. Thanks to this assistance, the consolidation of the North has scored good results.

The victory of the August Revolution in Viet Nam has proved once again the soundness of Marxism-Leninism on the national and colonial question, the correctness of the line mapped out by the Socialist Revolution of October 1917. It confirms that to be successful, the national revolution must:

- rely upon a broad national front against imperialism;
- solve the peasant question;
- organise a people's army;
- have the brotherly support of the people and proletariat of other countries;
- be led by the Party of the working class.

* * *

The October Revolution teaches us to unite closely the efforts of the world proletariat, of the oppressed peoples and other peace forces in the whole world to struggle against imperialism and war.

"Unless the proletariat and, following it, all the toiling masses of all countries and nations all over the world voluntarily strive for alliance and unity, victory over capitalism cannot be successfully accomplished", said Lenin.* And he added: "In the last analysis, the outcome of the struggle will be determined by the fact that Russia,

* Lenin, Works, Russian edition, Vol. XXXI, page 128.

India, China, etc., account for the overwhelming majority of the population of the globe. And it is precisely this majority that, during the past few years, has been drawn into the struggle for emancipation with extraordinary rapidity, so that in this respect there cannot be the slightest shadow of doubt as to what the final outcome of the world struggle will be. In this sense, the complete victory of socialism is fully and absolutely assured. " *

The forty years which have elapsed since the October Revolution are years of uninterrupted marching forward of socialism.

In the face of the imperialists who seek to prolong their tottering regime, detested by every people, we, revolutionaries of all countries, must at all times strengthen our unity around the U.S.S.R. and the Communist Party of the U.S.S.R. The Leninist theories of the 20th Congress strengthen this union still further, tighten the bonds of friendship and mutual trust between the socialist countries. The declaration by the Government of the Soviet Union on October 30, 1956, defined anew the relationship between socialist countries, established on principles of equality, mutual respect, confidence and friendly co-operation.

The celebration of the 40th anniversary of the great October Revolution is an opportunity to mobilise the great mass of workers of the whole world, to appeal to them to unite and struggle to achieve new and yet greater victories.

* *Lenin, Works, Russian edition, Vol. XXXIII, page 458.*

Under the glorious banner of Marxism-Leninism, and following the path marked out by the October Revolution, with complete faith in the masses and absolute confidence in victory, we march forward with courage and resolution towards a future radiant with happiness, friendship and lasting peace, towards a socialist society.

November 6, 1957

SPEECH AT THE EXTRAORDINARY SESSION OF THE SUPREME SOVIET OF THE U.S.S.R. ON THE 40th ANNIVERSARY OF THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION

Dear Comrades and Friends,

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Workers' Party, the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, the Vietnamese working class and people, I send to you, dear delegates and friends, and through you, to the Soviet toiling people, brotherly and heartfelt greetings on the 40th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.*

Forty years have elapsed since the greatest event in the history of mankind occurred, when the Russian proletariat, closely allied with the toiling peasants under the

* On the invitation of the Soviet Party and Government, our Party and Government sent a delegation led by President Ho Chi Minh to attend the celebration of the 40th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, organised in Moscow.

leadership of the Communist Party, overthrew the power of the landlords and capitalists and buckled down to build a new life.

During the years under the leadership of the glorious Leninist Party, the Soviet people have recorded historic victories affecting the whole world, in building an advanced industry, a mechanised socialist agriculture — the greatest in the world — and carrying out cultural revolution. The Soviet people is building socialism and is powerfully advancing towards communism.

During World War II, the German fascists and their allies, the Japanese militarists were crushed, thanks to the strength of the Soviet Union. The victory of the Soviet Union and the liberation of oppressed peoples have created conditions for people of many countries in Europe and Asia to seize power. Many European countries have taken the path of socialist construction. In Asia, the great Chinese people as well as the Vietnamese and Korean peoples were victorious. The great socialist front was set up.

During the post-war period, thanks to the excellence of the socialist economic system, the Soviet people have rapidly healed the serious wounds caused by the Hitler invaders and made a big stride in their economic development. These achievements have clearly proved that the Soviet people have turned into reality the millenary-old dreams of mankind on happiness, over one sixth of the globe.

The victory of the October Revolution lighted up the history of many nations and created a new era — an era of the victory of socialism and collapse of capitalism.

The victory of the October Socialist Revolution bears paramount significance with regard to the fate of the Eastern peoples. It awakened the oppressed peoples in Asia, showed the path of liberation to the colonial and dependent peoples, and gave example of genuine national freedom.

In the wake of the October Revolution, the Vietnamese people resolutely struggled against the colonialists, under the leadership of the working class and the Marxist-Leninist Party.

In 1945, the Vietnamese people carried out the August Revolution, drove out the colonialists and set up people's power. This was a turning-point in the history of our people.

The victory of the August Revolution evidenced the correctness of Marxism-Leninism on the question of colonial peoples, and the correctness of the path mapped out by the Great October Socialist Revolution.

After smashing the shackles of colonialism, the Vietnamese people waged an heroic Resistance war throughout nearly nine years against the French and foreign imperialists, to safeguard freedom and independence. During this long-term and hard struggle, the Vietnamese people were able to preserve the fruit of the democratic national revolution and became fully aware of the great vitality of the people's democratic system. At present, the Vietnamese people are continuing their struggle for national reunification. South Viet Nam is still groaning under the rule of the U. S. imperialists and their henchmen.

The toiling people of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam are enthusiastically restoring and developing

their economy. After the war, we completed land reform, turning into reality the millenary-old dream of getting land to the toiling peasants, established and consolidated the socialist economic sector, which is now playing the leading role in the economy of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. Many achievements have been recorded in other branches of our national economy, as well as in the cultural and educational fields.

The experience of the October Revolution, the achievements of the Soviet Union are the pole-star guiding us in the building of a happy life for the Vietnamese people. The disinterested aid of the Soviet Union, China and other brother countries has a great significance on the development of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam.

I avail myself of this opportunity to express our sincere gratitude to the Soviet Communist Party, Government and people for their disinterested assistance.

Other countries of the socialist camp are developing and being consolidated and are daily demonstrating the excellence of the socialist system.

In the present world conjuncture, while the imperialists are seeking to sabotage the single-mindedness of the socialist countries, attempting to unleash a new war, the one-mindedness between the countries in the socialist camp is of tremendous significance.

The peoples of the socialist countries are and will be resolutely and constantly consolidating unity in their ranks, for they are fully aware that close unity among the socialist countries is the strong rampart of peace, and an earnest of the inevitable victory of communism.

Looking back upon the road covered by the Soviet people over the past forty years under the leadership of

the Communist Party, following the path mapped out by the great Lenin, we greatly rejoice for our friends. The achievements recorded by the Soviet Union have enhanced our confidence in the correctness of the path we have chosen, and of Marxism-Leninism, the beacon enlightening our nation on its advance towards a bright future.

Under the banner of Marxism-Leninism, following the path of the October Revolution, cementing their unity with the people of the socialist countries, the Vietnamese people are firmly confident of their victory, and resolutely march towards a happy future, and to socialism.

— Long live the spirit of the October Socialist Revolution!

— Long live the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and its heroic staff, the Central Committee of the Party!

— Welcome the Soviet Government! Glory to the Soviet people! Long live the unshakable unity between the Vietnamese and the Soviet peoples!

— Long live world peace!

November 6, 1957

NEW YEAR'S GREETINGS

Dear fellow countrymen,

On behalf of the Party Central Committee and the Government, I cordially wish you joy, good health, good solidarity and progress, on the occasion of the New Year.

On your behalf I also convey our warm greetings to the peoples of brother countries.

Dear fellow countrymen, I avail myself of this opportunity to sum up and bring to your knowledge the most important events which took place last year at home and abroad.

Generally speaking, last year the *international situation* developed in a trend favourable for the forces of peace and socialism.

A fact of paramount importance was that after the celebration of the 40th anniversary of the Great October Revolution, a meeting of the communist, workers' and labour parties of the countries in the socialist camp was held, followed by another meeting in which there took part 64 communist, workers' and labour parties of the world.

These two meetings demonstrated the monolithic solidarity of the socialist countries headed by the Soviet Union. They have voiced the determination of the working class and toiling people in their struggle for world peace, national independence and socialism.

At present, the Conference of Asian and African peoples is being held in the Egyptian capital, in which the delegations of over 40 countries take part representing two thirds of the world's people. Continuing and developing the spirit of the Bandung conference, this meeting is aimed at cementing further the solidarity of the Asian and African peoples in their struggle against colonialism and war and in support of the movement for national independence of various countries.

The brilliant successes of the above-mentioned meetings exert a far reaching influence on the destiny of the people throughout the world. The movement for peace, national independence and socialism is growing in strength; the bellicose imperialists headed by the U.S. are more and more isolated; colonialism is on the verge of collapse.

In our country, since the re-establishment of peace, all our people from North to South, have fought energetically to achieve the national democratic revolution throughout the country. Overcoming great difficulties and hardships, our people in the North have basically completed land reform, and scored many achievements in economic rehabilitation and cultural development, to make the North stronger. In the South our compatriots have fought perseveringly and valiantly against the despotic U.S.-Diem regime, demanded the improvement of their livelihood, democratic liberties, and reunification of the country through peaceful means.

With the new year, there ends the period of economic rehabilitation and there begins the period of economic development according to a plan.

This is a new progress in the revolutionary work of our people.

We will profit by the experiences of the past few years and at the same time take into account the specific conditions of the North to advance to socialism. We will see to it that our work of bringing our economy under a plan is carried out satisfactorily, we will fulfil our plan of economic and cultural development to gradually improve the livelihood of our people, first and foremost the toiling people. To develop economic and agriculture is to build up socialism step by step. Socialist construction is a complicated, back-breaking and long-term revolutionary struggle. I propose that our people unite closely on the basis of the worker-peasant alliance and struggle steadfastly under the leadership of the Party and the Government, then victory will certainly be ours.

To build the North into a strong and beautiful base and to maintain and broaden the patriotic movement in the South is to prepare the vantage ground for the struggle for national reunification and contribute to the defence of world peace.

We enjoy many advantages at home and abroad in our socialist construction in the North and in our work of national reunification. Like the revolutionary movement in the world, and socialist construction in the Soviet Union, China and other brother countries, the revolutionary movement in our country has achieved success upon success in our struggle against imperialism and feudalism. Availing ourselves of these advantages and developing our tradition

of industry, frugality and heroism, we will overcome all our difficulties and win further successes.

Compatriots all over the country! Unite and fight to compel the other side to implement the Geneva Agreement correctly, demand the re-establishment of normal relations between the two zones, do your best to struggle for national reunification and world peace.

Compatriots in the North! especially workers of both sexes, peasants, artisans! Vie with one another in production work and thrift, produce under the slogan "more, quicker, better and cheaper", build your country and improve your livelihood gradually through increase of production and saving.

Southern cadres and compatriots regrouped in the North! Unite closely among yourselves and with your compatriots in the North, do your best to contribute to the construction and consolidation of the North in order to take it gradually to socialism and make it a strong base for the struggle for national reunification.

Armed men and security men! Endeavour to attend to your political and technical studies, to defend your Fatherland, to maintain security and order and to take part in the movement for production and saving.

Brain workers! Do your utmost to study Marxism-Leninism, engage in manual labour according to your ability in order to steel yourselves and to contribute a worthy share in socialist construction.

Elders! Set the example of "the aged having a spirit of youthfulness" and encourage your children and grandchildren to take part in production and practise saving.

Young people! To be worthy of being the prospective masters of the country, take the lead in everything, solidarity, study and labour.

Little ones! Buckle down to your study and do manual labour according to your capacity to get acquainted with it.

Party members and cadres within and without the Party! Do your utmost to work and study to make constant progress. Strengthen your solidarity and single-mindedness on the basis of the Marxist-Leninist thinkings, correctly assess the situation and the tasks which flow from it. Raise the sense of responsibility, organisation and discipline and the spirit of struggle for socialism.

Vietnamese residents abroad! You who love your country and constantly turn your mind toward the Fatherland! Unite closely with one another, love and help each other, respect the laws of the country in which you are living and sympathise further with its people.

Let us unite closely — all our people as one man — and struggle energetically! Certainly we shall carry the day!

New year, new efforts, new successes!

Long live a peaceful, unified, independent, democratic, prosperous and strong Viet Nam.

January 1958

SPEECH AT A MASS RALLY IN NEW DELHI*

Mr. President of the City Council of New Delhi,
Dear Elders, brothers and sisters, youth and children,

The Vietnamese people were very happy to welcome Premier Nehru and Vice-President Radhakrisnan. This time we are very pleased to pay a visit to great India, the native land of Buddha and Mahatma Gandhi. We have been greeted with warm friendship and solemnity by the Indian Government and people. Today I again meet you here. On behalf of the Vietnamese Government and people I thank you and convey our warmest greetings of friendship to the citizens of India and of the capital New Delhi.

The people of our two countries have had long standing brotherly relations. Indian culture and Buddhism

* On the invitation of the Government of India and Burma, President Ho paid a visit to these countries from February 4 to 17, 1958. His visit has strengthened further the friendly relations between these two countries and ours and further cemented the old friendship between the Vietnamese people and the people of India and Burma.

spread to Viet Nam from ancient times. Under colonialist rule, the relations between our two countries were severed for a period of time. But our nations have always been tied by traditional friendship.

Nowadays, India is a powerful country and plays an important role in the world. Under the clear-sighted leadership of your eminent leader Premier Nehru you have made many great achievements in national construction, development of the fine traditional culture of long standing and building up of an autonomous economy. We are aware of the great efforts of the Indian Government and people in national construction and of the achievements of the Indian scientists who have made an important contribution to the building of the country. These facts show that once a nation is independent, it is fully able to build an ever finer life. We congratulate you on the good achievements scored in the first five-year plan and wish you bigger successes in the carrying out of the second five-year plan.

Together with the great Indian people, many Afro-Asian countries have freed themselves from colonialist rule and become independent. The Chinese people are enthusiastically building socialism. The people in Southeast Asia, Middle and Near East have risen up, determined to win back and defend their freedom and independence. The African peoples are heroically struggling against colonialist yoke. Colonialism is irretrievably disintegrating. The time when the colonialists ruled the roost is gone. Time has come when the world peoples are masters of their own destiny.

However, there are still a number of Afro-Asian countries which are still suffering under the iron heel of

colonialism. The colonialists have set up aggressive military alliances (S.E.A.T.O. and Bagdad Pact) and military bases on the territory of other countries and interfered into the internal affairs of these countries. They have left no stones unturned in an attempt to regain their old ruling position. But they have failed. The Afro-Asian peoples are ever more closely united and support one another in their struggle against colonialism.

India has made a great contribution to the anti-colonialist movement.

Viet Nam has also taken a little part in it. The Vietnamese people have struggled for more than eighty years against French colonialism and waged the nine-year Resistance war in the most difficult circumstances. They have in the end triumphed over the colonialists. This shows that once a nation is united and determined to fight and enjoyed the support of the world's people it will certainly win freedom and independence in the end. The Geneva Conference has put an end to the aggressive war in Viet Nam and recognised the sovereignty, independence, unity and territorial integrity of Viet Nam. We sincerely thank the Government and people of India for their worthy contribution to the success of the Geneva Conference and their great efforts in the carrying out of their task as Chairman of the International Commission for Control and Supervision of the implementation of the Geneva Agreement in Viet Nam.

At present, the earnest aspiration of the Vietnamese people is national reunification by free general elections as provided for by the Geneva Agreement. However, owing to the subversive scheme of the imperialists and their henchmen Viet Nam is not yet united. Viet Nam is one,

it has from North to South a common language, history, culture and economy. The Vietnamese people who have shed much blood for freedom and independence are resolved that no force would obstruct the reunification of their Fatherland. We firmly believe that our action for national reunification will be crowned with success because we are working for a just cause, because our people are united and enjoy your sympathy and that of peace-loving people of the world.

We are struggling for peace, because we can build our country only in peace. We highly appreciate the Indian people's love of peace. We whole-heartedly approve the five principles of peaceful co-existence of which Premier Nehru is one of the promoters and which are supported and put into practice by an ever-growing number of countries. We need peace to build a happy life for our people and our children. Because we want peace, we hate war and are resolved to oppose it.

The world situation is developing in favour of the peace movement. The ranks of the peace forces include 1,000 million Afro-Asian people who have liberated themselves, the Soviet Union, China and the other socialist countries and hundreds of millions of people in the imperialist countries. Our Afro-Asian countries are playing an ever greater part in the defence of peace. The Asian People's Solidarity Conference convened by India, then the Bandung Conference, have realised Afro-Asian solidarity against colonialism and for the defence of peace. The recent Cairo Conference has powerfully furthered the spirit and forces of the Bandung Conference. The peace movement is spreading throughout the world. People of all countries demand the end of the arms race, disarmament, banning of nuclear production, tests and use ;

abolition of aggressive military pacts and dismantling of military bases in foreign countries. They demand the holding of a meeting of Heads of Government to settle international issues by means of peaceful negotiations in order to lessen international tension. The yearning for peace of the world people will certainly triumph over all war plots.

Dear friends,

We are very pleased to see that our two peoples stand side by side and pursue a common aim in the common struggle for world peace and national independence. We believe that the Indian people want Viet Nam to be soon reunified just as the Vietnamese people wish that Goa will return soon to the great Indian community.

Since peace has been restored in our land, close relations have been established between our two countries. We have established good economic and cultural relations. Delegations of friendship have been exchanged. We welcome all opportunities to strengthen relations between our two countries and with other Afro-Asian countries. We firmly believe that our present visit will further strengthen the friendship between our two peoples, and contribute to the solidarity among Afro-Asian countries, and consolidate peace in Asia and in the world.

Once more I beg to send the cordial greetings of the citizens of Hanoi Capital and our own to the citizens of New Delhi.

Long live Viet Nam - Indian friendship!

Long live peace in Asia and in the world!

Viet Nam - Hindi bhy bhy!*

February 6, 1958

* Viet Nam and India are brothers.

TALK AT A PRESS CONFERENCE IN RANGOON

These three days, we have been visiting the beautiful and rich Burmese land. We had friendly talks and exchange of views with President Win Maung, Premier Nu, the Vice Premiers and other leaders of the Burmese Federation. We met many personalities and people of all walks of life. We visited Rangoon, the glorious capital city of Burma, and many beauty spots at Bang San. Everywhere the Burmese Government and people have given us a warm welcome and manifested heartfelt friendship towards the Vietnamese people. We have witnessed the strenuous efforts displayed by the Burmese people in building their country, their ardent patriotism, industriousness and love for peace. We rejoice that brotherly Burma is growing more and more prosperous and is playing an important role in the international arena.

Both Viet Nam and Burma are Asian countries, with many similarities in culture, customs, as well as in geography, climate and natural riches. Both countries have

experienced hard anti-colonialist struggles to win national independence. The Burmese Government and people actively supported our people during the Resistance and, like India and many other Afro-Asian countries, they contributed an important part to the restoration of peace in Viet Nam. Today our two countries are independent and bound together by the Bandung spirit, by the solidarity between the Afro-Asian peoples; the peoples of Viet Nam and Burma are longing for a durable peace, to build up a free and comfortable life and a rich and powerful Fatherland.

The Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and the Burmese Federation are one on important international issues.

Now may I deal with some problems:

1 — The Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam is pursuing a foreign policy of peace and friendship among the peoples. The Vietnamese people have known the wretched life under the colonialist yoke of oppression, they have shed their blood to wrest back freedom and national independence; therefore they will resolutely struggle against colonialism, safeguard peace and oppose war. Our slogan is: For a peaceful, independent, unified, democratic, strong and prosperous Viet Nam.

Nowadays, 1,200 million people in Asia and Africa are freed from colonialist and semi-colonialist yoke, the colonial system is inevitably collapsing. The Eastern peoples are rising to fight the invaders, unwilling to be oppressed further. The Declaration of Independence of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam proclaimed on September 2, 1945 clearly says: "All the peoples on the earth are equal from birth, all the peoples have a right to

live, to be happy and free". The Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam wholly supports any struggle for national liberation. West-Irian must return to Indonesia and Goa to India. The Algerian people must be independent.

In the present international situation, the forces of peace are prevailing over those of war, however, the danger of an atomic and nuclear war is still threatening humanity with unforeseeable destruction and mourning. Therefore, the present arms race must be ended, military blocs of aggression abolished, an atmosphere of mutual understanding among peoples created to ease the international tension. A meeting between Heads of States to settle these problems is the desire of the world peace-loving people. The active observance of the five principles of peaceful co-existence put forth in the Sino-Indian and Sino-Burmese joint Statements in all international relations will certainly consolidate peace and strengthen friendship among peoples.

The carrying out of the policy of strength by the bellicose circles and their setting up of the aggressive S.E.A.T.O. bloc have increased the tension in this area. The recent attempts made to closely link this aggressive bloc with the N.A.T.O. and Baghdad blocs will surely meet with opposition and be condemned by the Southeast Asian peoples and the peace-loving people of the world. The placing of south Viet Nam under the protection area of the S.E.A.T.O. aggressive bloc is a brazen violation of the Geneva Agreement, infringing Viet Nam's independence and sovereignty, threatening security and peace of the Southeast Asian peoples. We strongly protest against

all manoeuvres aimed at drawing South Viet Nam and other countries in Indo-China into this bloc.

2 — A burning question, a most urgent need of the Vietnamese people is the reunification of Viet Nam. First of all, may I express sincere thanks to the Burmese people for their great concern in this question, many Burmese friends have wished our country to be quickly reunified.

From 1955 onwards, the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam has sent repeated proposals to the South Viet Nam authorities, to hold a consultative conference and discuss on general elections for national reunification. We have made repeated proposals to restore normal relations in economic, cultural and social spheres, between the two zones. However, due to foreign interference, so far the southern authorities have not answered us yet.

Our position on the problem of national reunification is very clear. We stand for the reunification of our Fatherland on the basis of independence and democracy, through peaceful means, as stipulated by the Geneva Agreement, without coercion from or annexation by any side on the other. We are always ready to meet the southern authorities and start with them from a spirit of negotiation and mutual understanding to discuss on general elections for Viet Nam's reunification. Nation-wide general elections will be organised on the principle of universal suffrage and equality by direct and secret ballot and under the supervision of the International Commission as provided for by the Geneva Agreement. The National Assembly will issue the Supreme Constitution of the State, which will effectively ensure the privileges of the deputies. A coalition government elected by the National Assembly

will be set up to strengthen solidarity among various parties, strata, nationalities, zones. Taking into account the particularities differentiating the two zones, each region may issue suitable local laws and regulations, which do not run counter to the State general law. Pending national reunification competent authorities in both zones should work for mutual understanding between both zones, by restoring normal relations between them and guaranteeing all democratic freedoms to all organisations and individuals standing for peace, reunification and democracy. We consider that such a policy conforms to both sense and reason, because it is rooted in the legitimate aspirations of the whole Vietnamese people and from the realities in both zones and is in full keeping with the Geneva Agreement.

Viet Nam is a monolithic bloc that nothing can divide. For centuries past, the Vietnamese people have built up their Fatherland, and from North to South, they have one common history, one language, one economy, together they rose to oppose colonialism. Now they will resolutely struggle for national reunification. The South Viet Nam authorities are bound to stop illegal introduction of arms and munitions in South Viet Nam, refrain from terrorising patriotic people who stand for peace and reunification, and restore normal relations between the two zones; they should hold a consultative conference with the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam to discuss on the general elections to reunify Viet Nam as provided for by the Geneva Agreement. With the Vietnamese people's tradition of solidarity and struggle, and thanks to the world people's sympathy and support, our struggle for national reunification will be certainly successful, because it is a just struggle.

3 — Our present visit of friendship to the Burmese Federation has given good results, in further tightening the ties of friendship between our two countries.

We sincerely thank President Win Maung, Premier Nu, the members of the Government, the local authorities and the entire brotherly Burmese people.

We shall eternally keep alive the memory of this friendship tour.

Thank you all for your presence at this informal meeting.

February 16, 1958

NEW SITUATION AND IMMEDIATE TASKS OF THE ARMY

In three years of peaceful construction, our army has obtained fairly good results and succeeded in setting up bases for further advance. Particularly after the Twelfth Session of the Party Central Committee and thanks to the good ideological remoulding it has gone through the army which as a whole is at one with the Central Committee's resolutions and the conclusions of the Party General Committee in the Army, thereby heightening further its sense of organisation and discipline. As a result, the army is united and in high spirit. Owing to this progress, Party congresses at regiment and battalion echelons have all yielded fairly good results; military training has obtained good results; the work of demobilisation and the experiment in compulsory military service have been carried out satisfactorily and the building of barracks has started. On behalf of the Party Central Committee and the Government

I praise our whole army, all members of the Party and the Youth Union in the army.

What are the new situation and the immediate tasks of our army? In the world, the peace and socialist forces are growing stronger and are able to prevent war; generally speaking, the situation is less tense than before, however, the imperialists are stepping up war preparations, that is why we must always be vigilant.

At home, while we are carrying on the struggle for national reunification, the North has, in the main, completed land reform and economic rehabilitation. This year, we begin to develop economy along a long-term three-year plan. This is a success and a new step in the transitional stage to socialism.

In this situation what are the tasks ahead of our army?

— First we must *build up a powerful army ready to fight* for the maintenance of peace, national defence, the safeguarding of socialist construction in the North and to serve as a mainstay in the struggle for national reunification. This task involves the building of a permanent army and a reserve.

— Second, we must *take an active part in production* to make a contribution to economic construction and the building and consolidation of our rear.

These tasks are both important, complement each other and closely join together, as both aim at making our army stronger and the North steadier with every passing day. The Party and the Government assign the army these two tasks and it must strive to complete them successfully.

What must be done to fulfil these tasks?

— Party leadership in the army must be strengthened,

— Political education must be intensified to raise the socialist consciousness of the whole army,

— Military and technical training must be accelerated,

— Regulations and discipline must be observed strictly,

— Production plan must be fulfilled.

To enable our army to complete these tasks, the officers must *enhance their determination* and at the same time must be cautious. Determination must go together with caution and does not mean recklessness. The determination of the Party and the Government must be turned into that of our whole army.

How is this determination brought into practice?

The standing army must:

— study actively,

— strictly observe regulations and discipline,

— be ready for action.

The units engaged in production must work to fulfil the production plan.

The officers must have a sense of responsibility, correctly carry out orders and instructions, overcome difficulties, maintain close contact with reality, carry out constant check up and supervision, and oppose bureaucracy and perfunctoriness.

This is how determination must be manifested.

Another point is that we must *grasp the situation and tasks in an all-sided and practical way*, without deviation, subjectivism and partiality. For example: to see only production (because this is a new task) without noticing the task of building up the army and inversely. To see only

advantages and not difficulties and become subjective, or to see only difficulties and not advantages and become pessimist. To be aware of difficulties of one's unit only and not those of the upper and lower echelons or only those of the army without noticing those of the Party, the Government and the people. *We must be fully aware of our responsibility to overcome difficulties and fulfil our task.*

Another point is that our armymen must *emulate with one another in study and in production*. They must be modest, simple, must practise economy and fight waste and corruption. The officers must set an example in everything, especially high ranking officers, members of the Party and the Youth Union must be in the lead and of exemplary conduct, helping everyone make progress.

Another important point is to strengthen unity. Needless to say that unity is strength, which brought success to our revolution and victory to our Resistance war.

Nowadays, in the building of the army and economic development we must also strengthen unity: unity among officers, unity between officers and men, unity between Northerners and Southerners, between fighting units and units engaged in production. *Unity between the army and the people* must be brought into practice and the army must help the people. Especially the units engaged in production must take greater care to help the people, implementing the policy of nationalities of the Party and the Government. There must be *unity among the Army, the Administration and the Party*. The army must value the leadership of the Party and the Government and must help the local Party Committee and administration. It must refrain from conceit and self-importance which

easily come from success, because they signify regression. For that reason, when scoring success our army must be all the more modest and should not be conceited.

In a word, the whole army must be united in the struggle and determined to build our army into a *powerful army ready to fight, it must be good at study, good at work and good at production*.

March 1958

**SPEECH AT
THE INAUGURAL MEETING
OF THE EIGHTH SESSION
OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY***

Members of the Presidium,
Deputies,

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Party and on behalf of the Government, I express my warmest greetings to the Eighth Session of the National Assembly and wish it great success.

This Session of the National Assembly meets at a time when momentous changes are taking place in the situation at home and in the world.

In the world, the forces of the peaceable, democratic and socialist countries are substantially stronger than the

** The Eighth Session of the National Assembly (April 1958) won an important political success, that is, the unanimous assessment of the achievements recorded during three years of economic rehabilitation and during land reform in the North. The Session put forward the great tasks of the planned development of economy and culture and approved the 1958 State plan.*

forces of the camp of the imperialist warmongers. The successful launching of intercontinental missiles and artificial earth satellites by the Soviet Union has further strengthened the supremacy of our camp. The two conferences of the Communist and Workers' Parties held in November 1957 in Moscow have demonstrated the unity and solidarity and the strength of the socialist camp and of the international communist and workers' movement. The Declaration of the 12 Communist and Workers' Parties of the socialist countries, and the Peace Manifesto of the conference of the 64 Communist and Workers' Parties from all over the world, are historic documents lighting the way forward for the world movement for peace, democracy, national independence and socialism.

I believe that our National Assembly will warmly welcome these two historic documents and that our people will further strengthen solidarity with the brother socialist countries headed by the Soviet Union.

The anti-colonialist movement in Asia, Africa and South America is also growing in strength.

The Afro-Asian People's Conference held recently in the Egyptian capital has consolidated the solidarity and strengthened the forces of the peoples in their struggle against colonialism and for the safeguarding of peace and national independence.

The movement supporting the heroic struggle of the fraternal Algerian people and condemning the imperialist interference in the internal affairs of Indonesia is spreading prodigiously throughout Viet Nam and the world.

At present, the movement for peace, for the cessation of all atomic and hydrogen bomb tests, and for the holding of the Summit Conference, is growing all over the

world. The Supreme Soviet of the U. S. S. R. has recently decided on the unilateral ending by the Soviet Union of all atomic and hydrogen weapon experiments, and demanded that the United States and Great Britain follow suit. This is a decision of great historic significance actively contributing to the struggle for the preservation of world peace.

I firmly believe that our National Assembly and people, together with the world's people, will warmly welcome and support this Soviet initiative. We are sincerely grateful to the Soviet Union which, for the sake of the life of mankind, has undertaken this initiative. We demand that the governments of the United States and Great Britain follow the Soviet Union's example by ending their atomic and hydrogen weapon tests. We demand that the Great Powers quickly reach agreement on the holding of the Summit Conference to improve the international situation and effectively safeguard peace.

At home, we have successfully achieved economic rehabilitation in the North. Land reform including the correction of errors has been brought to a basically successful end. The old productive enterprises have been restored and many new ones built. The output of many branches has reached the prewar level and food production has left that level far behind. Economic activities have been normalized, cultural development started, and the people's livelihood has seen some initial improvement.

In spite of our backward economy, which suffered grave destruction in a protracted war, and although economic reconstruction and cultural development are tasks that are new to us, thus creating many difficulties and leading to inevitable mistakes; in their execution, the

completion of economic restoration is a great success of our people. It shows the correctness of the Party's and government's policies, which were adopted by the National Assembly, and the efforts of our people, army-men and public employees in all branches of activity.

In the past three years our government and people have without pause devoted tremendous effort to the struggle for national reunification. The patriotic struggle of our compatriots in the South has been maintained and is developing. The movement for the Consultative Conference and General Elections, as provided for by the Geneva Agreement, has been carried on. Particularly, at present our people in the North and the South are enthusiastically responding to our Government's note of March 7, 1958, and are struggling against the United States interference in the South. I suggest that the National Assembly should warmly hail the valiant spirit of our compatriots in the South, and of our entire people, who are united in the struggle for national unity.

I avail myself of the opportunity to thank the International Commission, presided over by India, which has contributed to the maintenance of peace in Viet Nam.

The Party and Government, as is known, have estimated that, since the restoration of peace, North Viet Nam has passed over from national people's democratic revolution to the socialist revolution.

The immediate task of our entire people is to strive to build up and strengthen the North, to gradually bring the North towards socialism and at the same time to struggle for national reunification with a view to building up a peaceful, unified, independent and prosperous Viet Nam. This assessment is of particularly great significance.

Changes in the revolution call for profound changes in our ways of thinking and of looking at things and call for new policies and organizational measures appropriate to the new situation.

The socialist revolution aims at abolishing the exploitation of man by man in our country and at bringing a happy life to our entire people. This is the greatest and most glorious revolution in the history of mankind but it is also the most arduous, complex and difficult revolution. Each of us must prepare our mind and our moral energies to overcome all trials and successfully carry out this revolution.

After the completion of economic rehabilitation and preliminary cultural development, we have stepped into a period of economic and cultural development under long-term plans. The National Assembly will hear and debate the Government report on every aspect of the work done in the past three years and on the forthcoming great tasks. The National Assembly will consider and ratify the 1958 State Plan.

The approval of the 1958 State Plan is of great significance, as it is the first year of a long-term plan. I am sure that the plan adopted by the National Assembly will stir great enthusiasm and confidence throughout the country; that it will mobilise people of all social strata to enthusiastically fulfil and overfulfil the plan, with a view to further developing the national economy and culture, and step by step improving the living standard of the people, army men and public employees.

The National Assembly will hear a report on the struggle for national reunification. The struggle for national unity by peaceful means and on the basis of

democracy and national independence is a long, difficult and complex struggle. Disregarding the most cherished aspirations of our people, the U. S. imperialists and their henchmen have brazenly violated the Geneva Agreement and are plotting the permanent partition of our land and the dragging of South Viet Nam into the SEATO aggressive bloc with the aim of provoking a new war. But their treacherous schemes are doomed to failure. The present international situation does not allow them to have everything their own way. The world peace and revolutionary forces are powerfully surging ahead, while the imperialist forces are in decay. The building of socialism in the North, as well as the revolutionary movement in the South, are developing favourably. Consequently our people will surely be successful in their struggle for national reunification.

Members of the Presidium,
Deputies,

Since the last general elections our National Assembly has constantly developed the traditional unity of our entire people, and has been at one with the Party and Government in every national task during the Resistance war as well as during the reconstruction of our country. Thanks to that unity of mind, all our activities which were approved by the National Assembly have brought good results. This is an invaluable tradition of our National Assembly, a fundamental advantage of our regime.

I believe that in this Eighth Session the National Assembly will, on the basis of wider democracy, gather ample suggestions from the deputies and people, and will

take clear-sighted decisions on all propositions affecting the people and State interests submitted by the Government.

I am sure that with our traditional unity of mind and solidarity the National Assembly and Government will agree in all questions discussed.

I, once again, wish you good health and the National Assembly great success.

April 1958

SPEECH GREETING LABOUR HEROES AND EMULATION FIGHTERS*

Dear comrades,

On behalf of the Party Central Committee and the Government, I enthusiastically greet the labour heroes and emulation fighters, and send affectionate greetings to fighters, manual and brain workers in different branches and at various places who are enthusiastically participating in patriotic emulation.

— At the first Congress there were seven labour heroes, four Army heroes and 150 emulation fighters. At this Congress, we have 26 Labour heroes and 69 Army

* The 2nd National Congress of heroes and emulation fighters among workers, peasants and armymen was held from July 7th to 8th in Hanoi. It highlighted the achievements of our people's peaceful labour since the restoration of peace and brought to life the examples of the outstanding fighters of the patriotic emulation movement. It set forth the new lines and guiding principles of the patriotic emulation movement to build socialism in North Viet Nam, thus laying the basis for the struggle for national reunification.

heroes, and 446 emulation fighters representing over 42,700 emulation fighters.

This is very good. This number shows the unceasing progress of our people, army and system.

— At this Congress, there are present the manual and intellectual labour heroes and emulation fighters of all branches and all brother nationalities.

This is very good. This shows the close unity and the all-sided effort of our working people.

— At this Congress, among 26 labour heroes, there are five women.

This is very good. This shows the effort and progress of our women, and the true equality between men and women under our system.

— At this Congress six heroes and many fighters are Southern compatriots regrouped to the North.

This is very good. This shows that the Southern compatriots and cadres regrouped to the North are contributing to the building of North Viet Nam, gradually to advance to socialism, making a firm basis for national reunification. This will have a very good influence on our compatriots in the South.

In the glorious ranks of emulation fighters, there are many demobilized and wounded comrades army men and those from the martyrs' families.

This is very good, and shows that the heroic tradition of the Resistance War has been continued and developed by the wounded and demobilized army men in peaceful construction, and that the martyrs' families have contributed to the building of the Fatherland and socialism.

— At this Congress there are one labour hero and many emulation fighters from brother countries who are working in our country.

This is very good. It shows the lofty international spirit of the working class.

* * *

Under the capitalist, colonial and feudal system, there can never be patriotic emulation because the working class is not foolish enough to emulate to enrich the bosses who would oppress and exploit them further.

There is emulation movement only under the people's democratic and socialist system, under the system where the working people are the masters of the country.

The patriotic emulation movement in our country is growing daily because our people have become the masters of their country, the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam is a member of the great socialist family, and we have the disinterested help of the brother countries, first of all the Soviet Union and China.

As regards patriotic emulation, according to our ability we must learn from the Chinese emulation movement, and do our utmost to keep pace with China, then with the Soviet Union.

At present, in the Soviet Union almost all industry and agriculture have been mechanised. In China while developing machinery, manpower is being fully used. Therefore, I want to mention some experiences of emulation in China for us to study.

In China, all the economic and cultural branches have been emulating enthusiastically and have realized the slogan "more, faster, better and cheaper." The plan of industrial

production has been overfulfilled by one and a half times or doubled without the workers asking for further machines, money and men. Moreover, many enterprises have reduced the number of workers and transferred them to new enterprises.

In the emulation movement, many emulation fighters have *improved techniques and raised productivity* to an unprecedented level. For instance:

— Comrade Lieu The-cuong, at the Chungking plant, increased productivity daily from 480 to 10,800 spare parts; he fulfilled the Five-year plan in four months.

— In mid March 1958, comrade To Quang-minh fulfilled the 2nd Five-year plan (1958-1962) and will fulfil the 3rd Five-year plan by the end of 1962.

More striking examples:

— Van Chan dinh's team at the factory producing machines for geophysics, increased productivity by 244,800 times, that is the work of 680 years was done in one day.

— Workers at the Khanh An factory improved technique and saved time; formerly they had to work 15 hours; now only half a second was needed, thus increasing productivity by 108,000 times. The task for 350 years was done in one day.

In *agriculture*, due to the efforts of the agricultural producer co-operatives to make hydraulic works, stock manure and improve technique, the harvest has been doubled in spite of drought. The experimental corn-fields have given extra-production of over 41 tons per hectare. In many places the production of summer and seasonal paddy has reached from eight to nine tons per hectare.

There are these progresses by leaps and bounds because, on the one hand, all the working people have a thorough

understanding of the Government's policies and enthusiasm in emulation; on the other, the *leadership* has been practical and all-sided.

In the enterprises the leading cadres of the Party cell, Youth union and Trade union, and the managers, directly participate in production. In the countryside, they cultivate the experimental fields and directly participate in labour in the agricultural producer co-operatives. Thus, while leading politically, the cadres closely lead production. The cadres and the masses merge in one bloc, therefore every problem is solved in a good and rapid manner.

This is the summing up of the valuable experiences that we must study and apply.

* * *

The labour heroes and emulation fighters are in the van of production and are models of revolutionary virtues. They put national interest before individual one, and whole-heartedly serve the people. They are not afraid of hardships, and do their utmost to overcome every difficulty to fulfil and overfulfil the task entrusted by the Party and Government; they are not envious of individual advantages nor are they jealous of social positions, earnings and benefits. They keep no professional secrets from anyone, and do not try to hinder those around them; they help everyone make progress. They are not conceited, complacent, nor selfish.

These are the revolutionary virtues that we must learn from the labour heroes and emulation fighters.

The latter must clearly see that their achievements are the achievements common to the collective. However, clever an individual may be, he can do nothing if he alienates himself from the collective. Therefore, the greater

their achievements, *the more modest they must be*. They must never be complacent and self-sufficient. That is why the labour heroes and emulation fighters must always do their utmost and be modest.

The labour heroes and emulation fighters must always guide and help those around them to progress. Everyone must endeavour to keep pace with them. They have to progress unceasingly. Thus, at the next Congress we shall have hundreds of labour heroes and tens of thousands of emulation fighters. Therefore, the State plan of this year as well as the coming Three-year plan will certainly be fulfilled and overfulfilled, and our people's living standards further improved. We shall advance to socialism and succeed in national reunification.

July 7, 1958

LETTER TO THE VIET NAM PEOPLE'S CONGRESS FOR THE DEFENCE OF PEACE

To the Viet Nam People's Congress for the Defence of Peace,

In the present situation, the holding of the Viet Nam People's Congress for the Defence of Peace is very timely.

I send my affectionate greetings to the delegates.

I warmly welcome the success of the recent World Peace Congress held in Stockholm.

I warmly welcome the contribution of the Vietnamese people to the defence of world peace.

At present, the task of the peace movement is energetically to demand:

Withdrawal of American and British troops from the Lebanon and Jordan respectively;

Disarmament, and banning of nuclear tests;

Abolition of military alliances and dismantling of military bases in foreign countries;

Signing of collective security pacts in Europe and Asia;

End of all kinds of intervention; have respect for national sovereignty, independence, unity and territorial integrity of all nations;

Extention of economic and cultural exchanges between various countries on the principle of equality and mutual benefit.

To enable our people, together with the world peoples to take part in the completion of this task, the Viet Nam Peace Congress must pay attention to the following main points:

— To defend peace is to oppose war. Everyone knows that it is aggressive imperialism and colonialism with U.S. imperialism at the lead that provokes war. Hence imperialism headed by the U.S. must be opposed if war is to be prevented and peace safeguarded.

— Peoples of colonial and semi-colonial countries are waging liberation wars and those who have just freed themselves from colonialist rule are taking action to safeguard their sovereignty and territorial integrity. They are people who are directly weakening imperialism and colonialism. This is a big force in the defence of world peace. Therefore, the peace movement must be closely bound to the movement for national independence.

— The peace movement must unite all the forces which are struggling for peace. But the force of the socialist countries headed by the Soviet Union must serve as the mainstay of it, because the socialist countries uphold implementation of the five principles of peaceful co-existence between different systems and energetically oppose aggressive imperialism and colonialism, at the same time

this is a powerful force, constituted first and foremost by the Soviet Union and China, which has full capacity to prevent war.

Guided by this assessment the Viet Nam peace movement must resolutely oppose U. S. intervention in South Viet Nam, energetically work for the strict implementation of the Geneva Agreements in order to win national reunification through peaceful means, mobilise the people to emulate in building a strong North to serve as a basis for the struggle for national reunification; strive to support the movement for national independence and to respond to the international peace movement; and closely unite with the people of the socialist countries, of the Afro-Asian countries and people all over the world.

Safeguarding peace is the common task of our entire people. Each Vietnamese must be a staunch champion of peace.

I wish the Congress brilliant success and the delegates good health.

August 16, 1958

TELEGRAM GREETING THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF ALGERIA*

To Mr. Ferhat Abbat,

Premier of the Provisional Government of the Republic of Algeria.

Dear Mr. Premier,

On the occasion of the foundation of the Provisional Government of Algeria, on behalf of the Vietnamese people, the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and in my own name, I convey warmest greetings to you, the Government of Algeria and our heroic Algerian friends, and sincerely wish you success in the struggle for national independence.

September 27, 1958
Ho Chi Minh
President of the Democratic
Republic of Viet Nam

** After four years of heroic resistance and having scored many achievements, in September 1958, the Republic of Algeria was born and the provisional Government of Algeria was founded. This is a new victory for the Algerian people and also for the national liberation movement of the oppressed peoples of the world.*

TELEGRAM TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF GUINEA*

To Mr. Sekou Toure,

President of the Republic of Guinea

I am very happy to receive your telegram.

On behalf of the Vietnamese people, the government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and in my own name, I convey warmest greetings to you, the Government and the people of Guinea and wish prosperity to free and democratic Guinea.

The foundation of the Republic of Guinea is a great victory of the Guinean people; it further proves that the spirit of the Bandung, Cairo and Accra conferences is ceaselessly stimulating the ever-growing movement for liberation of the oppressed Afro-Asian peoples.

With fraternal greetings

October 9, 1958

Ho Chi Minh

President of the Democratic
Republic of Viet Nam

** On October 2, 1958, the Guinean National Assembly officially declared the independence of Guinea and the foundation of the Republic of Guinea headed by President Sekou Toure. The foundation of the Republic of Guinea is a telling blow to the colonial system in Africa and the world.*

SPEECH AT THE CONGRESS OF CULTURAL WORKERS

Today you are meeting after having participated in a production drive. On behalf of the Party and the Government I welcome you.

... Now I have some remarks to make: In cultural work the cadres have made efforts, and, generally speaking, the cultural branches have recorded achievements; this is praiseworthy; but there are still many shortcomings. Let us take an example: To rehabilitate folklore is to restore what is good, and gradually discard what is bad. In this regard, we have done it pretty well this year; but last year while rehabilitating the folklore, even superstitious rites and practices were restored; as a result, in many rural places, people neglected production, and did nothing but sing incantations, sound rattles and beat drums. Certain villages pooled up to some million dongs to purchase ritual costumes: frocks, helmets and boots. Is it the correct way to restore the folklore? We should restore and develop what is good, and eliminate what is bad.

Hereafter, I give some opinions to help you in your discussions. What is the present task of our whole Party and people? It is building the North gradually to advance towards socialism and serve as a strong base for the struggle for national reunification. To carry through the struggle for national reunification, we must build the North towards socialism.

Now, cultural workers have begun to take part in manual work and serve production which is a good thing. It is a good change but an initial step only. So you deserve commendation, particularly those who have gone to mountain areas. We should recognise that, generally speaking, our cultural activities are confined to towns, where they are easy to develop but they have not yet reached our compatriots of the Meo and Man nationalities. On the highlands, to go from one house or one hamlet to another, one has usually to walk over five kilometres up hill and down dale, and ford many streams. Those who would perform such journeys must be patient.

From a general viewpoint, this first step is a good one. But you have to be patient and develop further these efforts.

The second point I would like to raise is that like all other workers cultural workers must train themselves in ideology and raise their political knowledge, their combativeness and sense of responsibility. For example: those who go to the minority zones, must have first and foremost a will and a political stand. Besides this, you must pay due attention to artistic, professional, cultural and technical studies. We must also realise that, compared with the brother countries, say, Korea, we still have a low cultural and technical level. In the political and ideological fields,

in sense of responsibility, or in the professional, artistic, technical and cultural spheres, our standards are still low. Therefore, everyone must make further efforts in studies. To use Chinese words, we must be "first, communist and then, expert"; both tasks must be thoroughly performed.

Another question to be clearly put forward is: whom does culture serve? We must say, of course, that it serves the workers, peasants and army-men, who are the bulk of our people. A few years ago, this question was not solved in a clear-cut way, was it? Cultural workers cannot say art for art's sake but must assert that culture is put at the service of the workers, peasants and army-men.

There is another question, that of the masses and literary creation. Can the masses create literary work? Are they qualified for it? This question must also be clearly settled. The masses are creators, the workers and peasants are creators. Not only do they create material wealth for the society, but also literary work. You all know who are the authors of our proverbs. They are the masses. Our beautiful proverbs, popular songs and poems, are the work of the masses. They are beautiful, but short, not long winded and intricate. Cultural workers must help and foster the creations by the masses, these precious pearls. To this effect, we must of course master politics and technique, to cut those precious stones into good artistic and fine pearls.

Another question is popularisation and elevation. What is elevation? It means raising cultural standards. But to raise standards, we must start from a foundation; if we raise from "the vacuum," there would be neither high nor low level. That means: we must popularise first,

that is, we must have a foundation, then from this popularisation, this foundation, we shall raise standards. Take an example: now, mass education has developed fairly well in many places: many villages, districts and cities have wiped out illiteracy. Popularisation is already done. But now, a higher step must be reached. After wiping out illiteracy, something else must be done; we cannot stop there. It is the same for cultural and artistic work. In short, we must have a foundation, and, on this basis define the degree and the objects of elevation. That is about popularisation and elevation.

The various departments of the Ministry of Culture, the various branches, cultural services at provincial level must go to the countryside, factories and the army: to this end they must work, eat and live with the people. If we go to the countryside but work, casually, eat and live apart from the peasants how can we sympathise with them, can we make friends with workers, peasants and army-men? To really approach the masses, we must eat, live and work with them; only by so doing can we get acquainted with their living conditions and understand their difficulties, their will and valiant spirit, their aspirations.

I wish that this Congress will pass practical resolutions. Good success to you all.

October 30, 1958

EXCERPT FROM A TALK WITH THE CADRES AND WORKERS OF THE HANOI ENGINEERING PLANT

Thanks to the mobilisation of the workers and office employees to improve the management of the enterprise, the Plant has made good progress. Clear proof of it is that the plan of November 1958 was overfulfilled by 27 per cent; the old blast furnace was built in four months, but the "October" blast furnace which is three times bigger has been completed in only 14 days and the plan for the whole year was fulfilled on December 15, 1958 and exceeded the target by 6.4 per cent. These are but initial successes, the workers and cadres still have to make greater efforts. In the first six months, only 11.1 per cent of the production capacity was utilised, in the last three months it rose to 50 per cent. At present, half of the fully designed capacity is not used. Non-utilised machines are detrimental to the State and the people. The cadres and the workers should not be conceited and complacent with their initial achievements but should make further efforts, learn the

modesty and will to make continuous efforts from the Soviet and Chinese working classes.

For example: the Chinese Automobile Plant No. One turned out 50,000 cars in 1958. Its 1959 Plan provided a threefold increase of the output, earmarked 300 million more yuans for capital investment, made provision for thousands more machines and enlarged the plant by an area of hundreds of thousands of square metres... But after the ideological mobilisation was carried out among the workers and their suggestions gathered, only 40 million yuans were needed — this sum came from the savings of the workers and the profits made in 1958 by the Plant. No investment was required from the State. There was no need for thousands of sets of machines, only a few hundreds were enough, and these would be manufactured and fitted by the workers themselves. The Plant area no longer required hundreds of thousands more of square metres of building, but only tens of thousands of square metres after clever re-arrangement. Thus the Plant increased its output three times more than in 1958 but did not require any further investment from the State. Such a success was possible because the cadres and the workers had a thorough understanding of what they were doing and because the leadership relied on the workers' force and promoted their creative initiatives and determination.

Land in Ngu Kien commune, Vinh Phuc province was very arid and formerly its population usually suffered from starvation but now it has harvested an average of 4,687 kilogrammes of paddy per hectare. The fields of the secretary of the Commune Party branch have yielded over 6 tons of paddy per hectare.

These good results flow from perfect understanding of the tasks undertaken, from the Party's good leadership and

from the exemplary behaviour of the members of the Party and of the Youth Union.

And it is so with the Hanoi Engineering Plant. Machines, raw materials and workers are just the same as before, so why has progress been made? It is also because the cadres and the workers have begun to understand their tasks. The cadres have begun to go to the masses, have confidence in and rely upon them. The mobilisation for improvement of the management of the enterprise and ideological struggle must be stepped up further. All work is well done if there is perfect understanding. Socialist ideology must win complete victory and individualism must be crushed to pieces. Cadres and workers must put into effect the following points:

— The cadres must be determined to give good leadership. The cadres, the members of the Party and of the Labour Youth Union must set good examples, conduct sincere self-criticism, study together with the workers and learn from them. The workers have criticised the cadres and are waiting for them to correct their mistakes. The cadres must realise that this is a legitimate demand which should be met.

— The workers must also make sincere self-criticism, be determined to correct their weak points, oppose bungled work, damaging machines and tools, and wastage. The slogan "faster, more, better and cheaper" must be strictly implemented.

— There must be labour safety as the labouring people are the most valuable capital.

— Leadership must be genuinely democratic and at the same time really centralised.

The workers and cadres must strengthen their solidarity, heighten their vigilance and sense of responsibility,

because they are the leading class, the masters of the enterprise and of the country. They have to learn technology and proletarian internationalist spirit from foreign experts.

— They must raise their sense of responsibility, fulfil and overfulfil the State plan, be worthy of being masters of the enterprise.

The Three-Year Plan will advance the North towards socialism, build up a happy life, provided with food and clothing, and set up the base for the struggle for national reunification. The Plan of 1959, the hinge-year, is of particular importance. All cadres and workers must have confidence in and determination to overfulfil this plan in preparation for the long-term plans to come. There are more members of the Party and of the Labour Youth Union in the Hanoi Engineering Plant than in any other, this is an advantageous condition. I delegate to you, cadres and workers, the responsibility of turning your enterprise into a model enterprise.

On the occasion of the coming New Year, I wish the workers and cadres of the Hanoi Engineering Plant and of all other enterprises a happy New Year, good health, good progress and overfulfilled plans.

December 25, 1958

TRIUMPH OF PROLETARIAN FRIENDSHIP

First, I am thankful to the paper *Izvestia* * and its staff for the initiative to bring out a special number on our country, the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam.*

This once more demonstrates that our Soviet brothers have paid great attention to the progress and achievements made by our people in socialist construction and in the struggle for the peaceful reunification of Viet Nam.

There are words that millions of people have repeated again and again, but that are always true and are never redundant, such as the historic slogan "Proletarians of all lands, unite!" put forward by Marx and Engels.

Speaking of the friendship between our people and the Soviet people, millions of our compatriots have constantly said :

* The paper *Izvestia* issued on January 7, 1959 a special number on the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. Here is the article written by President Ho Chi Minh for this special issue.

" Thanks precisely to the light of the great October Revolution our August Revolution was victorious.

" Thanks to the fraternal friendship of the people of the Soviet Union and of other people's democracies the patriotic war waged by our people against French imperialism was brought to a successful end.

" Thanks to the generous assistance given by the Soviet Union, Peoples' China and other brother countries we have been able to rehabilitate our country which was devastated by the criminal imperialists during nine years of war."

Our compatriots follow with great interest and enthusiasm the tremendous achievements recorded by the great Soviet people in the building of communism, for our people regard the work done and achievements made by the Soviet people as the forerunners and guarantees of their own work and achievements. The Vietnamese people are looking forward with pleasure to the 21st Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union whose resolutions will arouse the world's people.

In the light of the glorious Marxist-Leninist doctrine and following the heroic example of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union over the past thirty years, our Party—the Viet Nam Workers' Party (formerly the Indo-Chinese Communist Party) — has constantly raised aloft the banner of national independence and liberation of all sections of the working people of our country. Our Party has known how to unite all the revolutionaries and genuine patriots in a broad and powerful national Front based on the solid worker-peasant alliance, in order to struggle and vanquish imperialism and feudalism. With such powerful solidarity, we have been able to free our land from imperialism and feudalism.

However, like a wild beast causing damage to man before dying, the French colonialists, before withdrawing to France, handed the South of our country over to the U.S. imperialists who have done their utmost to turn it into a colony and military base.

Therefore, in Southeast Asia, we constitute the outpost of the front of peace and democracy in the world campaigning against imperialism and war.

This is why we must devote all our efforts to building socialism in the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and constantly raise the living standard of our compatriots in the North. By so doing we consolidate the bulwark for the struggle against U.S. imperialism and for national reunification by peaceful means. We have entire confidence in our final victory.

True to socialism and proletarian internationalism, we have always contributed our small part to the consolidation and strengthening of the unshakable solidarity and single-mindedness of the great family of socialist countries of which the Soviet people are our elder brothers.

I renew my thanks to the comrades of *Izvestia* and my fraternal greetings to its readers.

January 1959

PREFACE TO THE RUSSIAN EDITION OF "HO CHI MINH, A SELECTION OF WRITINGS AND SPEECHES"*

I thank the National Political Publishing House for having brought out a book carrying a number of my newspaper articles and speeches and for the kindness to request me to preface it. Being aware that our Soviet friends are following with keen interest the revolutionary movement in Viet Nam, I hope the book will help the Soviet readers to understand the following points:

By tradition, we, the Vietnamese people, love our country very much. Our thousand year-old history has recorded the heroic struggles they have waged for national construction and the defence of national independence.

As a Vietnamese proverb goes,

* In 1959, the National Political Publishing House, Moscow, issued a book, *Ho Chi Minh, A Selection of writings and speeches*, which includes the major part of newspaper articles, reports, speeches, appeals, etc. by comrade Ho Chi Minh carried by various newspapers or published in books within and without Viet Nam from 1920 to 1959.

“ Like a piece of red silk covering a mirror,

“ People of the same country ought to love one another. ”

These words voice the close solidarity of our people in their struggle.

At the end of the 19th century, Viet Nam was invaded by French imperialism. The royal court and the feudalists despicably and shamefully surrendered to and colluded with the imperialists to enslave the Vietnamese people more openly, thus causing them untold sufferings. However the cannons of the imperialists could not silence the patriotic voice of the Vietnamese people. For nearly a century of French colonialists' rule, the revolutionary movement for national liberation grew constantly in strength — the man behind would replace the man in front when the latter fell in the fight.

However, all these insurrections were quelled in blood; and Viet Nam was again covered with black clouds.

Then the thunder of the Russian October Revolution shook the world: the toiling people were masters of their country. Small nations recovered their independence; land was restored to the tillers.

This thundering revolution stimulated the Vietnamese patriots to side with the Soviet Union, to learn the great Marxist-Leninist theory, to enthusiastically take part in the revolutionary struggles carried out by the Communist Parties of France and China, and begin to introduce and popularise Marxism-Leninism in Viet Nam.

The Marxist-Leninist doctrine as a beacon, and the experiences gained through the great October Revolution, have enlightened the revolutionary path followed by Viet Nam.

To save our country and liberate our people, there was no way for us other than to embark on the path of proletarian revolution. The founding of the Indo-Chinese Communist Party, the party which raised aloft the banner of the national democratic revolution, demonstrated all the more clearly the role played by the proletariat and its party in the movement for national liberation.

The Indo-Chinese Communist Party, the vanguard party of the proletariat in Viet Nam, was set up on February 3, 1930, and the role of leading the national democratic revolution was handed over to the proletariat.

With the establishment of the Nghe-Tinh Soviets in 1930 and 1931, with the democratic movement from 1936 to 1940 and the struggle against Japanese occupation from 1940 to 1945, the United Front expanded throughout the country, based on the worker-peasant alliance and led by the proletariat and its party.

In 1945, the Soviet army, skilfully led by the Communist Party of the U.S.S.R., crushed fascism, thus creating most favourable conditions for the development of the revolutionary movement throughout the world. Taking advantage of this opportunity, the Indo-Chinese Communist Party called upon all the Vietnamese people to rise up and seize power. The August 1945 Revolution was brought to a victorious end and a Provisional Government was set up. On September 2, 1945, the Declaration of Independence issued by the Vietnamese people was brought to the knowledge of the peoples of the world.

However, the French imperialists did not want to recognise this fact; again they tried to impose their yoke of exploitation upon the Vietnamese people. Led by the Party, our people stood up and waged a Resistance war

which lasted nine years. This long-term, back-breaking but heroic resistance gained the sympathy of people all over the world and the support of the socialist countries, especially the Soviet Union and People's China; it ended with the Dien Bien Phu historic victory. Peace has been restored throughout Indo-China, and half of Viet Nam's territory entirely liberated.

In free North Viet Nam, our peasants, led by the Viet Nam Workers' Party have completed the agrarian revolution commenced in the period of the Resistance. Under the Party's leadership, our people carried through their primary task of economic rehabilitation and initial development of the national culture and have enthusiastically engaged in construction according to a plan.

The successive victories won by the Vietnamese Revolution have substantiated that *in the imperialistic era, the people of a small colonial country can carry the day if they are led by the proletariat and its party, rely on the broad masses of the people, first on the peasantry, unite with all patriotic sections of the people in a united front and win the approval and support of the revolutionary movement of the world, first and foremost of the powerful socialist camp.*

Not only can the imperialists not reverse the clock of history, but they will be doomed to failure.

At the present time, the Vietnamese people continue to fight for national reunification and gradually build up socialism in the North. They are determined to fulfil their immediate tasks and are confident that victory will be theirs.

The situation at home and abroad is developing in favour of our work for this victory.

The socialist camp, headed by the Soviet Union, is obviously more powerful than the imperialist camp; the movement for national liberation is more and more intense, the peaceable forces are more and more developed and consolidated. The imperialists, headed by the U.S. are now facing crises in the economic, political and military fields; unquestionably imperialism is doomed to decline and collapse.

Under the great banner of Marxism-Leninism, the Viet Nam Workers' Party is always faithful to the people, to the working people; it wishes to maintain its close solidarity with the socialist family headed by the Soviet Union, and is determined to lead the Vietnamese people in their lofty task to achieve national reunification and build socialism.

TALK WITH THE PEOPLE OF SURABAYA*

Today we are very happy to visit Surabaya, a place of long-standing revolutionary traditions, the native place of President Sukarno, the beloved and respected leader of the Indonesian people, the dear friend of the Vietnamese people. On behalf of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and the Vietnamese people I send to the heroic people of Surabaya our warmest greetings.

In the sacred struggle of the Indonesian people against colonialism to wrest back independence, the Surabayan people scored glorious feats of arms. November 10, 1945 was an heroic day for the Surabayan people and for the whole Indonesian nation.

At present, in this important industrial trading and cultural centre, the workers, peasants, youth, intellectuals,

* On the invitation of President Sukarno, President Ho Chi Minh paid a visit to the Republic of Indonesia from February 26 to March 8, 1959. This visit is an event of great importance to the further strengthening of the friendly relations between the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and the Republic of Indonesia.

together with the people as a whole, are working industriously to make their country prosperous and strong. With your fine traditions, you will certainly score ever greater achievements.

Dear brothers and sisters,

The people of our countries are linked together in the revolutionary struggle of the Eastern peoples against imperialistic colonialism.

The colonialists could not subdue the people of our countries, our forefathers, with their indomitable spirit and ardent patriotism, successively rose up, always raised aloft the banner of independence and freedom.

After World War Two, the movement for national liberation surged up, the people of many Afro-Asian countries broke the colonial chains. On August 17, 1945, under the guidance of its beloved and respected leader Sukarno, Indonesia declared her independence. On August 19, 1945, the Vietnamese people as a whole launched the armed general insurrection to seize power. The Indonesian August Revolution and the Vietnamese August Revolution won success at the same time. The earnest aspirations for independence of our two peoples came true. The Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and the Republic of Indonesia were born at the same time. But the greedy die-hard colonialists attempted to reinvade our countries. For independence and freedom, the people of our countries rose up as one man to wage the resistance war for national salvation. In addition to their cruelty and wickedness, the colonialists had modern weapons, and also the assistance of the other imperialists. In the first days of the Resistance we had only sticks, knives, spears and other rudimentary weapons, but with their patriotism, solidarity

and determination to make sacrifice for the nation, the Fatherland, the Vietnamese people like the Indonesian people overcame all difficulties and hardships and won glorious victories!

The Vietnamese people and the Indonesian people were both successful because we had the all-nation solidarity. We scored success because justice was on our side and because we enjoyed the sympathy and support of the Afro-Asian peoples and the peace-loving people all over the world.

The Vietnamese Resistance and the Indonesian Resistance were like two armies on a battlefield: the liberation battlefield of the Asian peoples. For that reason the Vietnamese people and the Indonesian people have always stimulated and supported each other. We always bear in mind that the five-countries conference held in Colombo in 1945 with the participation of Indonesia, exerted a great influence on the restoration of peace in Indo-China. On behalf of the Government and people of Viet Nam, I sincerely thank the Government and people of brother Indonesia.

However, the colonialists have not given up their aggressive schemes. They are clinging to their unjust and illegal interests. West Irian, an integral part of your country, is not yet liberated. The southern part of Viet Nam is still under the yoke of the imperialists and their henchmen. The imperialists and colonialists are intensifying terror and repression, manoeuvring to turn West Irian and South Viet Nam into their military bases to prepare a new war. The Vietnamese people have great admiration for the heroic struggle of the West-Irian people. We firmly believe that your struggle and ours for national

reunification will certainly be crowned with success. At present, the imperialists are striving to create tension in the Southeast-Asian area. They collude in the S.E.A.T.O. to interfere in the internal affairs of other countries, step up subversive activities, divide the nationalities so as to set up dictatorial systems in their service. These crazy acts of the imperialists are endangering the independence and peace of the people of the Southeast-Asian countries. The people of Viet Nam, Indonesia and of other Afro-Asian countries strongly condemn the aggressive S.E.A.T.O. and resolutely oppose all the imperialists' and colonialists' wicked and cruel schemes.

The period when colonialism ruled the roost in Asia and Africa is gone. As President Sukarno said "Wherever, whenever and under whatever form colonialism appears, it is a calamity that we must wipe from the Earth". Since the historic Bandung Conference the anti colonialist movement has advanced strongly. Many Afro-Asian countries have become independent and sovereign countries, the peoples of Latin America are rising up. The present era is the era when colonialism is disintegrating and the movement for national independence will be successful.

Dear brothers and sisters,

After winning their freedom and independence, the people of our countries had to face heavy tasks. They are endeavouring to work in peace in order to rebuild their countries which were exploited by the colonialists and ravaged by war for so many years. The Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and the Republic of Indonesia like many other Afro-Asian countries are making every effort to develop economy and culture, and improve their people's livelihood.

With their 'Prosperity' programme the brotherly Indonesian people are actively carrying out the five-year plan to make their national economy independent and autonomous, and further raise their living standards.

In our country, in the completely liberated North, the Vietnamese people have brought the period of economic rehabilitation to a successful end and are enthusiastically carrying out the three-year State plan. The chronic famine under colonial system has been cured, and illiteracy wiped out in the main. The livelihood of our people in the North has been raised gradually.

Dear brothers and sisters,

Owing to numerous similarities in history, situation and objective, the fraternal relations between Viet Nam and Indonesia has been consolidating and developing on the basis of the ten principles enunciated at the Bandung Conference in 1955. The Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and the Republic of Indonesia have economic, cultural and political relations and have exchanged goodwill delegations. The visit of Dr. Sartono, President of the Indonesian Congress marked an important step in the friendly relations between Viet Nam and Indonesia. We firmly believe that our present visit will draw closer the bonds of brotherhood between the peoples of our two countries.

We hope that the Vietnamese people will have the occasion to welcome their dear friend, President Sukarno.

The present meeting, full of warm feelings, will be engraved forever on our hearts. Once more we sincerely thank you for your sincere and warm welcome. We wish our dear friends, the people of Surabaya great happiness.

Uncle Ho sends greeting to his nephews and nieces, the Surabaya youth and children.

Long live the friendship between the Vietnamese and the Indonesian people!

Long live the solidarity and friendship among the Afro-Asian peoples!

Long live world peace!

Good health to President Sukarno!

Independence!

March 5, 1959

TALK AT THE CONFERENCE OF TRADE-UNION CADRES

On behalf of the Party Central Committee and the Government I inquire after your health and wish the Conference many successes.

Now, I shall deal briefly with the tasks of the trade-unions.

The present task of the workers and the trade-unions is to build socialism. For that the trade-unions must organise, educate and lead the workers to increase production, practise thrift to fulfil and overfulfil the plan put forward by the Party and the Government.

To overfulfil the plan, all workers must do faster, better, more, and cheaper. To succeed in doing so the workers must be imbued with the spirit of being masters of the country, of the society, a high sense of responsibility, must bring their work to success and observe labour discipline.

The trade-union cadres must improve the material and cultural life of the workers within the bounds of possibility because good work depends on good livelihood.

Therefore attention should be paid to improving the workers' livelihood. In general, the workers pay 18 dong for their monthly board, but cooking is good here and bad there. There is bad cooking because the trade-union cadres do not give attention to the kitchen. They do not eat and live together with the workers, some even hold the kitchen in contempt. They consider their work as issuing instructions and notes and care little for the workers' everyday life. In China, they have good cooking with a great variety of dishes at the people's communes. But there was also bad cooking in some places where the cadres did not keep close to the people and the cooks considered their work as without good prospects. There the Party sent many cadres to work in the kitchen for some time, to draw practical experience and to step up the task of cooking well. We must realise that in a socialist society, of importance is that which benefits the people and the class. Cooking is also important. I speak at some length on this subject because we must take more care of the workers' material life.

It must be so with their spiritual life. The workers at remote enterprises and farms complain that cinema teams never come to their area. This is due to lack of attention on the part of the cultural workers but also because the trade-union cadres do not feel concern for the workers' spiritual life.

In short, to reach the goal of increasing production and practising thrift, the trade-union cadres must firmly grasp the Party policies, stick to the mass line, be democratic in giving leadership, share joys and hardships with the workers and identify themselves with the workers to form a bloc and be exemplary in everything. He who does not identify himself with the workers will become bureaucratic.

Whether the workers work well or not, whether they are united and enthusiastic in production or not are criteria by which trade-union cadres are judged.

Last year, our workers made some progress. In the first half of 1958, very few enterprises fulfilled their production plans, some were even far behind their plans. But from August, September onwards progress was made, in October, November and December, the majority of enterprises and mines overfulfilled the State plan. Progress was, however, slow and not general. The fulfilment of the State Plan resulted on the one hand from the efforts made by the workers and the trade-union cadres, and on the other, from the fact that our target figures were low compared with those in the brother countries.

From September 1958 onwards we had many experiences — good and bad. In the last quarter, the cement plant produced 63,000 tons and fulfilled the 1958 plan 7 days ahead of schedule. Due to shortage of rolling stock the railway met with many difficulties but it succeeded in solving the transport problem. At the Bach Mai hospital, medical treatment was done better although it was the same doctors and same medicines. The success came from better organisation and better leadership by trade-union cadres who succeeded in making everybody enthusiastic about their work. These are good experiences.

Now I shall speak of bad experiences. Are the workers in the mining areas good? Yes, very good. The working class is very good. It is not correct to blame the workers for the bad results in the work of improving management as some enterprises did. It must be said that the cadres, the leadership was to blame.

In the first nine months of 1958 at Cam Pha mines there were 85,000 tons of coal, earth and stones mixed up thus incurring to the State and the people, an expense of more than one million dong for screening, digging and transport. Whose fault was it? Not only the Cam Pha mine trade-unions but even the Trade Unions from the central level downwards were responsible for it. Although it is an agricultural centre the Tay Hieu farm had to send out trucks to buy vegetables and it is nonsense that sometimes the workers were short of vegetables. In many places the workers were not adequately educated in labour discipline or consciousness of being the masters, nor in labour safety. It is a great pity that labour accidents were allowed to happen in some places. High value must be set on human beings, first and foremost the workers, because they are the most valuable capital of the society. Everything must be done for their safety to prevent labour accidents.

These weak points resulted from the fact that the trade-union cadres were incompetent, bureaucratic, did not keep close to the masses and did not fulfil the tasks entrusted to them by the Party and the Government.

We have many good experiences. Why are they not popularised to help avoid bad ones? It is because there are many shortcomings in the leadership of the trade-unions. Even the weekly issued by the trade-unions needs to be revised. It must be an instrument in the education of the workers, it must highlight again and again the good points and good experiences gained in one place so that other places can learn from them. At the same time it must point out the weak points to help avoid them. The weekly has not fulfilled this task.

The immediate task of the trade-unions is to efficiently and rapidly improve the management of enterprises to increase production ; practise thrift, fulfil and overfulfil the State plan, especially that of 1959, the hinge-year of the three-year plan.

The work of improving the management of enterprises was begun in October, 1958, and six months have gone, yet some enterprises have only completed the first step, others have not even completed it. This is a tortoise-like pace. It is not good to drag things out like that. Investigation must be made to discover the cause of this delay in order to work quickly and well. Only in such a way can we increase production, practise thrift and overfulfil this year's plan. In the process of improving the management of enterprise the trade-unions should send cadres to enterprises where the work is well done in order to learn from them and exchange experiences with them.

Now, I will tell you a few words about the 21st Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The results of the Congress and the Soviet Seven-Year Plan have been popularised and spoken a great deal by the press. I shall deal with a few points only. From now on to the completion of the seven-year plan, the workers' labour productivity will increase by from 45 to 65 per cent. As a result, the country will, according to whether the work is heavy or light, go over to a six or seven hour working day with two days off each week. The working day will be shorter but the workers' pay will increase 40 per cent over 1958. Holiday homes, cultural activities and entertainment, etc., will increase. By that time everything will be abundant and cheap, thus the Soviet workers in particular and the Soviet people in general will enjoy the happiest life in the world.

Why can they have such a wonderful life? Because after the October Revolution, the Soviet Union worked very hard. I remember that when I first went to the Soviet Union in 1924, that is seven years after the success of the October Revolution, the workers and people still had great difficulties in their daily life. All that was good and of great value was exported in exchange for machines. Motor-cars looked like rolling coal-buckets, not so fine as they are now. Compared with the Soviet Union in the old days, Viet Nam in the post-war period is much better off. Therefore we must make propaganda and educate our people so that everyone can realise this, and understand that to enjoy a happy life one must work hard. Immediately after the opening of the 21st Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, many enterprises and farms wrote to it pledging to increase labour productivity in order to fulfil their plans from two to four years ahead of schedule. There is now in the Soviet Union an emulation movement of communist labour. When I was attending the Congress, there were throughout the Soviet Union 35,000 emulation teams, among whom 700 were recognised as 'Communist labour' teams because they had fulfilled all three criteria: to live, study and work in full keeping with the communist spirit. Our cadres, trade-unions and workers must learn the emulation spirit from the Soviet workers.

In a word, to build socialism there must be socialist people. The workers, and first of all the trade-union cadres, must become socialist people, to become socialist people, one must have socialist thoughts, fight individualism, have the spirit of being masters of one's country, fight the old hireling spirit because now we work for our class and our children. We must place the class and national interest

above personal interest and fight jealousy and selfishness. We must have socialist style of work, that is industriousness, expeditiousness, modesty, steady efforts to make progress and to fulfil the tasks set by the Party and the State. The immediate task is to efficiently and well carry out the work of improving the management of enterprise, increase production and practise thrift with a view to fulfilling and overfulfilling the 1959 State Plan.

If the working class and the trade-unions succeed in doing so they will practically and positively contribute to the struggle for national reunification.

March 14, 1959

TALK AT A MEETING IN CHAU THUAN *

Dear compatriots, army-men and cadres of the Thai-Meo Autonomous Zone,

Today, on the anniversary of the founding of the Autonomous Zone and of the Dien Bien Phu victory, comrades Vo Nguyen Giap, To Huu, Pham Ngoc Thach and I have come to see the army-men and cadres on behalf of the Party and the Government. I send friendly greetings to the compatriots of all nationalities, to all army-men, cadres, policemen, militiamen, labour heroes and emulation fighters, to the families which have rendered outstanding services to the Revolution and the Resistance War, to the elders, youngsters and children.

In the Resistance years, our compatriots and army-men were closely united, heroically waged the Resistance

* On May 7 1959, fifth anniversary of the Dien Bien Phu victory and fourth anniversary of the founding of the Thai-Meo Autonomous Zone, on behalf of the Party and the Government, President Ho paid a visit to the zone. Here is his talk with its inhabitants at a mass rally in Chau Thuan, capital of the Zone.

War to defend their villages, won a big victory over the French at Dien Bien Phu and liberated the Northwest, contributing to the winning back of freedom and independence for our Fatherland. Since the restoration of peace, the compatriots of all nationalities, the army-men and cadres have been more closely united, have made great efforts to increase production, practise economy, improve their livelihood and maintain order and security. The Party and Government are very pleased at these achievements. On their behalf, I praise the compatriots, army-men and cadres for their solidarity in waging the Resistance War and in production. At present, the North is striving to build socialism, carry out agricultural co-operation, expand industry, develop culture, consolidate national defence to make the North a strong base for the struggle for national reunification. The compatriots, army-men and cadres of our zone must endeavour to emulate with one another in production and economy to take the Autonomous Zone gradually to socialism, and make life more abundant and happier. With this aim, the compatriots throughout the zone must bear in mind and do the following:

Emulate with one another to increase production, practise economy, harvest the summer crop and prepare the autumn crop. At the same time to protect the forests. To strengthen the work-exchange teams and co-operatives according to the principle of voluntariness. To endeavour to improve technique, dig irrigation canals, prepare plenty of manure, carefully plough and harrow the fields, protect themselves against insects and wild beasts. To develop mass-education everywhere, build more schools. To practise hygiene to keep the villages clean and the people healthy,

to repair roads and keep them in good condition in order to facilitate circulation, strengthen the militia and self-defence units, and satisfactorily carry out the compulsory service. To strive to help the highlanders in everything.

If these works are well done, the plan for economic and cultural development of this year will certainly be fulfilled, the livelihood of the compatriots of all nationalities in our Zone will certainly be more abundant and happier. Army-men must succeed in doing the following.

To heighten vigilance, maintain order and security and defend the frontiers of the Fatherland. To satisfactorily carry out the political remoulding and military training. To emulate with one another to increase production, practise economy, improve livelihood, to strive to build the model farms and gradually develop local industries. To do one's best to help and mobilise the people to bring the work-exchange teams and co-operatives to success, carry through militia work and compulsory service.

Our army-men have made many achievements in the emulation to advance rapidly and overfulfil plans. But they should not rest on their laurels, they should be more resolved to overcome difficulties, complete their tasks and make greater efforts to score greater achievements in study and production.

Party cadres and members, and Youth Union members must do the following:

Consolidate revolutionary stand, raise socialist consciousness, consistently heighten sense of responsibility in order to serve the people and the revolution, the local cadres of various nationalities must exert themselves to work, to attend educational, political and vocational courses,

and closely unite with the cadres coming from other localities. The latter must make up their minds to stay on and work actively, wholeheartedly help and unite with the local cadres. The Party cadres and members, and Youth Union members must unite closely and set good examples to the compatriots; to fulfil the tasks entrusted by the Party and the Government to make the Autonomous Zone ever more prosperous. The children must be good at study and manual work, discipline and hygiene.

At present, in the world, our socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union is very powerful, the national liberation movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America as well as the world peace movement are very strong. In our country, the North is making great progress. In the South the movement of our compatriots is very strong in spite of the U.S.-Diem terror and repression.

I hope that the compatriots, army men and cadres of the Autonomous Zone will be more united and will step up their emulation in order to fulfil the State Plan, to make the Autonomous Zone richer, to make their contribution to the strengthening of the North, and the struggle for national reunification. The compatriots of the Autonomous Zone have, together with our army, won the Dien Bien Phu victory, driven out the French invaders and liberated the country. Nowadays the compatriots, army men and cadres must unite and struggle to win a greater victory, that is to wipe out famine and illiteracy, make everyone well fed, well clothed and educated, and enable everyone to enjoy peace and happiness.

Today, we are very glad to see the delegates of the Army, of the people's organisations, the Administration and the Party and those of the Thai, Meo, Muong, Man,

Tho, U-Ni, Xa, Lo Lo, Phu Ta, Chi La, Puoc, Lao, Lu, Dao, Len Ten, Co Sung Xa Phang, Nhang, Mang U, Cui Chu, Hoa, Kinh nationalities, etc. We once more wish:

Everyone good health

Close solidarity

Enthusiastic emulation

Success and Joy.

May 7, 1959

APPEAL TO THE TOILING PEASANTS ENTHUSIASTICALLY TO JOIN WORK EXCHANGE TEAMS AND CO-OPERA- TIVES AND TO EMULATE WITH ONE ANOTHER TO IMPROVE TECHNIQUE AND STEP UP PRODUCTION

Dear compatriots,

Since the middle of last year, the movement for work-exchange and co-operation, technical improvement and emulation to step up agricultural production has been developing fairly well everywhere in North Viet Nam's countryside.

As a result the last autumn and summer crops were both successful, despite protracted drought and typhoons.

This success teaches us two great lessons:

— To strive to expand and consolidate work-exchange teams and co-operatives;

— To emulate with each other in technical improvement.

Work-exchange and co-operation, and technical improvement are two legs of agriculture which can advance rapidly only if both legs are strong.

At present, the North of our country has 16,150 co-operatives embracing 21.5 per cent of peasant households and 250,000 work-exchange teams involving 69.1 per cent of peasant households. This is an enormous force. However, the movement is not yet steady and strong. The number of permanent work-exchange teams with records of work-points is only 13 per cent. Thus the base is not yet firm and it is difficult for the co-operatives to develop strongly and rapidly. It is necessary to *set up better and more permanent work-exchange teams with records of work-points*. On the other hand, efforts must be made to consolidate the co-operatives ideologically and organisationally, to improve management and technique, set a good example to the work-exchange teams and individual peasants.

The development and consolidation of the work-exchange teams and co-operatives must be carried out along the Party's class line in the countryside, first of all *relying entirely upon the poor peasants and lower middle peasants and closely uniting with the upper middle peasants*.

It is indispensable to foster and develop the role of activists of the poor and lower middle peasants, sincerely and perseveringly convince the upper middle peasants, maintain close solidarity as brothers of one family among the toiling peasants. Those in front help those who came after and the latter must strive to keep pace with the former, criticizing and advising one another, refraining from attacking one another and preventing bad elements

from penetrating into their ranks and dividing them. The poor, landless and middle peasants who were successful in their solidarity to drive out the colonialists, overthrow the landlords, must now embark together on the road of co-operation and move to socialism. There is no other way than by joining work-exchange teams and advancing to co-operatives that our peasants can improve technique and step up production thereby bringing the North's countryside to abundance and happiness and contribute an important part to the building of a national industry.

Dear toiling peasant compatriots,

Unite closely, enthusiastically join work-exchange teams and co-operatives, emulate with one another to improve technique, intensify production, win a bigger success for the autumn crop this year and the following ones. In the recent summer crop, there was good and bad work. We must draw experiences, promote the good points, correct shortcomings, be determined to overcome all difficulties in order to increase production and harvest bumper crops. We should absolutely abstain from shunning difficulties.

All levels and branches must have plans to practically serve the movement for agricultural co-operation.

All members of the Party and the Youth Union, emulation fighters in the countryside must enthusiastically take the lead in the movement for agricultural co-operation and make great achievements on the agricultural production front!

To make our country strong, our people rich, to build socialism, to make a worthy contribution to the struggle for national reunification and to secure happiness

for ourselves and our families, our peasant compatriots in the countryside must eagerly move forward, endeavour to fight water-logging, flood and typhoon, and take care of the fields, industriously and economically build the co-operatives and be determined to harvest a good autumn rice crop.

August 1959

INSTRUCTIONS GIVEN AT THE ALL NORTH VIET NAM WATER CONSERVANCY CONFERENCE HELD AT BAC NINH

First of all, I wish you good health and hope that you will work well at the Conference.

As is known to you all, our Vietnamese language has two words To Quoc* (Fatherland), and we also call our Fatherland Dat Nuoc** (country). There must be land and water to constitute a fatherland. If there are both land and water the people are prosperous and the country strong.

Water is beneficial but can also be harmful, too much water means water-logging and flood, too little water means drought.

* literally To — forefathers, Quoc — country, that is the country of one's forefathers.

** Dat — land, nuoc — water.

Our task is to keep land and water in good harmony with a view to raising the people's livelihood and building socialism. Therefore we must do in such a way that the people have enough water to increase production.

To this effect is it sufficient that only you and I do the work? No.

Who carried out the revolution? — The people!

Who have successfully waged the Resistance War? — The whole people! Thus to have enough water, to regulate it now, it is also necessary that the whole people do irrigation work. For that the cadres must stick to the mass line and rely on the people: they must, first of all, believe that the force and wisdom of the people are boundless. If we succeed in mobilising, educating, uniting and organising their force and wisdom we can do everything, however difficult it may be.

The people's patriotism and the Party's leadership which gathered together the people's forces into an enormous and strong bloc brought the Resistance War to victory. At present we are building socialism and this is a long-term work. So is the irrigation work and we must work for a long time to win big success. We have an enormous force, our peasants are better organised than before, we have work-exchange teams and co-operatives. Then we must rely on this organisation and force to carry out irrigation work along the Party's line and principles.

The co-operatives and work-exchange teams must serve as the core of irrigation work, must be consolidated and built up through irrigation work.

We have now more than 16,500 co-operatives and this is not a great number. There are good, ordinary and

also bad co-operatives. We must strive to better the co-operatives and work-exchange teams and raise the income of their members.

To raise the income of everyone there must be good fields and to have good fields, weeding and manuring play their parts but above all there must be enough water. Consequently great efforts must be made to carry out irrigation work satisfactorily.

We must bear in mind that once the people understand what they do, all difficulties are likely to be overcome.

For that reason, the cadres must, first of all, have determination. Without it and if they flinch from difficulties they cannot do their work.

Formerly, water was short or not regulated, every year the people wasted much labour and the Government lost large sums of money in fighting drought. If the people's movement for irrigation spreads far and wide both the people and the Government will meet with less hardships and crop yield will increase.

Through the recent Winter-Spring crop we have got a number of experiences. Now, that we have good experiences we must be determined to learn from them and apply them by all means.

The irrigation work must be a movement of the entire people. All communes, districts and provinces are related to one another. They must work together, discuss among themselves, be united and help one another, instead of caring only for their own interests to the detriment of the others.

In short, small-sized irrigation projects having quick effect and incurring small expenses to the Government can

be carried out by the people themselves. When our people see the good results of their work and have got experiences they can carry out medium-sized and even bigger-sized irrigation works.

Lastly, I hope that after this Conference, on your return home you will mobilise the people to emulate with one another to work well. The Government will grant special rewards to the localities which will make the best achievements.

September 14, 1959

GREETINGS ON THE TENTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE FOUNDATION OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA*

Dear Comrade Mao Tse-tung, Chairman of the Central
Committee of the Chinese Communist Party,

Dear Comrade Liu Shao-chi, Chairman of the People's
Republic of China,

Dear comrades and friends,

On the 10th Anniversary of the foundation of the
People's Republic of China, on behalf of the Central
Committee of the Viet Nam Workers' Party, the Govern-
ment of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, the Viet-
namese working class and people I extend to the Central

* On the invitation of the Chinese Communist Party and the
Government of the People's Republic of China, our Party and the Govern-
ment sent a delegation headed by President Ho Chi Minh to attend the
Tenth Anniversary of the foundation of the People's Republic of China.
Here is the speech delivered by President Ho Chi Minh at the meeting held
in Peking on September 28, 1959.

Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, the Govern-
ment of the People's Republic of China, the Chinese
working class and people our warmest greetings.

Following the October Revolution, the victory of the
Chinese revolution and the building up of the People's
Republic of China are the greatest events in the history of
mankind. Over the past ten years, the Chinese people have
successfully fulfilled the socialist revolution and scored
enormous achievements in socialist construction.

The general line, the big-leap-forward movement and
the establishment of people's communes are accelerating
the construction of a new China at a rate never known in
history; "one day equals 20 years". Today, the People's
Republic of China has grown into a Great Power, playing
an important role in the defence of peace in the Far-East
and in the world.

The great successes of the Chinese people are the
victory of Marxism-Leninism. These successes testify to
the clear-sighted leadership of the Chinese Communist
Party headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, which has applied
in a creative manner the universal truths of Marxism-
Leninism to the concrete practice of the Chinese revolu-
tion. These successes produced important effects on the
strengthening of the forces of the socialist camp headed by
the Soviet Union and have powerfully stimulated the
national-liberation movement in Asia, Africa and Latin
America.

Viet Nam and China are two brotherly countries,
having close relations like "lips and teeth"; our two
countries were and are struggling side by side for national
independence and socialism. The victory of the Chinese

revolution is of paramount significance for the Vietnamese people.

The brilliant example set by the October Revolution and by the Chinese revolution blazed the path of revolutionary struggle of Viet Nam. At present, under the leadership of the Viet Nam Workers' Party, the Vietnamese people are doing their utmost to build socialism in the North and to struggle for national reunification. With the determination to struggle of our entire people, the wholehearted assistance of the Soviet Union, China and other fraternal countries, the sympathy and support of progressive mankind, we are firmly convinced that socialist construction in our country will certainly be victorious, and the reunification of our Fatherland successful. On this occasion, we wholeheartedly thank the Chinese Communist Party, the Government and our Chinese brothers and sisters.

Dear comrades and friends,

While we are enthusiastically greeting the 10th Anniversary of the Foundation of the People's Republic of China, the socialist camp is monolithically united and is more powerful than ever before, the national-liberation movement is at its height, and the world peace movement is growing strongly. Recently, the successful launching of the first cosmic rocket to the moon by the Soviet Union and Comrade N.S. Khrushchov's visit to the U.S.A. brought to progressive mankind enthusiasm and ever-growing confidence in the defence of world peace. N.S. Khrushchov's visit to the U.S.A. is of great significance for a further relaxation of international tension and for the defence of world peace.

Let us enthusiastically welcome the gigantic victory of the Soviet Union, China, the socialist camp and of the world peace forces!

I wish that the Chinese people who, under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung will score ever-greater successes in socialist construction and in the defence of peace!

I wish that the solidarity between the countries in the socialist front headed by the Soviet Union would be strengthened with every passing day!

I wish for ever-consolidated and ever-growing friendship between Viet Nam and China!

Long live Communism!

Long live world peace!

September 28, 1959

EXCERPT FROM A TALK AT A CADRES' MEETING DEBATING THE DRAFT LAW ON MARRIAGE AND THE FAMILY *

... There are people who think that as a bachelor I may not have a perfect knowledge of this question. Though I have no family of my own, yet I have a very big family — the working class throughout the world and the Vietnamese people. From that broad family I can judge and imagine the small one.

At present, our entire people want socialist construction. What is to be done to build socialism?

Production must certainly be increased as much as possible. To increase production there must be much

* On December 28, 1959 at its 11th session the National Assembly adopted the law on marriage and the family. This law is based on four fundamental principles: freedom of marriage, monogamy, equality between man and woman and defence of Children's rights and interests. The approval of this law has a very great social and revolutionary significance.

labour-power which can be obtained satisfactorily only by emancipating the women's labour-power.

Women make up half of society. If they are not liberated, half of society is not freed.

If women are not emancipated only half of socialism is built.

It is correct to take a keen interest in the family ; many families constitute the society. A good society makes a good family and vice versa. The core of the society is the family. It is precisely to build up socialism that due attention must be paid to this core.

"Living in concord, husband and wife may empty the East sea", as the proverb runs.

To enjoy concord in matrimonial life, marriage must be based on genuine love.

The law on marriage to be presented to the National Assembly is a revolution, an integral part of the socialist revolution.

Therefore we should adopt the proletarian stand to understand it. It is not correct if our understanding is based on feudal, bourgeois or petty-bourgeois stand.

The law on marriage aims at emancipating women, that is at freeing half of society. The emancipation of the women must be carried out simultaneously with the extirpation of feudal and bourgeois thinking in men.

As for themselves, women should not wait until the directives of the Government and the Party free them but they must rely upon themselves and struggle.

The Party must give this law leadership from its preparation to its presentation and execution, because this is a revolution. The leadership by the Party means that all cadres and Party members must apply this law strictly

and lead all Youth and Women's organisations resolutely and correctly to put it into effect...

The execution of this law is:

— on the one hand, favourable because our people have received the Party education and have made much progress;

— and on the other, has many difficulties because of the long-standing and deeply rooted old habits and traditions among the people. That is why everything is not over with the promulgation of this law but long-term *propaganda and education needs to be carried on to obtain good results.*

I hope that all of you will do your best, be patient, have a thorough knowledge of this law and carry it out satisfactorily. In particular, you must be very careful because this law exerts great influence on *the future of the family, the society and the nation.*

October 1959

REPLY TO THE JAPANESE JOURNALIST SHIRA ISHI BON

Question I — At present Viet Nam is unfortunately divided into two zones, and armed conflicts aggravate the situation in Laos. The Japanese people wish that peace in Indo-China be maintained, attach particular importance to this situation and sincerely hope that the hostilities will be settled by peaceful means.

In Japan, people talk much about the essence of this situation. There is even a theory that there exist Red hands in this affair: in other words, that this is an indirect aggression launched by the communist camp. How should the Japanese people be given to understand about that situation?

The investigation team of the U. N. in which the Japanese Government takes part, has begun its activities. How is its work up to now and what about its future prospects?

Do you wish that I report anything to the Japanese people on this question?

Reply — The 1954 Geneva Agreement on Indo-China restored peace in Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia on the basis of recognition of the independence, unity and territorial integrity of these three countries. Regarding Viet Nam, the Geneva Agreement has clearly stipulated the time for the holding of a consultative conference and the nation-wide free general elections in order to reunify the country. But up to now Viet Nam is not yet reunified because the U. S. imperialists have intervened in South Viet Nam, plotting to change it into a U. S. military base for war preparation. The Vietnamese people and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam energetically struggle for a strict implementation of the Geneva Agreements in order peacefully to reunify the country on the basis of independence and democracy as stipulated in the Agreements.

In Laos, the U. S. imperialists have also seriously undermined the Geneva Agreement on that country, they are intervening deeper and deeper in Laos and have unleashed civil war. Such a situation endangers the security of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and peace in Indo-China and Southeast Asia.

The U.S. imperialists and the Phui Sananikone Government have slandered the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam in order to conceal the U. S. imperialists' intervention scheme in Laos to turn it into a military base for war preparation.

To normalize the situation in Laos, to safeguard peace in Indo-China and Southeast Asia, the only path is correctly to implement the 1954 Geneva Agreement on Laos and other Agreements signed in Vientiane between the Laotian Kingdom and the Pathet Lao forces.

The investigation commission formed by the U. N. Security Council now in activity in Laos, does not help in the settlement of the Laotian situation but renders it more complicated and serious. This is contrary to the U.N. Charter and contrary to the Geneva Agreement.

Question II — The negotiations on the question of war reparations were conducted between the Governments of Japan and South Viet Nam. Even in Japan there are people who criticise these negotiations and the displeasure of your country is known through information received.

How must the Japanese people understand this question? And what in your opinion is the correct solution to this problem?

Reply — During the Second World War, the Japanese militarists invaded Viet Nam and caused many losses to the Vietnamese people from North to South. The entire Vietnamese people are entitled to demand that the Japanese government should make compensation for those losses. But at present the Japanese Government and the South Viet Nam authorities have negotiated the war reparations. That is not legal.

The Vietnamese people and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam deems that war reparations to be paid by Japan will be a heavy charge on the Japanese people. What is essential in the relations between the two countries is not the question of war reparations but the most valuable thing is the solidarity and co-operation between the Vietnamese and Japanese peoples in the struggle against war and for the defence of peace.

Question III — I think that there will be many possibilities in economic co-operation between the two countries if a peaceful-coexistence policy is established between Japan and the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. Are you of the same mind?

In such circumstances, what will be the exchanges? In trade, what does your country need from Japan and what may it supply to Japan?

We wish to know the present situation of socialist construction and particularly that of industrialisation in your country, because this is a matter which has close connection with the question.

I thank you beforehand for your attention and sincerely wish for the growth of friendship between our two countries.

Reply — The Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam consistently follows a peace and friendship policy and longs for many-sided co-operation with other countries, especially the Afro-Asian countries, on the basis of equality and mutual benefit. (For that reason the trade relations between the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and other countries have satisfactorily developed during the recent years). As for the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and Japan, we have tried to maintain trade relations between Viet Nam and a number of Japanese Companies, despite the Japanese Government's present non-friendly policy towards the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam.

The Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam wishes for constant, good and ever-growing relations between the two peoples.

In the socialist construction in the North, the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam must develop industry, agriculture and commerce in order to increase production and improve the people's life. We need tools, machines and manufactured goods from other countries including, of course, Japan. And we can supply those countries with food products, industrial crop products and ores.

Fine prospects will open up and mutual benefit will be brought to our two people if the trade relations between the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and Japan are improved.

Please convey my sincere wishes to the Japanese people and to your readers.

October 1959

EXCERPT FROM A SPEECH DELIVERED AT THE MEETING REVIEWING THE MANAGERIAL WORK OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCERS' CO-OPERATIVES

... First of all we must clearly see what is the aim of the organisation of the co-operatives. It is to improve the peasants' living standards to enable them to have enough food, clothes, good health, and education, to enrich the people and strengthen the country. The country is strong only when its people is rich. This is the particular and common aim of the co-op building.

If we want to eat fruit, we must grow plants. To have enough food, clothes, and an improved life, it is necessary to increase production and practise thrift. To do that, the organisation and management of the co-ops must be well done.

Confident in and obedient to the Party and the Government, our peasants have organised the co-ops and

confided their fields, buffaloes, oxen and farm implements to the managing committees. Who is responsible for the thinness of buffaloes and oxen and the decreased production of the co-ops?

Once in the co-ops our peasants want to see their production and income increase more than when they joined it. Thus, the task of the managing committee is to do what it can to develop the production of the co-operative.

We must produce much, and pay attention to an equitable distribution of production. This requires from the cadres public spiritedness, sometimes they have to sacrifice a part of their own interest for the common interests. We must not keep good things for ourselves and give bad things to others.

To manage the co-ops well, the management cadres must work democratically, avoid bureaucracy and commandism, and carefully discuss every question with the co-op members. Commandism, bureaucracy and lack of democracy will certainly lead to failure.

In short, the management cadres must find all means to push forward the production of their co-ops, increase the income of the co-ops and of its members, and help the latter work *enthusiastically and happily*, thus making the co-op inner life more united.

The co-ops must have their regulations worked out by the co-op members after free discussions and implemented by them willingly. Practical points must be mapped out, such as safeguarding of public property, cleaning of farm implements after work, not exhausting the buffaloes and oxen by excessive labour, thus making them grow thin. The regulations must be short, clear, and such as can be implemented by anybody, by so doing, they are useful to

the co-operatives. The localities must pay attention to organising side-occupations in the co-ops, such as fish-breeding, weaving, brick-making, cutting of timber, gathering of firewood, in order to increase the co-op members' income, and should not give them up as is done in some places. But on the other hand, agricultural work must not be neglected because of the rather high income yielded by side-occupations, rushing for side-occupations instead of scooping water and manuring when necessary. Attention must be paid to both agriculture and side-occupations, but farming is always the main occupation. The distribution of income derived from agriculture and side-occupations must be rational in order not to prejudice the agricultural workers, and make a suitable grant to encourage those who have side-occupations.

At present, the provinces are extending the co-op movement. Attention must be paid to quality of the co-ops when they are established. A newly-built co-op must be a good one. If all communes and districts can succeed in building one or some good co-ops with increased production and increased income, solidarity and gaiety in the co-op inner life, outstripping work-exchange teams and the individual farmers' households, these co-ops will be able to attract broad peasant masses to them. On the contrary, if they only outstrip by a little, or cannot outstrip the work-exchange teams or the individual farmers' households, then few persons are willing to join them even if intensive propaganda is launched.

To develop advantageously, the co-op movement must start from lower to higher level. To organise the co-ops well, the work-exchange teams must be developed and strengthened. Through the recent discussions on the two

paths, many peasants want to embark on the co-operative path. The localities must pay attention to developing the work-exchange teams, turning seasonal work-exchange teams into permanent ones, then to work-exchange teams with records of work-points, strengthening and developing the co-ops and going gradually from lower type to higher type.

After having discussed the two paths, the cadres and managing committees must in practice make everybody see clearly the difference between them. For this purpose the income of the co-ops must be increased, *the co-op members' living conditions improved, and the latter must work enthusiastically, must be united and happy.*

To develop and strengthen the co-ops well, we must always remember and carry out the slogan "*to industriously and thriftily build the co-ops*". To look after one's garden better than the co-op's field must be avoided; by so doing one lacks "industriousness" toward the co-op; one must not seize any opportunity to organise great feasts, killing oxen for entertainments, by so doing one lacks "thrift". The money of the co-op must be used only for its practical interests.

And last, the localities must pay attention to fighting drought and killing insects immediately in order to harvest a good autumn crop, at the same time they must actively carry out a successful Winter-Spring crop all-sidedly, abundantly and steadily.

November 1959

TO JOYFULLY CELEBRATE THE ANNIVERSARY OF THE GREAT OCTOBER REVOLUTION*

Today, the working people all over the world, together with the brotherly Soviet people merrily celebrate the 42nd anniversary of the great October Revolution.

The October Revolution has opened a brilliant Spring for mankind, while capitalism and imperialism have brought the world to thick darkness, like a terrifying Winter.

This year, the anniversary of the October Revolution has a further new significance — that is to greet the success of the first year of the Seven-Year Plan, plan of building communism.

This success is very great, and will certainly open the way for other great victories: in the plan the overall output of 1959 (compared with 1958) *was planned to increase by 7.7 per cent*, it has *increased by 12 per cent* in the first nine months of the year.

* This article was written for the Soviet newspaper *Pravda* on the occasion of the 42nd anniversary of the great October Revolution.

What are the factors which have led to this great victory?

— It is thanks to the clear-sighted and close leadership of the Communist Party.

— It is due to the ever-growing movement of technical improvement. In the last nine months, over 1,400,000 proposals for technical improvement have been applied and over 1,500 models of new machines made, thus making labour productivity *increase* by more than 8 per cent and saving more than 7,000 million roubles for the State.

— The “Communist Labour” emulation movement has undergone seething development.

With the spirit of being the masters of the country and the enterprises, and the active attitude toward work, closely combining patriotism with internationalism, the Soviet workers, collective peasants and intellectuals work, study and live according to the *communist virtue*. At present over three million people participate in the “Communist labour” teams. They have promised to fulfil and overfulfil the Seven-Year Plan two years ahead of schedule.

The following figures bring out these successes in full relief:

In the State budget *the income* exceeds the expenditure by 58 thousand million roubles.

The taxes have been *decreased* from 7.8 per cent to 7.4 per cent, and some years later will be removed altogether.

The working day lasts *seven hours*, each week 40 hours on an average. In the capitalist countries each week lasts from 46 to 48 hours.

The working hours have been decreased, but the wages increased, because of the increased labour productivity and the lowering of prices of consumer goods.

Another thing : The Soviet budget is a peaceful one : the credit granted to science is over 15 per cent of the total expenditure, that granted to national defence is about 13 per cent only (the expenses for U.S. national defence occupy more than 64 per cent of the general budget).

* * *

*Today we are glad and happy,
We should remember the hard days of yore.*

We must remember to learn from the Soviet people, and feel gratitude toward them.

Forty-two years ago the October Revolution was successful. But in the first fifteen years, the Soviet Union was the sole socialist country, like a solitary island which had to face terrifying waves and wind caused by the imperialist countries. For nearly twenty years the Soviet Union had to tighten their belts to heal the wounds left by the war. Only in a few decades the Soviet people have changed a backward agricultural country into the most advanced industrial one in the world. In many branches the Soviet Union has kept pace with the U.S. and in many others it has surpassed it. (The U.S.A. has never been attacked by a war of aggression and its economy has been built up for over 170 years). This shows that socialism is definitely superior to capitalism.

While building communism in their country, the Soviet people have generously and disinterestedly helped 22 brotherly and friendly countries build 383 big enterprises,

aimed at making them more prosperous and stronger, and their people have more food and clothes with every passing day. This is the lofty internationalism for which the working people all over the world voice their gratitude.

* * *

Thanks to the success of the October Revolution a new world has come into being and has become more and more prosperous, and stronger like a blossoming flower in spring. On the contrary, the imperialist and colonialist forces headed by the U.S. are declining, and become darker and darker like the evening sky veiled by clouds and fog.

In the struggle between the growing new force and the weakened old force, the new force — the socialist force — will certainly succeed.

At present, socialism has become a strong world system with a thousand million united and single-minded people; added to the newly liberated colonial peoples the number reaches over 1,500 million; the imperialist countries only have about 500 million people. So much for population.

Geographically speaking, from Asia to Europe, from Tirana to Pyongyang, from Hanoi to Berlin, through Peking and Moscow, an area of nearly 35 million square kilometres has become a strong bloc and a united great family.

In economy, in 1957 the industrial gross output of the socialist countries headed by the Soviet Union only occupied 33 per cent of that of the world, in 1958 it increased to 40 per cent, and this year to 45 per cent. In a short time it will certainly occupy more than 50 per cent. A thing

to remember is that the development of the socialist camp goes with great speed, while the imperialist countries are on the wane. For example :

— Compared with 1957, in 1958 the industrial output of the Soviet Union increased by over 10 per cent and that of the U.S. decreased by over ten per cent.

— In seven years, the Soviet Union will increase her output of coal from 496 million to 612 million tons. England will close down from 200 to 240 coal mines (according to the plan of the British Coal Production Board).

* * *

China has a saying: "Gaity reigns everywhere". It is in accordance with the gay atmosphere of today.

Fostered by the Communist Party, Soviet science has been successful in the launching of rockets and sputniks. Today, while hundreds of millions of people joyfully celebrate the October Revolution,

Soviet rocket No. 1 is flying round the sun freely.

Sputnik No. 3 and rocket No. 3 are rounding the earth gaily.

Rocket No. 2 is raising aloft the hammer-sickle national emblem of the Soviet Union — symbol of successful communism — and is shedding from the moon its light over the countries, thus appealing to the peoples of the world to co-exist peacefully, because peace is happiness.

In only 45 years, mankind suffered from two terrifying world wars. Tens of millions of people were killed, thousands of billions of wealth destroyed.*

Immediately after the victory of the October Revolution, Lenin set forth the policy of peace which has been firmly maintained by the Soviet Union through 42 years.

Today, if an atomic and nuclear war breaks out, its result will be a hundred, a thousand times more terrifying. The scientists have said: seven or eight nuclear bombs thrown down on Britain, 15 or 20 on the U. S. A. will entirely destroy them both!

To save mankind from this terrifying danger, Comrade Khrushchov — following Lenin's words — on behalf of the Soviet people, has made at the General Assembly of the U.N.O. humanitarian proposals for complete disarmament, to prevent war.

Except for a group of militarist and stubborn U. S. politicians and their lackeys who, "beaten to death but do not break themselves of a habit", the peoples all over the world without distinction of race, class or creed, have enthusiastically supported Comrade Khrushchov's proposals, and sincerely wanted the success of the policy of peace of the Soviet Union.

This has been another great victory of the October Revolution, of the Soviet people and of the whole socialist camp.

* * *

The working people all over the world in general and the people of the brother countries in particular have been

* In World War I, the number of dead was over 10 million. In World War II, over 30 million.

elated at the glorious victory of the Soviet Union which shows them that the present happiness of the Soviet people will be theirs tomorrow. The Resolution of the 21st National Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union says :

“With the development and strengthening of the world socialist system, all other countries in the socialist camp will develop successfully. The economic and cultural development of all socialist countries has become more steady. In a short space of time, these countries — like the Soviet Union — will build a communist society. The Soviet Union recognises that her most important responsibility is to contribute to the strengthening of solidarity between the socialist countries, the development of close relation in economy and culture, and the single-mindedness in the great family of free countries on the Marxist Leninist basis and on the principle of proletarian internationalism.”

To conclude his report at the General Assembly, Comrade Khrushchov said :

“Many centuries will pass, but history will note down the honour of our great era of building socialism and communism.”

The victory of the Soviet Union is that of the whole working people throughout the world, and of Marxism-Leninism.

In greeting the great October Revolution, once more the Vietnamese people feel a deep gratitude for the whole-hearted support of the Soviet people and do their utmost to study the spirit of emulation of the Soviet workers, peasants and intellectuals in order to fulfil and overfulfil

the State plan for this year, and prepare for the fulfilment and overfulfilment of next year's plan bringing North Viet Nam to socialism, thus building the firm basis for the successful struggle for national reunification.

Long live the brilliant spirit of the October Revolution !

Long live the unshakable spirit of solidarity between the great socialist family headed by the mighty Soviet Union !

Long live the Soviet Communist Party !

Long live Communism !

Long live world peace !

OUR PARTY HAS STRUGGLED VERY HEROICALLY AND WON GLORIOUS VICTORIES

... Before our Party was founded, there were in our country three communist groups. In 1930 a meeting took place to discuss their merging. Repression by the enemy was at its fiercest. The delegates had to leave secretly for Hong Kong. Feigning to attend a foot-ball match, we sat on the lawn and discussed. Finally it was agreed that three groups should be amalgamated into a single Party, the Indochinese Communist Party.

Our Party was born when the French colonialists were carrying out fierce repression. Soon after its birth, it organized and led the most heroic struggle for the Nghe-Tinh Soviet.

When it was twelve years old it organised the guerrilla movement to fight the French and Japanese.

Aged fifteen, it organized and led to success the August Revolution.

From the age of seventeen, it led the Resistance War, and at twenty-four it brought the Resistance War to victory.

After the restoration of peace, our Party led and organised our people to build socialism in the North, thus turning it into a base of struggle for national reunification.

Thus in thirty years, our Party has led two revolutions, the national democratic revolution and the socialist revolution. What made our Party win such victories?

In the beginning, Party members were very few and were often arrested and imprisoned by the French colonialists. But our Party constantly marched forward. When the August Revolution took place, there were about 5,000 Party members, including those in jail. Less than 5,000 Party members have thus organised and led the uprisings of 24 million fellow-countrymen over the country to victory.

Why did our Party achieve such glorious successes? At that time, a revolutionary might carry out his work until the revolution triumphed, or be arrested, murdered. But the conviction that the Party would win final victory was unshakable, so when anyone was arrested he was immediately replaced by another, when anyone was killed, a hundred were ready to take over his task. Party members were strongly united, single-minded, and very close to the people. That is why, despite its small number, the Party has led the Revolution to victory.

Many Party members were of exemplary behaviour and revolutionary virtue. Comrade Minh Khai was twice condemned to death, and died very bravely. Comrades

Tran Phu, Hoang Van Thu and many others have set examples of heroism.

Examples of heroism are also numerous in the Party members' activities. For instance, there were comrades who worked secretly in underground cellars for months, writing propaganda leaflets, translating books and newspapers. When they reappeared in the light of day their eyesight was weakened. There were comrades who, tortured by the enemy, lost consciousness several times, but did not say a word...

Our cadres and Party members are human beings, made of flesh and blood, but their faith in the Party, in the working class and in the force of the collective, makes them fight with determination until their last breath.

There were also young heroes like Young Trong, Young Sau... and many unknown heroes. That is why our Party became stronger and stronger.

In the Resistance War, there were in the ranks of our Party heroic comrades such as Phan Dinh Giot who blocked a loop-hole in the enemy fortress with his body so that our troops might advance. To Vinh Dien who threw himself under the wheels of a gun carriage to stop its rolling downhill, and many others who pursued the enemy on an empty stomach for two or three days. These heroes of the Party, of the people, are heroes of the collective, they were imbued with the Party's revolutionary virtues. Only with revolutionary virtues can we lead the working class, organize and unite the masses to bring the Revolution and the Resistance War to victory.

At present, in building socialism, we have important and complex tasks to do. We have defeated the French colonialists and the feudal class, but we still have to

fight against other dangerous enemies. These are poverty, hunger, backwardness.

We have started with a backward agriculture, a low standard of living. We have to struggle so that everyone in our country has enough food and clothes, work and leisure time, and receives education.

We have favourable conditions to build socialism. Our country has 'forests of gold and seas of silver', our people are industrious. The brotherly countries are giving us aid. But there are also difficulties such as flood, drought, the low level of general education and technique.

As a whole, our cadres Party members are good ones, faithful to the Revolution. If we struggle with determination we shall certainly overcome these difficulties. Of course, political consciousness is indispensable, a Party member must know about politics, must study politics. But general education and technique are necessary to handle the machines which are becoming more and more complex. We are still weak in this field. In the factories of the Soviet Union many workers have finished their tenth form. But how many among the cadres here have finished their tenth form? So we have to learn much, we should endeavour to learn. Otherwise, we would not make progress. If we do not progress, we regress. As society progresses, there are more things to do, more complex machines. If we do not study, we shall lag behind, and if we lag behind we shall be rejected, through our own fault.

Is that right? If it is, you should endeavour to raise your cultural and professional level.

In our Party not a few comrades are self-conceited, they are overbearing and self-satisfied because they have been engaged for many years in revolutionary activities.

It is a good thing to have engaged for a long time in revolutionary work, but we should always be modest and endeavour to study to progress unceasingly. Society progresses unceasingly. To build socialism in the North, to make of the latter a base for the struggle to reunify the country, we should endeavour to study.

In our Party, many have set examples of bravery in face of danger and sacrifice, because they believe in the Party, in the Revolution, and in the future of the working class and of the Fatherland. At present, in the persistent struggle against the American imperialists and the Diem clique, our fellow-countrymen in the South are also displaying outstanding heroism.

In the North, all the labour heroes and model workers, responding to the appeal by the Party, have been toiling selflessly for the people and for the working class. They do not think of personal gain and losses. They enthusiastically do what the Party wants them to do, endeavouring to surpass the set target. That too is heroism.

We, Party members, are very ordinary people because we are the sons of the working class, of the working people, we are nothing but faithful to the proletarian class and determined to struggle for the people. The fact that we are very ordinary people makes our Party very great. Apart from the interests of the Fatherland, of the working class and of the people, our Party knows no other interest.

Yesterday's newspapers related the story of a militiaman named Tran Van Tan, a Workers' Party member. He was entrusted with the task of getting a quantity of timber, together with some comrades. There was a storm

and their raft threatened to break up several times. Braving danger, comrade Tan plunged into the river to repair the raft. When the raft arrived at its destination, it was found that a number of logs were missing. Comrade Tan volunteered to go and look for them, and he brought back all of them after two or three days. A militiaman is a man of ordinary position. To get timber is an ordinary task. But to overcome all difficulties, to fulfil one's task, is heroism.

* * *

At present, in the countryside, a heated discussion is going on: *which way to follow, that of individualism or that of collectivism?*

Why is our Party strong and becoming stronger and stronger? Because our Party practises *collectivism*. Every Party member should do likewise. But a number of comrades have not been completely won to collectivism; individualism among them is still prevailing. For example in the question of remuneration they have shown discontent and jealousy. They want to do easy jobs and avoid hard ones, etc. Those comrades do not remember that during the period of secret Party activities, during the Resistance War, and at present, the heroes, and the model workers have not been struggling and making sacrifices for any remuneration, position or rank.

The close allocation of work in the Party and the State is like clockwork. The hands of the clock and the spring are two different parts but they act in close unity. None of the parts of the clock can be done without. Likewise in our society, our Party is a close-knit collective which does not allow individualism. Individualism is the

source of many evils. Everyone, whatever his work or his position may be, is important. Any work that is useful to the Party, to the Revolution, is honourable.

The individualists cater for their personal interests only, not for the collective's interests. They want to enjoy material privileges, they never volunteer for work. That is not good. With individualism there can be no enthusiasm, no progress.

Our Party is a great collective which is united in thought and in action. Every Party member must defend the Party and the Party's policies.

Has our Party shortcomings? It has. To transform the old society into a new one is no easy thing. It is like demolishing an old house and building a new palace. In building the new palace, we cannot avoid breaking a few bricks, spreading saw-dust, etc. Likewise in building socialism, some shortcomings and mistakes are inevitable. But whenever it makes a mistake, the Party courageously admits it and resolutely corrects it.

Our Party has a very effective means to make its members progress, and the Party become stronger and stronger: *self-criticism and criticism*. Lenin has said: Only two categories of people are free from mistakes: the foetus in womb and the dead in their coffins. Action is seldom free from mistakes. But when we make mistakes, we should frankly criticize ourselves, welcome the others' criticisms and resolutely correct our mistakes. *Individualism* makes one fear self-criticism and criticism, prevents one from resolutely correcting one's mistakes. Thus it makes one regress instead of progressing.

In a word, our Party has been struggling heroically for the last thirty years and has won glorious victories.

At present, it has to continue the struggle to build socialism in the North and make of the latter a base for the struggle to reunify the country. In this struggle, we have many advantages. But we also meet with many difficulties. If every cadre, every Party member fulfils his duties, fosters and enhances the spirit of collectivism, gets rid of individualism, and closely studies politics, general education and technical knowledge, we shall certainly overcome all difficulties, and brilliantly fulfil our duties.

Lastly, I trust you will remember the above-mentioned and put it into practice. At present, we have over four hundred thousand Party members and over six hundred thousand Labour youths, a strong government, a most heroic army, and our people are showing great enthusiasm. Furthermore, our country is a member of the great socialist family headed by the great Soviet Union. Therefore, if our cadres and Party members fulfil their duties, closely study politics, general education and technical knowledge, we shall certainly succeed.

I wish you continuous progress.

(Excerpt from a speech delivered on November 28, 1959 at the Conference for the study of the history of the Party, organised by the Central office for Propaganda and Education of the Viet Nam Workers' Party)

REPORT ON THE DRAFT AMENDED* CONSTITUTION

(Presented to the first National Assembly, 11th session)

Members of the Presidium,
Deputies,

At its 6th session, the National Assembly decided upon amending the 1946 Constitution and setting up a Committee for Amendment of the Constitution to present a draft to the National Assembly.

The drafting of the amendment to the Constitution has undergone a long process of preparation and careful study. Following completion of the first draft in July 1958, we submitted it for discussion by high-ranking and middle cadres in the army, civil, administrative and Party offices. After these discussions, the draft was improved, and on April 1st, 1959, it was made known to the entire people

* At its 11th session, held on December 30, 1959, the National Assembly passed the new Constitution of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam.

for discussions and constructive suggestions. These discussions lasted four consecutive months. Everywhere in offices, factories, schools and other people's organisations, in the cities and the countryside, the study and discussions of the draft Constitution proceeded in an enthusiastic atmosphere and became a broad mass movement with the participation of all sections of the people. In the press, the discussions were also lively and fruitful. The Committee for Amendment of the Constitution has received many letters sending in the views of individuals and groups, including letters from our dear compatriots in the South and abroad.

The views contributed by the people have been carefully studied and debated by the Committee for Amendment of the Constitution and, on the basis of this, we have improved the draft for a second time.

On behalf of the Committee for Amendment of the Constitution, I present to the National Assembly the report on the draft Constitution as follows :

I

IMPORTANT SIGNIFICANCE OF THE AMENDED CONSTITUTION

Our Vietnamese Fatherland has been built through thousands of years of industrious labour and heroic struggle of our people.

In the middle of the 19th century, the French imperialists began to invade our country. The feudal overlords surrendered to the aggressors and sold out our country to the French imperialists. For nearly a century the French imperialists colluded with the local feudal class to rule over

our country in an extremely cruel manner. Right in the beginning, our people had risen up to fight the French imperialists in order to win back national independence. Thanks to the spirit of self-devotion in struggle of our people, the movement for national liberation developed unceasingly. However, after nearly half a century of struggle, the imperialist and feudal domination was not yet overthrown and our country was not yet independent.

In the meantime, the Russian October Revolution broke out and won glorious victory. The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics was founded. The colonial system of imperialism began to collapse. The Soviet Union brought to the oppressed peoples a model of equal relations between the nations.

The oppressed peoples of the world saw that only by relying on socialist revolution and following the lines of the working-class was it possible to overthrow the imperialists, to win back complete national independence and real equality among the nations. The Russian October Revolution has welded the socialist revolutionary movement with the revolutionary movement for national liberation into an anti-imperialist front.

In Viet Nam, following World War I, the national bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie were unable to lead the movement for national liberation to success. The Vietnamese working-class has brought the light of the October Revolution to light the way of the Vietnamese Revolution. In 1930, the Indochinese Communist Party, the political party of the working-class, was founded and mapped out the line of advance of the Vietnamese Revolution through two periods: the national democratic revolution and the

socialist revolution. For the first time in its history, the Vietnamese Revolution was provided by the Party of the working-class with an all-sided political program. Since then, the Vietnamese Revolution, under the unified leadership of the working-class and its political party, has developed rapidly and steadily.

The 1930 Nghe-Tinh Soviets and the 1938-1939 democratic movement gave a strong impetus to the Vietnamese revolution and strengthened day by day the relations between the working-class and its party and the peasants and other sections of the people in the country.

In 1939, World War II broke out. The French imperialists and Japanese militarists worked hand in glove in ruling over our country. Under the leadership of the Party, our people rose to fight the aggressive imperialists in a most heroic manner. The Bac Son and South Viet Nam uprisings were the harbingers of a widespread revolutionary movement. In 1941, the Party established the Viet Minh League laying down the task of "fighting and driving away the Japanese and the French in order to make Viet Nam fully independent and build a democratic republican Viet Nam".

In 1945, the Soviet Union and the democratic forces of the world defeated the fascists; the Second World War came to an end. Grasping this opportunity, the Party led the August Revolution to victory. The yoke of the imperialists and the feudal overlords was thrown off. The people's power was established throughout the country. On September 2, 1945, the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam was founded. The independence of our country was solemnly declared to the people throughout the world. After nearly a century of slavery, our Fatherland was liberated, our people

were emancipated. An extremely glorious page of the history of our nation began.

* * *

After the victorious August Revolution, our people began to build the nation in order to strengthen and develop the achievements of the revolution. On January 6, 1946, in the free nation-wide general elections, our people elected the first National Assembly. On November 9, 1946, the National Assembly adopted the first Constitution of our country.

The preamble to the 1946 Constitution said:

"The task of our people in this period is to preserve territorial integrity, win complete independence and build the country on a democratic basis. The Vietnamese Constitution must record the glorious achievements of the Revolution and must be built on the principles of solidarity of the entire people, guaranteeing democratic freedoms and achieving a strong people's power."

The regime instituted by the 1946 Constitution guaranteed national independence and broad democracy for the people. Right after its inception, under the leadership of the Party, the people's power promulgated the law on labour, carried out land-rent reduction, confiscated the land of the French colonialists and the Vietnamese traitors and distributed it to the peasants. The right of the people to vote and stand for elections and to participate in the affairs of the State was guaranteed, and democratic freedoms carried into effect. This was a regime of new-type democracy.

However, the French imperialists provoked war and invaded our country for the second time. Our people, closely

united around the Party and the people's power, waged the long and hard war of resistance, and resolutely smashed the scheme of enslavement by the imperialists and the clique of traitors, their henchmen. In 1953, while our people were waging the war of resistance, the National Assembly adopted the law on land reform, thus achieving radically the line "land to the tillers".

The Dien Bien Phu victory and the successful Geneva Conference brought the heroic resistance of our people to a glorious end; North Viet Nam was completely liberated.

For the first time in history, an oppressed nation defeated the aggression of a mighty imperialist power, won back national independence, brought land to the tillers and genuine democratic rights to the people. This victory was made possible by the ardent patriotism and valiant struggle of our army and people, by the close solidarity of our entire people within the National United Front, the reliance of our people's power on the worker-peasant alliance led by the working-class and the Party, and the support of the brother countries in the socialist camp and the forces of peace and democracy throughout the world.

The victory of the August Revolution and the great war of resistance has proved that a nation, however small and weak it may be, if it is closely united under the leadership of the working-class and its Party, and correctly follows the Marxist-Leninist line will certainly defeat the imperialist aggressors.

Since the victory of the war of resistance and the restoration of peace, the Vietnamese Revolution has moved on to a new stage; Under the people's democratic regime North Viet Nam, completely liberated, has stepped into the period of transition to socialism. In South Viet Nam which

is still under the imperialist and feudal yoke our people must carry on the national democratic revolution in the new conditions of our country.

In North Viet Nam, following complete liberation, rapid progress has been achieved in all fields.

In the three years from 1955 to 1957, we healed the wounds of war and rehabilitated our economy.

In 1958, we began to carry out the three-year economic plan aimed at developing and transforming the national economy along the socialist line.

The 14th session of the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Workers' Party pointed out that "the socialist forces in North Viet Nam have now become definitely stronger than the capitalist forces".

In the economic and cultural fields, we have achieved great progress. For instance:

From 1955 to 1959, in agriculture, paddy output increased from 3.6 million tons to 5.2 million tons. In industry, from 17 factories only in 1955, we have 107 State factories in 1959.

The agricultural producers' co-operatives of the lower level now embrace 43.9 per cent of peasant-families, and most of the peasant-families which have not yet joined co-operatives have joined work-exchange teams.

53 per cent of handicraft-workers have joined co-operative organisations.

In culture, we have basically eliminated illiteracy. Compared with 1955, the number of students has increased twofold in general schools, sixfold in intermediate vocational schools, sevenfold in University. The number of doctors increased by 80 per cent, etc.

We are advancing to a socialist economy. Along with these successes, class relations in North Viet Nam society have changed. The feudal landlord class has been overthrown. The working-class is growing day by day and is strengthening its leadership over the State. The peasantry is embarking on the co-operative path. The worker-peasant alliance is further strengthened. The revolutionary intellectuals are contributing an active part to national construction. The national bourgeois, generally speaking, accept the socialist transformation. Various sections of our people are united more closely within the ranks of the National United Front. Compared with 1946, when the first Constitution of our country was adopted, the situation in present-day North Viet Nam has undergone very big and good changes.

While the North is advancing to socialism, in the South the U. S. imperialists and their henchmen undermine the Geneva Agreements and refuse to hold the consultative conference on general elections to reunify the country. They are enforcing an extremely cruel and autocratic policy, extorting the property of the people, repressing and persecuting them in the most barbarous manner. They seek to perpetuate the division of our country and turn the South into a colony and a military base of the U. S. imperialists, in an attempt to provoke a new war in Indo-China.

But our compatriots in the South are very heroic; the struggle there is steadily preserved and developed. Our southern compatriots demand an improvement in their life and national reunification; they oppose oppression, exploitation and American 'aid', repression and massacre, military reinforcements and war preparations.

North Viet Nam, advancing to socialism powerfully stimulates the patriotic movement in South Viet Nam. Our southern compatriots are constantly looking towards the North and our government, and raise their confidence in the cause of national reunification.

In short, the Vietnamese revolution has moved on to a new stage. We have new tasks to achieve. The conditions in both the country and the world are favourable to us.

The 1946 Constitution — the first democratic Constitution of our country — conformed to the situation and the revolutionary task of that period. It has completed its mission. It is no longer compatible with the new situation and the present-day new revolutionary tasks. That is why we must amend the Constitution.

The draft amended Constitution clearly records the great successes of our people in the past years and clearly outlines the new revolutionary tasks in the new historic period.

II

SOME MAIN POINTS IN THE CONTENT OF THE DRAFT CONSTITUTION

I present a summary of some main points in the content of the draft Constitution as follows:

I. Character of the Viet Nam Democratic Republican State

The character of the State is the fundamental question in the Constitution. This is the question of class content of power. In whose hands is the power and whose

rights does it serve? This question determines the overall content of the Constitution.

Our State established after the August Revolution, was already a people's democratic State, led by the working-class. Now, the Preamble of the draft amended Constitution again points out:

"Our State is a people's democratic state based on the worker-peasant alliance and led by the working-class."

In order to build socialism and struggle for the achievement of national reunification, we must unceasingly strengthen the leadership of the working-class in the people's democratic State.

The worker-peasant alliance is the foundation of the Viet Nam Democratic Republican State. The peasantry constitutes a very big productive force and at the same time a very great revolutionary force. In the national people's democratic revolution, the peasants have energetically followed the Party in the rising side by side with the working-class to overthrow imperialism and feudalism. At present they are enthusiastically joining the agricultural co-operative movement. This is due to the active revolutionary spirit of our peasants and due to the persistent and continued education of the Party and the working-class. Therefore, in building socialism, our State strives to help the peasantry and consolidate the worker-peasant alliance.

The working-class unites with handicraftsmen and small traders because they are working people; they willingly take the path of co-operation, approve of and support the socialist revolution.

The socialist revolution is intimately linked with scientific and technical development and the cultural development of the people. Our intellectuals contributed a valuable part to the resistance. They have been constantly assisted by the Party to make progress. That is why they want socialism. The working-class closely unites with the intelligentsia to help it serve the revolution and socialism.

Under the leadership of the working-class, the Vietnamese national bourgeois have supported the national people's democratic revolution. Since the restoration of peace they have contributed their part to economic rehabilitation. At present we have the condition to transform them along socialist lines. In the northern part of our country, the socialist economic forces are definitely superior to the capitalist economic forces. We have the people's power. The revolutionary struggle of the working masses is growing powerfully. The national bourgeoisie is ready to accept transformation to contribute to national construction and the building of socialism.

Our country is a united multi-national country. All nationalities living on Viet Nam territory are equal in rights and duties.

All the fraternal nationalities in our country are bound together by an affection of kith-and-kin; we have lived on a common territory and experienced a long history of common labour and struggle in building our beautiful Fatherland.

Imperialism and feudalism have deliberately undermined the solidarity and equality between the nationalities, sown discord among them and carried out a policy of "divide and rule". Our Party and Government have constantly called on the nationalities to remove all discord

engineered by imperialism and feudalism and to unite closely on the basis of equality in rights and duties. The minority nationalities have, side by side with their brothers the majority nationalities, fought against their common enemies, and brought the August Revolution and the resistance to success. Since the restoration of peace, our State has helped the brotherly nationalities to achieve further progress in the economic, cultural and social fields. The Viet Bac and the Thai-Meo Autonomous regions have been established. Closely united under the leadership of the Party and the State, the nationalities are enthusiastically taking part in the emulation movement for national construction.

Our policy on nationalities is aimed at achieving equality between the nationalities to advance together to socialism. Autonomous regions may be established in areas where minority nationalities live in compact communities.

2. General line of advance to socialism

For nearly one hundred years, Viet Nam was a colonial and semi-feudal country. The economy was very backward and composed of many complicated sectors; production was not developed and the people's material and cultural living standards were low. To change this situation of poverty, North Viet Nam must advance to socialism.

Article 9 of the draft amended Constitution points out that the line of advance to socialism is: "The Democratic Republic of Viet Nam is advancing step by step from people's democracy to socialism by developing and transforming the national economy along socialist lines, transforming its backward economy into a socialist economy with modern industry and agriculture and advanced science

and technology. The economic policy of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam is to continuously develop production with the aim of constantly raising the material and cultural standards of the people."

There are at present in our country the following forms of ownership of the means of production:

- Ownership by the State, that is ownership by the entire people,

- Ownership by the co-operatives, that is collective ownership by the working people,

- Ownership by individual working people,

- A small proportion of the means of production is owned by the capitalists.

The aim of our regime is to eliminate the forms of non-socialist ownership, to turn the present economy composed of many complicated sectors into a single economy based on the system of public ownership by the people and of collective ownership.

Under article 12 of the draft amended Constitution, the State economic sector is a form of ownership by the whole people; it leads the national economy, and the State must ensure priority for its development.

Under article 13, the co-operative economic sector is a form of collective ownership by the working people, the State particularly encourages, guides and helps its development.

We must develop the State economic sector to create the material foundation for socialism and stimulate socialist transformation.

- Agricultural production is the main driving wheel of the socialist transformation in the North. Past experiences have shown that agricultural co-operation in our country

must pass through the forms of work-exchange teams and agricultural producers' co-operatives. This is very necessary. If we steadily develop step by step the work-exchange teams and the co-operatives, agricultural production will certainly be successful.

— Towards handicraftsmen and other individual workers, the State protects their right to ownership of their means of production, actively guides and helps them to improve their ways of earning their livelihood, and encourage them to organise agricultural producers' co-operatives in accordance with the principle of voluntariness.

— Towards capitalist traders and industrialists, the State does not cancel their right to ownership of the means of production and other property but actively guides them to act in line with the interests of the State and the people's welfare and in keeping with the State economic plan. At the same time, the State encourages and helps them to transform themselves along socialist line through the forms of joint State and private ownership and other forms of transformation.

Under article 10 of the draft amended Constitution, the State leads economic activities according to a unified plan. The State makes use of its organs and relies on the trade-unions and the co-operatives and other organisations of the working people to map and carry out its economic plans.

Since the restoration of peace and beginning with the economic restoration, we have gradually taken the economy in the North along the path of planned development. We have had the three-year programme for economic rehabilitation (1955-1957). At present we are carrying out the three-year plan for initial development of the economy and

culture and preparing conditions to carry out our first five-year plan. The three-year plan aims particularly at promoting the socialist transformation of the economic sector of private ownership by the peasants, handicraftsmen and other individual working people and the economic sector of capitalist ownership; at the same time it enlarges and reinforces the economic sector of State ownership, stimulates the economic development along socialist lines.

3. Organisation of the Viet Nam Democratic Republic State

In order to fulfil well the revolutionary tasks, our State must develop the democratic rights and political activities of the entire people, to promote their ardour and creativeness, helping all citizens of Viet Nam to take part effectively in managing State affairs, to endeavour to build socialism and struggle for national reunification.

Our revolutionary regime has been established over nearly fifteen years. The 1946 Constitution established the People's Assembly and People's Councils at various levels. The National Assembly is a People's Council of the entire country. There are People's Councils of the localities. The National Assembly and the People's Councils are composed of representatives elected by the people through universal suffrage. The National Assembly decides on the most important affairs of the State. The People's Councils decide on the most important affairs of the localities.

During the resistance, the National Assembly together with the Government united and guided our people, bringing the patriotic and anti-imperialist war to glorious victory. The National Assembly adopted the law on land reform aimed at completing the anti-feudalist revolution.

In the localities, the People's Councils contributed to the mobilisation of the people in taking an active part in the anti-imperialist and anti-feudalist revolution.

Since the restoration of peace, the National Assembly has adopted the three-year programme for economic rehabilitation, the three-year plan for initial development of the economy and culture, the policies on economic development and transformation along the socialist lines and the laws on democratic freedoms and so on. These are most important problems relating to State affairs and the people's livelihood.

Under article 4 of the draft amended Constitution, all the powers in the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam belong to the people. The people exercise their authority through the National Assembly and the People's Councils at various levels which are elected by the people and responsible to the people.

Our electoral system is democratic and develops solidarity among the entire people. All citizens from the age of 18 upward have the right to elect, and from the age of 21 upward have the right to stand for election. Elections will be held on the principle of universal, equal, direct and secret suffrage.

The people have the right to dismiss the deputies to the National Assembly and the deputies to the People's Councils should these deputies show themselves unworthy of the people's trust. This principle guarantees the people's right of control over their representatives.

Article 6 of the draft amended Constitution stipulates that it is the duty of all organs of the State to rely upon the people, keep close contacts with the people, carefully

listen to the people's opinions and accept the people's supervision.

The National Assembly is the supreme authoritative organ of the State. The People's Councils are State authoritative organs in the localities.

The National Assembly elects the President of the State, the Standing Committee of the National Assembly and the Council of Ministers. The Council of Ministers is the organ enacting the laws and decisions of the National Assembly and the highest administrative organ of the State. It is responsible to the National Assembly and has to report to it on its work. In the period between two sessions of the National Assembly, the Council of Ministers is responsible and has to report to the National Assembly Standing Committee on its work.

The National Assembly is the only organ having legislative power. The most important affairs of the State on a national scale are decided upon by the National Assembly.

The People's Councils elect the administrative committee at various levels. Administrative committees at various levels are executive organs of the People's Councils. They are responsible to the People's Councils and have to report to them on their work. At the same time they are placed under the direct leadership of the administrative committees at a higher level and under the unified leadership of the Council of Ministers.

The most important affairs in the localities are decided upon by the People's Councils.

Our economic and social system aims at fully achieving the democratic rights of the people. On the basis of increasing development of the socialist economy, gradual

elimination of capitalist exploitation, the material and cultural standards of the people will be improved day by day. Therefore, our people will have all the conditions necessary for taking part effectively in managing the State.

* * *

Article 4 of the draft amended Constitution clearly stipulates that the principle of organisation of our State is democratic centralism. The National Assembly, the People's Councils, the Central Government and other State organs all follow the principle of democratic centralism.

Our State ensures development of democracy to the highest degree, this is because of its character as a State of the people. Only through the highest development of democracy are all forces of the people mobilised to take the revolution forward. At the same time the highest centralism must be ensured to lead the people in building socialism.

4. Basic rights and duties of citizens.

The draft amended Constitution clearly stipulates the basic rights and duties of citizens in our country. These stipulations demonstrate the genuinely democratic character of our regime.

The capitalists often boast that their Constitution guarantee the rights of the individual, the right to democratic liberties and the interests of all citizens. But in reality, only the bourgeoisie enjoys the rights recorded in the Constitution. The working people do not really enjoy democratic freedoms; they are exploited during all their life and have to bear all the heavy burden to serve the interests of the exploiting class.

The capitalists often slander that our socialist regime does not respect the personal interests of the citizens. But in reality, only our regime is really able to serve the interests of the people, first and foremost the working people, guarantee all the people's interests and broadening democracy, thus enabling the people to really take part in the management of the State. That is why the people in our country display all their energies to fulfil their duties as the masters of the country, to build socialism and make our country stronger and our people prosperous.

The draft amended Constitution clearly points out: the citizens of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam have:

- the right to work,
- the right to rest,
- the right to study,
- the right to personal liberty,
- freedoms of opinion, of the press, assembly, organisation, to hold demonstrations,
- freedom of religious belief, to adhere or not to adhere to any religion,
- the right to elect and stand for election, etc.

All citizens are equal before the law. Women enjoy equal rights with men in every respect: political, economic, cultural, social and in the family. The State pays particular attention to moral, intellectual and physical education of the youth.

In view of the character of our State, of our economic and social system, the State recognises not only the interests of the citizens but also guarantees the necessary material conditions for them to enjoy these interests effectively.

The State guarantees democratic freedoms to the citizens, but strictly prohibits any misuse of these freedoms to infringe on the interests of the State and the people, as clearly stipulated in article 38 of the draft amended Constitution.

In our regime the interests of the State, the collective and the individual are basically at one with each other. Therefore, while enjoying the rights of the State and the collective all citizens must consciously fulfil their duties towards the State and the collective.

The citizens have the duty to respect the Constitution, the law, labour regulations, public order and the rules of social life. The citizens have the duty to respect public property, to pay taxes according to the law, to do military service, to defend the Fatherland.

Only in a socialist system can the interests of the individual and the State as well as that of the collective be at one. That is why only a socialist Constitution can encourage the citizens to enthusiastically fulfil their duty toward the society and the Fatherland.

III

OPINIONS CONTRIBUTED TO THE DRAFT AMENDED CONSTITUTION

The two campaigns of debate on the draft amended Constitution among the people have been very stirring periods of political activity. Our people have enthusiastically exercised their democratic rights to build up the Constitution. People in various localities, offices, mass organisations, army units, the People's Councils in the

provinces, many compatriots in the South and abroad and the press have abundantly contributed their suggestions. All these suggestions have been carefully studied by the Committee for Amendment of the Constitution. On this occasion, the Committee expresses its appreciation to our compatriots for the contributions made to build draft amendment of the Constitution.

We present now a summarised report of the main views contributed by our compatriots as follows :

1 — Concerning the Preamble of the Constitution, taking into account the people's opinions, the Committee for Amendment of the Constitution has made complementary adjustments to assess more fully the achievements recorded, the situation and the tasks of the revolution at present, the heroic struggle of our compatriots in the South and to point out that the socialist revolution in the North will certainly succeed and our country will certainly be reunified.

2 — Article 1 of the draft amended Constitution is unanimously approved by all people because it records in the very beginning the character of unity of our country. At present our country is temporarily divided, but all our people in the North and in the South alike have the iron-conviction that our country will be reunified. To affirm in article 1 of the draft amended Constitution the character of our country as one bloc is fully correct.

3 — Many views hold that it must be clearly specified that our State is based on the worker-peasant alliance under the leadership of the working-class, because it is a reality which has brought to our people tremendous revolutionary victories, and constitutes a guarantee for the

carrying out of the revolutionary duties of our entire people in the new period. Because in the Preamble this character has been clearly recorded, it is only necessary to stipulate in article 2 that the Viet Nam Democratic Republican State is a people's democratic State. This is quite clear.

4 — Article 3 clearly stipulates that Viet Nam is a united multi-national State and the task of our State is to preserve and develop the solidarity between the nationalities.

5 — Democratic centralism is the fundamental organisational principle of the State organs under our regime. It has been reflected in the organisation of our State. That is why many views hold that this must be clearly recorded in our Constitution. We have added this to article 4.

6 — There are suggestions to clearly state the path of advance of our country and its prospects of economic development. The Committee for Amendment of the Constitution has improved article 9 and clearly stipulated that our country will become one possessing a socialist economy with a modern industry and agriculture and advanced science and technique.

7 — There are many suggestions to the effect that the minimum age of candidates to the elections must be higher than the minimum age of the voters. We have amended article 23 of the draft and fixed at 18 the age for electors and at 21 that of candidates to the elections.

8 — We have accepted the suggestion on establishing a National Defence Council and recorded this in the draft: the President of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam

assumes the function of President of the Defence Council. The Vice-president and other members of the Council are appointed by the National Assembly on the proposal of the President of the Republic.

9 — On the Committees of the National Assembly, there are suggestions to stipulate in the Constitution that these Committees be established by the National Assembly. We consider it possible to mention in the Constitution the Committee for Control of the qualifications of the deputies, the Law-Drafting Committee, the Planning and Budget Committee and at the same time to stipulate that the National Assembly may establish other committees which it deems necessary to assist the National Assembly and its Standing Committee.

10 — There are many suggestions to stipulate that the President of the State have the right to attend and preside over the meetings of the Council of Ministers, when he deems it necessary. The Committee for Amendment of the Constitution has approved of this proposal and recorded it in article 66.

Apart from the suggestions which the Committee for Amendment of the Constitution has approved of and has taken as a basis to improve the draft Constitution, there are also suggestions on other questions of detail concerning the law or the activities of State organs. We will transfer them to the responsible organs for consideration.

Deputies,

14 years ago our people joyfully welcomed the first Constitution of our country. Today our people again enthusiastically discuss the draft for amending the Constitution.

In the process of discussions on the draft for amending the Constitution, our people clearly assess the difficulties which have been overcome and inspired by the great successes achieved. These successes are: the North of our country is completely liberated, our people have effectively held power, the socialist economy is developing at a rapid rate. Our people's material and cultural standards have been improved. Revolutionary ethics among our people have been gradually raised; the solidarity among our people has been strengthened day by day. The practice of democracy has been developed to a high degree; the people are really the masters of the country.

People of all walks of life in the North and in the South alike, warmly welcome the draft Amended Constitution. The entire people hold the firm conviction that the North and the South will certainly be united in the great family of the reunified Vietnamese fatherland.

The Constitution will make our compatriots and kith-and-kin in the South tremendously enthusiastic; they will further turn their minds towards the National Assembly and the Government and will further struggle for the reunification of the Fatherland.

All our people are aware that the present draft for amending the Constitution has been made possible thanks to the Party — which was the organiser and leader of the glorious victories in the past and the reliable guarantor for great achievements in future — and thanks to the solidarity and valiant struggle in national construction waged by all our people along the Party's political line.

Since the day our Committee was entrusted by the National Assembly with the task of drafting the Amended Constitution, we have worked uninterruptedly and held 27

meetings. The draft has been completed; today our Committee presents it to the National Assembly. We have made efforts but there is a limit to our views. We hope that our deputies will debate it and make further contributions, so that it can be adopted by the National Assembly.

After adoption by the National Assembly, this draft Constitution will become the new Constitution of our country.

This Constitution will further stimulate our people's patriotism and their love for socialism; it will encourage our people to unite more closely and emulate with one another more enthusiastically to build a peaceful, reunified, independent, democratic, prosperous and strong Viet Nam.

December 18, 1959

SPEECH OPENING THE CEREMONY COMMEMORATING THE THIRTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE FOUNDATION OF THE PARTY

Dear comrades,

On behalf of the Party Central Committee and the Fatherland Front, I welcome the comrades present at this celebration of the thirtieth birthday of the Party.

In recent times, throughout the North of our country, in town and countryside, in the factories, farms, co-operatives, army, offices, schools, etc., everyone enthusiastically emulates to make achievements in honour of the Party. On behalf of the Party, I convey praise and thanks to all the compatriots.

The Southern compatriots, who took a heroic part in the Revolution and the Resistance War, are now closely united and are perseveringly struggling against the cruel U.S.-Dien regime, for improved living conditions, democratic freedoms, peaceful national reunification and have

constantly turned their mind towards the North. On behalf of the Party, I send most affectionate greetings to them and tell them that our just struggle, though protracted and hard, will certainly win.

Dear comrades,

With all the modesty of a revolutionary, we still have the right to say: *our Party is truly great!*

Our Party is a thoroughbred, born of the toiling class. In the great international proletarian family under the Marxist-Leninist banner, our Party has such great elder brothers as the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Chinese Communist Party, the French Communist Party and other brother Parties embracing 35 million vanguard fighters of the working class.

Our Party is truly great. From the day our country was invaded by French imperialism and turned into its colony, our people were reduced to slavery and our Fatherland was trampled under the iron heel of a cruel enemy. For tens of years before the birth of our Party, the situation was gloomy and seemed hopeless.

Since its inception, our Party has raised aloft the banner of Revolution and Solidarity and led our entire people to march forward, struggling for national and class liberation. As bright as the rising sun, the Party's red flag tore down the black curtain of darkness and blazed the way, leading our people's steady advance to victory in the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolution.

"When eating fruit one's must think of the fruit grower." In today's merry celebration, we must turn our mind towards the heroes and martyrs of our Party and people.

During the fifteen years of struggle preceding the August Revolution and during the nine years of Resistance War, so many outstanding Party members and so many men and women among the revolutionary masses have made extremely heroic sacrifices for the people and the Party. Speaking merely of the comrades in the Party Central Committee, fourteen have been shot, guillotined or beaten to death in prison by the French imperialists. The crimson blood of these martyrs has made the revolutionary red banner brighter. Their heroic sacrifices were to bring to our country the flower of independence and the fruit of freedom. Our people will forever remember these martyrs' deeds, and we must constantly take inspiration from their courageous spirit in order to overcome all difficulties and hardships, and achieve the revolutionary task they have handed down to us.

On this occasion, I wish to remind you that thirty-one of the comrades who are now in the Central Committee were given altogether 222 years of imprisonment and deportation by the French imperialists before the Revolution, not to mention the sentences to death in the absence and the years of imprisonment evaded by those who escaped from prison. Turning what was a bad thing into a good thing, our comrades made up for the years in prison in discussing and studying political theory. Once more this not only proves that the enemy's extremely savage policy of repression could not check the progress of the revolution but on the contrary, it became a touchstone, it has further steeled the revolutionaries. And the result was that the Revolution has triumphed, the imperialists have been defeated.

Our Party is truly great. Here is an example of it: It is recorded in our history that a national hero, Thanh

Giong, drove the invaders out with bamboo trunks. In the first days of the Resistance War, our Party led thousands, tens of thousands of heroes to follow Thanh Giong's example fighting the French colonialists with bamboo spears..

But victory over imperialism and feudalism is relatively easy; it is much harder to defeat poverty and backwardness. At present the North is completely liberated, the Party unites and leads our people to vie with one another in socialist construction, to build a happy and comfortable life with admirable customs and fine habits. As long as a Vietnamese is still exploited and reduced to misery, the Party still suffers, considers it has not yet completed its task. For that reason, while attending to big affairs such as turning our backward economy and culture into advanced ones, the Party constantly takes care of small things such as fish sauce, salt etc., indispensable to the people's everyday life. Our Party is great because it covers the whole country and is at the same time close to the heart of every compatriot.

Our Party is great because it has no other interests besides those of the class, the people and the nation.

Our Party's immediate task is to lead the people to intensify the emulation to increase production, practise economy to build socialism in the North in order to serve as a firm base for the struggle for national reunification.

The brother countries in the socialist camp have all advanced by leaps and bounds, e.g.: the Soviet Union will fulfil, in the main, the Seven-Year plan of building communism from one to three years ahead of schedule. In only two years China has basically fulfilled the second Five-Year plan. Korea has fulfilled, in the main, the Five-Year plan in two and a half years, etc.

Our people has traditional industriousness and enjoys whole-hearted assistance from the brother countries. We must resolve to study and catch up with them.

The good results of the emulation drive to make achievements in celebration of the Party's birthday show that our people are rich in creativeness and great in strength. Once one has a thorough understanding in doing something, however great it may be one can overcome all difficulties and bring it to a success.

The Party Central Committee appeals to all members of the Party and the Labour Youth Union, of every position and occupation, to improve revolutionary virtues, wipe out individualism, make efforts in political, cultural, scientific and technical studies, satisfactorily to carry out economic and financial work, to set an example in everything. They must unite with and learn from the non-Party and non-Union friends, to progress together with them.

At the time of the General Insurrection, our Party had less than 5,000 members, yet it led the people throughout the country to bring the August Revolution to success. Now, its ranks have increased nearly 100 times, approximately half a million members. We have, in addition, over 600,000 members of the Labour Youth Union. Our people's power is steady, the People's Army powerful, and the National Front broad. Our workers, peasants and intellectuals have been tested and tempered and have made constant progress. In a word: our big force is growing bigger. Under the clear-sighted leadership of the Party, we will certainly be successful in socialist construction and in the struggle for national reunification, contributing a worthy part to the defence of peace in Asia and in the world.

Our Party is as great as the immense sea, the high mountain. It has won so much love in thirty years of

struggle and success; our Party is virtue, civilisation, unity, independence, a peaceful and comfortable life.

Its acts of kindness and services are really great. Its thirty-year history is a whole golden book of history.

Long live the great Viet Nam Workers' Party!

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

Long live the socialist community headed by the great Soviet Union!

Long live Communism!

Long live world peace!

January 5, 1960

THIRTY YEARS OF ACTIVITY OF THE VIET NAM WORKERS' PARTY

Our Party is celebrating its thirtieth anniversary. We would like to cast a retrospective glance at the path traversed and the battles fought and won, and to generalise the valuable experiences accumulated in order correctly to determine the revolutionary tasks of the present stage and of the immediate future.

Just as the changes that have taken place in our country are inseparable from international developments, so the strengthening of our Party is inseparable from the growth of the fraternal Parties. The Great October Socialist Revolution, which made a big breach in the walls of capitalism, opened to the world proletariat and the oppressed peoples the way to liberation. In 1919, under Lenin's leadership, genuine revolutionaries founded the Third International. Communist Parties were formed in many countries. Under the impact of the October Revolution and with the direct help of the Communist Parties of China and France, Marxism-Leninism penetrated the iron curtain lowered by French colonialism and reached Viet Nam.

From 1924 on, the revolutionary movement in our country began to grow; the working class, which fought first for economic demands, soon went over to political struggle. The union of Marxist-Leninist theory with the working class and patriotic movement led to the formation, early in 1930, of the Communist Party of Indo-China (since March 1951 the Viet Nam Workers' Party).

This event, which marked a turning point in the Vietnamese Revolution, showed that the working class had matured and was capable of heading the revolutionary struggle.

Our Party passed through several important stages: underground activity, revolutionary struggle ending in the August Revolution, the years of the victorious patriotic war. Now the northern part of the country has entered the stage of socialist revolution, that of the struggle for the national reunification and the completion of the democratic revolution throughout the land.

* * *

During its almost fifteen years of underground activities the Party was savagely persecuted by the French colonialists, whom it fought relentlessly. The jails, including the penal prisons on the island of Poulo Condor, in Lao Bao and in Son La, were filled with communists. Many Party cadres and members died the death of the brave in the struggle. But we firmly believed in the ultimate victory of the Party and the Revolution, and our ranks continued to grow and gain in strength.

Ever since its inception the Party has held aloft the banner of the national democratic revolution and has led

the national-liberation movement. At that time the feudal class capitulated to the imperialists, while the bourgeoisie, being weak and fearing economic destruction, sought to come to terms with imperialism. Despite the ferment in their midst the petty-bourgeois sections had come to a dead end. The working class alone, as the most revolutionary class, kept up the struggle against the colonialists. Equipped with advanced revolutionary theory and the experience of the international proletarian movement, it proved itself the most able leader, one worthy of the confidence of the people.

Educated in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism, the Communist Party pursued a correct revolutionary policy. As early as 1930 it enunciated the tasks of the bourgeois-democratic revolution: *the struggle against the imperialists and feudal lords*, the winning of national independence and the transfer of the land to the peasants. This programme was fully in keeping with the aspirations of the peasants, who comprised the majority of the people. In this way our Party succeeded in uniting large revolutionary forces around the working class, while the parties of the other classes either met with fiasco or found themselves isolated. The leading role of our Party of the working class was confirmed, and its prestige grew.

Shortly after its formation the Party organised and led the *mass movement for Soviets in the Nghe An and Ha Tinh provinces*. The workers and peasants in these provinces threw off the imperialist and feudal yoke, established worker-peasant-soldier rule, and proclaimed democratic liberties for the working people.

Although the movement was savagely crushed, it will testify for all time to the heroism and the will to fight of

the working masses. It promoted the growth of the forces which subsequently accomplished the August Revolution.

When, in 1936, the menace of fascism and the threat of world war became obvious, our Party aligned itself with the international anti-fascist democratic front and the Popular Front in France. It initiated the *struggle for the formation in Indo-China of a democratic front against fascism and colonial reaction*, and led the mass actions to win democratic liberties and better conditions. This movement embraced millions of people, awakening them to the political struggle. The prestige of the Communist Party mounted among the working people.

Shortly after the beginning of the Second World War, Viet Nam was occupied by the Japanese aggressors, who sought to dominate the country; for which purpose they aligned themselves with the French colonialists. The Party changed its tactics in time. *Viet Minh* (League for the Independence of Viet Nam) and *mass organisations of national salvation* were established in 1941. With a view to rallying all the patriotic forces in a single anti-fascist and anti-colonial bloc, the Party temporarily withdrew the slogan for agrarian revolution, confining itself to demands for lower rents and lower interest rates, for confiscation of the land belonging to the imperialists and traitors and handing it over to the peasants. In this way we sought to unite all forces in the struggle against the imperialists and their stooges, to draw the patriotic landlords into it and to extend the National Front for the Salvation of the country.

The Party's policy furthered the growth of the revolutionary movement. Resistance bases were set up, and the first units of the Vietnamese Army of Liberation formed

The Communist Party started *guerilla warfare against the Japanese invaders*, and played an active part in the international anti-fascist struggle.

This made it possible, immediately after the Soviet Army had smashed fascism, to carry out the *national uprising for the conquest of power*. This was in fact the victorious August Revolution of 1945, which gave birth to the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam.

In 1945 our Party, which had been formed from a few Marxist study groups, had only about 5,000 members, many of whom were in prison. But it had been steeled in hard battles and although numerically small, it was able to unite the people and lead the uprising to victory — the first great victory won by Marxism-Leninism in a colony.

* * *

Not long after the August Revolution the French Government violated the agreements it has signed with our Republic and unleashed an aggressive war.

At that time the country was in dire straits. We had not got over the famine caused by the policy pursued by French imperialism and Japanese fascism. The enemy had considerable land, sea and air forces equipped with modern weapons. We had only a few newly-formed, poorly-equipped infantry regiments with little combat experience. But the Party decided to organize resistance. Heading the patriotic struggle to preserve the democratic republic, it simultaneously carried out a number of important social and economic measures. When the resistance became widespread, we took the course of *carrying out an agrarian reform*, and mobilised the people under the slogan of "Land to the tillers". This was a correct policy. The Resistance forces,

joined by increasing numbers of peasants, grew rapidly and began to win one victory after another.

Our country had been under the French colonialist yoke for some eighty years. In the nine years of the patriotic war a real army had grown out of the first few detachments. The people rallied in an indissoluble union. The first small regular units, guerilla detachments and the people's militia expanded into an army of heroes, confident of victory and ready for any ordeals.

The unity and self-sacrifice of the army and the people won the historic victory of Dien Bien Phu in May 1954. The French colonialist troops never recovered from this defeat, and were compelled to agree to a cease-fire. Agreements signed in Geneva brought about peace on the basis of the recognition of the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the peoples of Indo-China.

For the first time in history a small colony had emerged the victor in single combat with a big colonial power. This was a victory not only of our people, but, simultaneously, a victory of the world forces of peace, democracy and socialism.

Once again Marxism-Leninism illuminated the path for the working class and the people, and led them to triumph in the struggle to save their country and safeguard the revolutionary gains.

* * *

After the restoration of peace, the country found itself temporarily divided into two parts. Socialism is being built in the liberated, northern part of Viet Nam, while the imperialists and their underlings, now converting the South into an American colony and military base with the

object of embroiling us in another civil war, are lording it in the South. The American imperialists and their stooges, the sworn enemies of the Vietnamese people, are brazenly violating the Geneva Agreements, putting roadblocks in the way of convening a consultative conference to arrange for free elections and the peaceful reunification of the country.

In this situation *two tasks* confront the Vietnamese revolution: first, the construction of socialism in North Viet Nam, and second, the completion of the national-democratic revolution in the South. The fulfilment of these tasks will strengthen peace and pave the way to reunification on the basis of independence and democracy.

This is how the Fifteenth Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Workers' Party defined the tasks facing the people: "Consolidation of the national unity of the people, vigorous action for the union of the country on the basis of independence and democracy, completion of the national-democratic revolution in South Viet Nam, strengthening of all the forces in the North and leading it towards socialism, establishing a peaceful, unified, independent, democratic and prosperous state, safeguarding peace in Indo-China, in South-east Asia and throughout the world."

North Viet Nam advance steadily along the socialist path. The feature of the transitional period in our economically backward agrarian country is the *direct advance towards socialism, by-passing the capitalist stage of development*.

The French imperialists left us an economy in a bad plight. Small peasant farming prevailed in the countryside. For all practical purposes there was no industry. Fifteen years of war had ruined the economy. The situation was

worsened by the economic sabotage carried out by the colonialists before withdrawing from North Viet Nam.

In these conditions the cardinal task was to build the material and technical base of socialism, gradually to expand the national economy, develop a modern industry, agriculture and educational system. The reconstruction of the old and the creation of a new economy calls for constructive labour over a long period.

Between 1955 and 1957 the No. 1 problem was *rehabilitation*. It was necessary to restore agriculture and industry, to heal the wounds of war, stabilise the economy and improve living standards.

Thanks to the efforts of the people and the fraternal aid accorded us by the socialist camp, the rehabilitation was successfully completed by the end of 1957. The level of industrial and agricultural output was approximately that of 1939. Impressive results were achieved in raising food crops: North Viet Nam, which in 1939 produced about 2,500,000 tons of paddy, harvested 4,000,000 tons in 1956.

This period witnessed radical changes in the production relations. The agrarian reform abolished the system of feudal land ownership and released the productive forces in the countryside. The cherished dream of 12,000,000 peasants, the dream that the land would be divided among them, had now come true. The economic monopoly of the imperialists was abolished. The State took control of the economic levers and began to build a socialist economy. Thanks to the generous aid rendered by the socialist states, primarily the Soviet Union and China, twenty-nine old industrial enterprises were reconstructed and fifty-five new ones built.

In many districts the peasants united into *mutual-aid teams*, embryonic forms of socialism. Experimental *agricultural co-operatives* were formed, and the handicraftsmen have joined in production groups.

Private industry and trade switched over to State capitalism working on government orders and using the raw materials provided by the State, supplying traders with the goods from the State-owned organisations, etc.

After the rehabilitation the Party mobilised the people for fulfilment of the Three-Year Plan (1958-60). This plan aims at reconstructing agriculture, handicraft production, industry and trade along socialist lines. It was agreed that the emphasis should be laid on socialist reconstruction and expansion of agriculture as the fundamental condition for the industrialisation of the country. Industry and foreign trade can expand only on the basis of a prospering socialist agriculture. When completed, the reconstruction of agriculture, as envisaged in the plan, will create favourable conditions for the rapid building of socialism. Having adopted this policy, the Party is now working to get individual peasants gradually to join the mutual-aid teams, which contain the rudiments of socialist relations, agricultural co-operatives of the lower semi-socialist type and, eventually, co-operatives of the higher socialist type.

Being densely populated, the North Vietnamese countryside has only a limited amount of land; implements are antiquated, and labour productivity, consequently, is extremely low. But the simple forms of peasant co-operation, improved methods of cultivation and better management have already produced a higher productivity than the individual farmer can show. Our peasants are aware of this. They have their own revolutionary traditions, boundless confidence in the Party, and respond readily to it

calls. The peasants are enthusiastically joining the mutual-aid teams and the agricultural co-operatives; they are taking the socialist way. The co-operatives now unite more than 40 per cent of the peasant households.

The consolidation of socialist production relations will, undoubtedly, ensure the advance of agriculture and this, in turn, will further the industrial development without which the countryside cannot get the electric power, the water for irrigation, and the agricultural machinery it needs.

Another task of paramount importance is *the peaceful remoulding of the national bourgeoisie along socialist lines*. In the sphere of economic relations we are pursuing a *policy of compensation*, not of confiscating means of production owned by the national bourgeoisie. In the political sphere the national bourgeoisie have definite rights and their place in the Patriotic Front.*

In the past the colonial status always precluded the national bourgeoisie from becoming an important class force. The imperialists and the feudal lords retarded their development and relegated them to the background. And precisely for this reason a considerable section of them joined the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal struggle and took part in the patriotic war. By virtue of their class nature the national bourgeoisie are reluctant to stop exploiting others and nurture the hope that further development will take place along capitalist lines. But our advance to socialism rules out this possibility. The national bourgeoisie realise that they can retain their place in the national family only by agreeing to socialist reforms. Most of

* Established in 1955 on the basis of the National United Front of Viet Nam. — Ed.

them appreciate that their future is bound up with participation in the socialist reconstruction of society.

The results in the sphere of education are most gratifying. Over 85 per cent of the population was illiterate under French rule, whereas now illiteracy has in the main been wiped out in North Viet Nam.

Below is a table showing the number of pupils and students in educational establishment;

	1939 Whole of Indo-China	1959-1960 North Viet Nam alone
Universities.....	582 students	7,518 students
Technical schools.....	438 pupils	18,100 pupils
General education schools	540,000 pupils	1,522,000 pupils

The following data relate to the health service:

	1939 North and Central Viet Nam	1959 North Viet Nam alone
Hospitals.....	54	138
Village health centres..	138	1,500
Doctors	86	292
Nurses.....	968	6,020
Sanitary and public health personnel in the countryside.....		169,000

Our achievements to date are clear proof that it is the aim of socialism to abolish worry and poverty from the lives of the working people, to provide them with employment, to make them happy and prosperous. It is the duty of the Party and the people to exert every effort to produce more, faster, better and with more economy.

On the basis of the progress made, we shall now have to draw up long-term plans.

* * *

How is our success to be explained?

The explanation is to be sought in the fact that our Party, which has always *taken a firm class proletarian stand and placed the interests of the people above everything else*, has applied Marxist-Leninist theory correctly to Vietnamese conditions and charted a correct political course. The Party has ceaselessly combated the reformist tendencies of the bourgeoisie and the political adventurism of the petty-bourgeois sections in the national movement, the left phraseology used by the Trotskyites in the working-class movement, and the right and "left" deviations in the Party, both in hammering out and in implementing the strategic and tactical lines at the different stages. Marxism-Leninism helped us to withstand all the revolutionary movement, but to keep a firm hold on the storms and stresses. This enabled our Party not only to lead the leadership and repulse the onslaughts of the bourgeoisie, who are contending with us for the leading role.

Guided by Marxist-Leninist theory, we realised that in a backward agrarian country such as Viet Nam, the overriding national issue was the peasant question, that the national revolution was, basically, a peasant revolution, carried out under the leadership of the working class, and that people's power was worker-peasant power. Basing itself on this teaching, our Party *correctly understood and solved the peasant question and worked indefatigably to strengthen the worker-peasant alliance* at each stage.

It combated the right and "left" deviations which underestimated the role of the peasants in the revolution, denying that they were the chief ally of the proletariat, and that as the strongest numerical force they, together with the proletariat, would build socialism. Both the right and the "left" failed to perceive that the worker-peasant alliance was the backbone of the National Front and people's power. The Party's revolutionary experience illustrates that its correct decisions, reflecting the aspirations of the peasants and strengthening the alliance of the working class and peasantry, have always accelerated development of the revolution.

The Party succeeded in rallying all the patriotic and progressive forces into the *United Front of Viet Nam* and in establishing unity of the people in the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal struggle. And with the workers and peasants as the main force in the national bloc, their alliance has formed the basis of the National Front. In matters concerning the formation, consolidation and development of the National Front, the Party always combated sectarianism, isolationism and unprincipled compromises. Thirty years of experience in uniting the national forces show that only by combating these tendencies can we ensure for the Marxist-Leninist Party the leading role in the National Front and reinforce its worker-peasant base.

Our Party grew and developed in the favourable international conditions created by the victory of the Great October Revolution. The achievements of the Party and the people are inseparable from the fraternal support accorded us by the Soviet Union, People's China and the other socialist countries, the international Communist and workers' movement and the national-liberation movement

and also the peace movement. We were able to surmount all difficulties and lead the people to glorious victories because the Party *did not divorce the revolutionary movement in its own country from the revolutionary movement of the world proletariat and the national-liberation movement of the oppressed people.*

We are sincerely grateful to the Communist Parties of the Soviet Union and China, who have helped us to become a party of the new type. We shall always remember the generous support given to our Party and the people in their revolutionary struggle by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, China and France.

Successfully building socialism in North Viet Nam and fighting for the reunification of the country, the Viet Nam Workers' Party will continue its efforts to strengthen the international solidarity of the working class. It will do all in its power to consolidate the might of the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union, to educate the people in the spirit of socialist internationalism, which is inseparable from genuine patriotism, to extend contacts between the revolutionary movement in its own country and the struggle waged by the working masses and the oppressed people in other lands for world peace, democracy, independence and socialism.

* * *

Much will have to be done to fulfil this difficult but honourable task. The Party must raise the level of its ideological and organisational work, ensure the growth of the Party organisations, and train new members from all

sections of the working people, first and foremost the working class, with the object of strengthening its proletarian core.

Party functionaries should make a deeper study of Marxist-Leninist theory, deepen their class proletarian consciousness, study the laws of development of the Vietnamese revolution, comply with revolutionary ethics, vigorously combat individualism, strengthen proletarian collectivism, be industrious, thrifty, work in close contact with the masses, and place the interests of the revolution and the people above everything.

Socialist construction in North Viet Nam demands from our members that they work tirelessly to raise their cultural, scientific and technological level.

The Party is confronted with the task of giving better guidance in all spheres of activity. The Labour Youth Union should be the Party's right hand in organising and educating the rising generation in the spirit of fidelity to the cause of building socialism and communism. The trade-unions should be a school of administration, economic management and cultural guidance for the working class. Under the leadership of the Party the agricultural co-operatives should become shock brigades in the battle waged by the millions of peasants to produce more and more, a prosperous, socialist countryside. It is the duty of our People's Army to work assiduously to raise its political level, assimilate techniques and strengthen its military preparedness, and be ever ready to uphold the independence of the country, to defend the peaceful, constructive labour of the people.

Under the banner of Marxism-Leninism our invincible Party, confident of the victory of the army of Communists, will close its ranks. It is leading the working people boldly towards new victories in socialist construction and for the reunification of the country.

Article written for the World Marxist Review No. 2, 1960, on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the founding of the Viet Nam Workers' Party.

(translated from vietnamese)

MESSAGE TO WOMEN THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY ON THE OCCASION OF THE 50th ANNIVERSARY OF INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY.

Since its establishment, the International Women's Federation has become a powerful force struggling for peace, national liberation and socialism.

Animated by tradition with an heroic combativeness and industriousness, during the Resistance war our Vietnamese women from north to south, enthusiastically took part in the struggle against the enemy to save our Fatherland.

Since the restoration of peace, our country has been temporarily divided into two zones. In the South our women have steadfastly struggled against the cruel domination of the U.S.-Dien clique. In the North, entirely liberated, they have enthusiastically vied with one another in increasing production, in practising saving and have made progress in routine work and study.

Our Party and Government have paid constant attention to raising women's position. "Equality between man and woman" as stipulated in the Constitution, the law on marriage, etc., serve this goal.

However, our women must make further efforts to catch up with the women of the brother countries and to contribute a greater part to socialist construction. Take an example:

In their families the Soviet women are not busy with their children and with cooking. In society they are completely equal to men and share with them all political, economic and cultural work. In the educational and medical fields, women cadres are more numerous than men. In 1958, women accounted for 52 per cent of the number of newly graduated technicians. More than one third of members of the Soviets of the republics of the U.S.S.R. are women. Comrade Nasridinova, an engineer, is at the same time Chairman of the Uzbekistan S.S.R.

Under the leadership of our Party, our women must:
Devote themselves to their political, cultural and technical studies;

Raise their patriotism and socialist awareness;

Enthusiastically emulate with one another in their work of industriously and thriftily building their Fatherland and their home;

Closely unite with one another, take part in socialist construction in the North, struggle for national reunification and defend world peace.

As worthy daughters of the Trung and Trieu heroines, you will certainly discharge your glorious tasks successfully.

March 8, 1960

THE PATH WHICH LED ME TO LENINISM

After World War I, I made my living in Paris, now as a retoucher at a photographer's, now as painter of "Chinese antiquities" (made in France!). I would distribute leaflets denouncing the crimes committed by the French colonialists in Viet Nam.

At that time, I supported the October Revolution only instinctively, not yet grasping all its historic importance. I loved and admired Lenin because he was a great patriot who liberated his compatriots; until then, I had read none of his books.

The reason for my joining the French Socialist Party was that these "ladies and gentlemen" — as I called my comrades at that moment — has shown their sympathy towards me, towards the struggle of the oppressed peoples. But I understood neither what was a party, a trade-union, nor what was socialism nor communism.

Heated discussions were then taking place in the branches of the Socialist Party, about the question whether the

Socialist Party should remain in the Second International, should a Second and a half International be founded or should the Socialist Party join Lenin's Third International? I attended the meetings regularly, twice or thrice a week and attentively listened to the discussion. First, I could not understand thoroughly. Why were the discussions so heated? Either with the Second, Second and a half or Third International, the revolution could be waged. What was the use of arguing then? As for the First International, what had become of it?

What I wanted most to know — and this precisely was not debated in the meetings — was: which International sides with the peoples of colonial countries?

I raised this question — the most important in my opinion — in a meeting. Some comrades answered: It is the Third, not the Second International. And a comrade gave me Lenin's "Thesis on the national and colonial questions" published by *l'Humanité* to read.

There were political terms difficult to understand in this thesis. But by dint of reading it again and again, finally I could grasp the main part of it. What emotion, enthusiasm, clear-sightedness and confidence it instilled into me! I was overjoyed to tears. Though sitting alone in my room, I shouted out aloud as if addressing large crowds: "Dear martyrs compatriots! This is what we need, this is the path to our liberation!"

After then, I had entire confidence in Lenin, in the Third International.

Formerly, during the meetings of the Party branch, I only listened to the discussion; I had a vague belief that all were logical, and could not differentiate as to who were right and who were wrong. But from then on, I also plunged

into the debates and discussed with fervour. Though I was still lacking French words to express all my thoughts, I smashed the allegations attacking Lenin and the Third International with no less vigour. My only argument was: "If you do not condemn colonialism, if you do not side with the colonial people, what kind of revolution are you waging?"

Not only did I take part in the meetings of my own Party branch, but I also went to other Party branches to lay down "my position". Now I must tell again that Comrades Marcel Cachin, Vaillant Couturier, Monmousseau and many others helped me to broaden my knowledge. Finally, at the Tours Congress, I voted with them for our joining the Third International.

At first, patriotism, not yet communism, led me to have confidence in Lenin, in the Third International. Step by step, along the struggle, by studying Marxism-Leninism parallel with participation in practical activities, I gradually came upon the fact that only socialism and communism can liberate the oppressed nations and the working people throughout the world from slavery.

There is a legend, in our country as well as in China, on the miraculous "Book of the Wise". When facing great difficulties, one opens it and finds a way out. Leninism is not only a miraculous "book of the wise", a compass for us Vietnamese revolutionaries and people: it is also the radiant sun illuminating our path to final victory, to socialism and communism.

Article written in April 1960 for the Soviet review *Problems of the East* on the occasion of the 90th anniversary of V.I. Lenin's birthday.

SPEECH AT THE HANOI PEOPLE'S CONGRESS GREETING THE HANOI CANDIDATES TO THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

Dear compatriots,

This morning a comrade invited me to "present myself to my electors".

I told him: "For so many years, my heart has always remained close to you, dear compatriots, and I am confident that your hearts have also been close to mine. We are no strangers to one another, so what is the use of presenting ourselves to one another?" It is more proper to say: I come here to thank you all for having unanimously asked me and my colleagues to stand for the coming elections to the National Assembly (Second legislature) in our beloved capital.

First of all, I will briefly deal with the electoral law. As in the brother socialist countries, our electoral law is really democratic. Every citizen, regardless of sex, of 18

years upwards, has the right to vote and freely choose shi representatives to the National Assembly.

It is not the same in capitalist countries. Here are some examples :

In the United States, only one fifth of U.S. black-skinned citizens who have reached age, can go to the poll. There are neither representatives from the toiling people nor from the working class in the U.S. Congress but only representatives of the bourgeoisie.

In France, during the recent elections (October 1958) the Independent Party got less than 25 per cent of votes, but was given 120 seats in the National Assembly.

The Communist Party won more than 20 per cent of votes but got only 10 seats in the National Assembly.

The Republican Party got slightly more than 26 per cent of the votes but obtained 185 seats in the National Assembly.

The reactionary side got one representative for each 25.000 voters.

The left side got one representative for 373,000 voters.

The so-called "general elections" in South Viet Nam are worse. The Ngo Dinh Diem clique use deception and terrorism to coerce our Southern compatriots to go to the poll. Moreover, they cynically resort to fraud; in some places, the number of votes is much greater than that of the voters.

Our electoral law is truly democratic, therefore our National Assembly genuinely represents the people's interests.

The first legislature of the National Assembly was a National Assembly for struggle. It united the people and

helped the Government to bring the Resistance to glorious victory. It passed many important decrees, such as the Labour and Trade-Union laws, the Laws on Land Reform, Marriage and the Family; the new Constitution, the Electoral law... etc. It has fulfilled its task in a very good manner.

The Second Legislature of the National Assembly must be a National Assembly for building socialism in the North as a firm basis for the struggle for national reunification. Therefore, the National Assembly must consist of worthy deputies who unswervingly serve the Fatherland, the people and socialism.

To choose such deputies is the right and duty of the voters.

The *ballot-paper* has a very high value: it is a token of our people being the true masters of their country. Our people waged a long and heroic struggle, made untold sacrifices in the revolution and the Resistance before they could win and maintain their right to use this ballot-paper. Therefore, it is in the common interests of the Fatherland and the particular interests of everyone, for every voter to fulfil his or her duty, that is to urge one another enthusiastically to go to the poll on Election Day.

As for the electors, I am very glad to point out that in these elections, we are happy to greet many new electors. They were only 4 or 5-year-old children at the time of the previous general elections. Now they have become sound citizens, clear-sighted voters, fighters for the cause of socialist construction. Together with their grand parents, fathers and mothers, brothers and sisters, the whole family, they go to the poll in a joyful mood. This fact stimulates us to make Election Day a jubilee, as merry and rejoicing,

and more merry and rejoicing than the "Tet" * festival. It must be a merrier festival than the "Tet" because every year we have a "Tet" whereas years will elapse before the next Election Day takes place.

After the elections, our compatriots of the capital should continue to set bright examples to the entire people in enthusiastically emulating to increase production and practise economy, to fulfil and overfulfil the 1960 plan and make full preparations to step into the coming Five-Year Plan.

Under the Party's leadership, our people are determined to succeed in this task. Then, we shall certainly be victorious in building socialism in the North and in our struggle for national reunification through peaceful means.

To conclude, on behalf of the candidates members of the Viet Nam Workers' Party and on behalf of all other candidates of Hanoi, may I pledge:

1 — The capital city of Hanoi will elect 30 deputies to the National Assembly (Second Legislature); nearly 40 candidates are standing for the elections; it is a good thing.

We find it a great honour to be trusted by our compatriots. All of us, whether elected or not, will show ourselves cheerful, enthusiastic and are grateful to you all.

2 — Those elected to the new Assembly will make constant efforts and be worthy of being your faithful servants, deputies imbued with industriousness, economy, integrity, honesty, selflessness and whole-hearted devotion to serve the Fatherland, the people and socialism.

April 24, 1960

* Lunar New Year Day.

SPEECH OPENING THE THIRD NATIONAL CONGRESS OF THE VIET NAM WORKERS' PARTY

Dear Comrades,

Today, the Third National Congress of our Party opens at a time when our entire people are joyfully celebrating the 15th anniversary of the founding of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. This Congress of our Party is attended by over 500 delegates representing more than 500,000 Party members throughout the country and personifying the heroic militant tradition of our Party over these thirty years. On behalf of the Central Committee, I extend cordial greetings to you, to all the cherished members of our Party, to the representatives of the Viet Nam Socialist Party, and the Viet Nam Democratic Party, and the representatives of the members organisations of the Fatherland Front.

Our Congress is very happy to extend its warm welcome to the Comrades delegates of

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union,
The Communist Party of China,
The Albanian Party of Labour,
The Bulgarian Communist Party,
The Polish United Workers' Party,
The Socialist Unity Party of Germany,
The Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party,
The Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party,
The Rumanian Workers' Party,
The Korean Workers' Party,
The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia,
The French Communist Party,
The Communist Party of India,
The Communist Party of Indonesia,
The Communist Party of Japan,
The Communist Party of Canada,
and other fraternal Communist Parties.

Prompted by lofty sentiments of international brotherhood, our comrades have come to take part in our Congress and to bring to us the friendship of the fraternal Parties. So,

Though frontiers and mountains stand between us,

Proletarians of the whole world come together as one family.

On behalf of the Congress, I heartily salute all the workers, peasants, intellectuals, armymen, cadres, youth and children who have been enthusiastically engaged in emulation in recording new achievements in honour of the Party Congress and the Fifteenth National Day.

Dear Comrades,

Over the past thirty years, large numbers of our comrades and compatriots have heroically made the supreme sacrifice for the cause of the Revolution. During the War of Resistance, how many fighters gave their lives for the Fatherland! Over the last six years, how many brave fighters in the South have in their turn given their lives for the Nation! Our Party and our people shall forever treasure the memory of their most splendid sons and daughters who have fallen in the fight for the cause of national liberation and the ideal of Communism. (*One minute's silence*).

More than nine years have elapsed since our Party's Second National Congress.

Over the past nine years, our Party, implementing the line of the Second Congress, led our people's bitter, difficult and heroic War of Resistance. The brilliant victory of Dien Bien Phu put an end to the aggressive war unleashed by the French colonialists assisted by the American imperialists. The Geneva Agreements were signed; peace was restored in Indo-China on the basis of international recognition of the sovereignty, independence, unity and territorial integrity of our country. North Viet Nam was completely liberated. Six years have elapsed; but our country has not yet been reunified as stipulated by the Geneva Agreements. Our Government and people have always correctly implemented the Agreements signed. But the U.S.-Diem clique are deliberately partitioning our country and shamelessly sabotaging the Geneva Agreements, so that the South of our country is still going through hell under their ruthless rule.

That is why our people have been struggling constantly to achieve the peaceful reunification of the country, for the freedom of our compatriots in the South who are being dragged through blood and fire. The widespread, deep-going and powerful struggle of our compatriots in the South is continuing. The South has proved worthy of its glorious title: "Brass Wall of the Fatherland."

Since the re-establishment of peace, the North, completely liberated, has shifted over to the stage of socialist revolution. This is a change of great significance in the Vietnamese revolution. Under the leadership of the Party, the Land Reform has been victoriously carried through, liberating the toiling peasants, translating the slogan "Land to the tillers" into reality.

We have successfully restored our economy and are now victoriously fulfilling the Three-Year Plan for the development of economy and culture. In the socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts and private capitalist industry and commerce, we have won a victory of a decisive character. We have recorded many achievements on the agricultural and industrial production fronts, and in cultural and educational work, and have achieved first improvements in the people's living standards. The North is becoming more and more consolidated and transformed into a firm base for the struggle for national reunification. The big victories won over the past nine years have testified to the correctness of our Party's line and the firmness of our Party's leadership. They are victories of Marxism-Leninism in a country which has suffered imperialist oppression and exploitation. Our Party is worthy of the confidence of our people from North to South.

Our Party can be proud to be the heir to our people's glorious traditions, and the guide of our people on the road to a bright future.

Dear Comrades,

All these victories are not the work of our Party alone. They are the common work of our entire people all over the country. The revolution is work of the masses, not that of any heroic individuals. The success of our Party lies in the fact that it has organized and developed the boundless revolutionary power of the people, and led the people in battle under the invincible banner of Marxism-Leninism.

The victories of the Vietnamese revolution are due also to the wholehearted assistance of the fraternal socialist countries, especially the Soviet Union and China. We avail ourselves of this opportunity to express our warm feelings of gratitude towards the fraternal socialist countries headed by the great Soviet Union. We are also sincerely grateful to other fraternal Parties, first of all, to the French Communist Party, for their active support to our people's just struggle. We sincerely thank all colonial nations and peace-loving people throughout the world, who have always given us their sympathy and support.

The history of the thirty years long struggle of our Party has taught us this:

The best guarantee of victory for the revolution is to steep ourselves in Marxism-Leninism, to remain loyal to the interests of the working class and the people, to preserve solidarity and unity within the Party, between all Communist Parties, and all countries of the big socialist family.

Our Party has in the past always fulfilled these tasks. In the future, too, our Party will undoubtedly continue to do so.

Dear Comrades,

Our Party has won many big victories, but it is not faultless. We have not, however, concealed our mistakes. On the contrary we have frankly practised self-criticism and actively corrected our mistakes. Victories have not sent us dizzy with success, and made us self-complacent. Today, armed with our own experiences and those of the fraternal Parties, we resolutely strive for further and ever greater progress.

The present task of the Vietnamese revolution is to lead the North forward to socialism and to struggle for national reunification by peaceful means, to complete the national people's democratic revolution throughout the country.

The decisions of this Congress will guide our whole Party and our whole people in the successful construction of socialism in the North, endowing the North with modern industry and agriculture, advanced culture and science, making our people's life more and more abundant and happy.

The Second Party Congress was the Congress of Resistance. This present Party Congress is the Congress of Socialist Construction in the North and of struggle for Peaceful National Reunification.

Our people, who showed their heroism in the War of Resistance, are now showing heroism in their labour for national construction. We will undoubtedly succeed in building glorious Socialism in the North.

A prosperous and strong North is the firm base of the struggle for national reunification.

This Congress will shed new light on our people's path of revolutionary struggle leading to peaceful national reunification.

Our nation is one, our country is one. Our people will undoubtedly overcome all difficulties, "achieve national reunification and bring the North and the South together again."

Dear Comrades,

The Vietnamese revolution is a part of the world forces of peace, democracy and socialism. The Democratic Republic of Viet Nam is a member of the big socialist family headed by the great Soviet Union.

It is our duty to defend the advance post of socialism in Southeast Asia, to endeavour to contribute to the strengthening of the forces of the socialist camp and to safeguard peace in Southeast Asia and the world.

Today socialism has become a powerful world system, as firm as a brass wall. Our people are greatly encouraged by the momentous achievements of the Soviet Union in the building of Communism and the big victories of China and the other fraternal socialist countries in the building of Socialism. Our people strongly support the foreign policy of peace and the disarmament programme advanced by the Soviet Union and other countries in the socialist camp. Our people also rejoice profoundly at the victories won by the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America in their great struggle against the imperialists, especially the American imperialists. It is crystal clear that the forces of peace, democracy, national independence and socialism throughout the world have become definitely

stronger than the imperialist camp. The peoples of the world, uniting closely with one another and struggling actively, will undoubtedly be able to prevent a world war, and establish a lasting peace. The resolute struggle of oppressed peoples will undoubtedly defeat the imperialists and colonialists. Socialism will ultimately triumph throughout the world.

In this great struggle, solidarity between the forces of the socialist countries and the complete unity of the Communist and Workers' Parties of all countries is of the utmost importance. We are confident that "the Communist and Workers' Parties will continue to strengthen the cohesion of the countries of the world socialist system and will preserve like the apple of the eye, unity in the struggle for peace and the security of all peoples for the triumph of the great cause of Marxism-Leninism" (Bucharest Communiqué).

In our time, the imperialists can no longer rule the roost in the world as before. But, so long as imperialism exists, there remains the danger of war. The Declaration of the meeting of Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties of the socialist countries held in Moscow in 1957 reminds us that the Communist and Workers' Parties "regard the struggle for peace as their foremost task... All the nations must display the utmost vigilance in regard to the war danger created by imperialism". We must also bear in mind that "the greater and stronger the unity of the various patriotic and democratic forces, the greater the guarantee of victory in the common struggle".

The imperialists have in the past caused our people much suffering; the U.S.-Diem clique are now partitioning our country, and trampling on the South of our

country. So long as we have not driven the American imperialists out of the South, liberated it from the barbarous rule of the U.S.-Diem clique, our people can know no peace of mind. That is why the struggle for the defence of peace and for national reunification cannot be separated from the struggle against American imperialism.

In the common struggle to safeguard peace and national independence in Indo-China, the Vietnamese people resolutely support the Laotian people's present heroic struggle against American imperialism, which has the aim of leading Laos along the road to national concord, independence, unity, peace and neutrality. We sincerely hope that friendly relations between our country and the neighbour countries, especially Cambodia and Laos, will be established and promoted in a satisfactory manner.

Dear Comrades,

The cause of socialist revolution in the North and the struggle for national reunification, contributions to the safeguarding of peace in Southeast Asia and the world, set heavy but glorious tasks for our Party. To ensure the victory of the revolution, question of decisive significance, is the further heightening of the capacity for struggle of our whole Party, and the promotion of the leading role of our Party in all fields of work.

Our Party has always endeavoured to closely integrate Marxism-Leninism with the actual practice of the Vietnamese revolution. In general, our Party cadres and members are of good revolutionary substance. But we still have many shortcomings, such as: subjectivism, dogmatism, empiricism, bureaucratic style of work, individualism... These shortcomings are hampering the progress of our comrades. We must endeavour to study Marxism-Leninism,

strengthen ideological education in the Party, and struggle to overcome these shortcomings. We must further heighten the class character and vanguard character of the Party, constantly strengthening the Party's ties with the masses, uniting with all patriotic and progressive people in order to win victory in the construction of socialism and the struggle for national reunification. We must strive to learn in a creative way from the experiences of the fraternal Parties. We must never fall into arrogance and conceit; we must be modest, as Lenin taught us.

This present Party Congress will elect the new Central Committee of our Party. We are confident that, with the new Central Committee, our Party will be more closely united and will further mobilize the people throughout the country to strive to fulfil the great task now facing us, which is:

To build socialism in the North, to struggle for national reunification by peaceful means.

Long live great Marxism-Leninism!

Long live the heroic working class and people of Viet Nam!

Long live the Viet Nam Workers' Party!

Long live the solidarity and unity of the fraternal Parties and of the big socialist family headed by the great Soviet Union!

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

Long live world peace!

September 5, 1960

SPEECH CLOSING THE THIRD NATIONAL CONGRESS OF THE VIET NAM WORKERS' PARTY

Dear Comrades,

Our Third Party Congress has been crowned with very splendid success, and today reaches the end of its work.

On behalf of the Congress and more than half a million Party members, I would like to express our warmest thanks to the fraternal Parties of the socialist countries and of many other countries for having sent delegates to attend the Congress and for messages of greetings full of the feelings of proletarian internationalism, encouraging our Party and our people to advance towards new successes.

I wish to thank our compatriots throughout the country who have enthusiastically engaged in emulation to welcome the Congress with their achievements, and who

have been following the work of the Congress daily, in full confidence.

I wish also to express thanks to the comrades cadres and personnel of the Congress organization, who have spared no effort to serve the Congress heart and soul.

I warmly congratulate the comrades delegates who have been working zealously in a spirit of solidarity and unity of mind and in a most energetic and intensive manner.

Dear Comrades,

The great success of our present Party Congress lies in the following :

- Defining the general line for the transition to socialism in the North and the line for the struggle to achieve peaceful national reunification.

- Defining the organizational line which will strengthen the fighting capacity and the leadership of the Party in the new revolutionary stage.

- Electing the new Central Committee of our Party.

The Second Congress led the Resistance to victory. It is certain that the Third Congress will represent a new source of light and new strength for our whole Party and our whole people in their successful building of socialism in the North and their struggle to achieve peaceful national reunification.

Many difficulties still confront us, but we will surely overcome them all, for we are guided by the great theory of Marxism-Leninism. We have with us the whole mighty socialist camp headed by the great Soviet Union, more

than 80 fraternal Parties with more than 35 million comrades united as one, and all the great forces of national independence, peace and democracy throughout the world, helping and supporting us. All our cadres and members are closely united, and are resolved to turn the resolutions of the Congress into the will of the whole people to win new victories.

Each of our Party members must be an active and exemplary fighter, worthy of the confidence of the Party and the people.

Each of our Party branches must be a firm nucleus, leading the people in patriotic emulation and promoting diligence and thrift in national construction.

Each Party Committee must be a strong lever urgently impelling the revolutionary movement forward.

The Central Committee pledges to devote all its energy and strength to leading the whole Party and the whole people in the successful fulfilment of the tasks laid down by the Congress.

Ours is an heroic people. In the Resistance, our people fought valiantly, sacrificed their lives, and won great victories. At present, in the struggle to build a new life and a new society and to reunify the country by peaceful means, although we will encounter many hardships, it is certain that we will be fully successful.

On behalf of the Congress, I call on our compatriots throughout the country to march forward with enthusiasm, to strive, all of them, to become advanced working people, advanced militants.

Fifteen years ago, our Party had only 5,000 members and conditions then were extremely difficult; nevertheless

our Party led the August Revolution to victory. Today, our Party has more than half a million comrades, and conditions are very favourable for us ; therefore our Party will certainly lead the socialist revolution to success, and the struggle for national reunification to victory.

Our whole Party and our whole people are uniting closely into one mighty bloc. We are creating. We are building. We are marching forward. No force can hinder our march from victory to victory.

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

Long live the solidarity and unity of the countries of the socialist camp headed by the great Soviet Union !

Long live the solidarity and unity of the Communist and Workers' Parties throughout the world !

Long live victorious Marxism-Leninism !

Long live the Viet Nam Workers' Party !

September 10, 1960

ERRATA

Page	Line	Instead of	Please read
140	15	Geneva Agreements	Geneva Agreement
159	22	Cambodia Ceylon	Cambodia, Ceylon
201	17	schooles	schools
218	3 rd before last	still existed	still exist
236	last	heir	their
262	1	peole	people
276	1	settin gup	setting up
290	19	hese wo	these two
295	15	ejoice	rejoice
298	11	nationa	national
321	7	Geneva Agreements	Geneva Agreement
322	3 rd before last	fo	for
332	2 nd before last	he	the
340	20	th	the
341	13	far	for
438	33	it	its
448	20	wheher	whether