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PARTY ROLE IN VIETNAM REVOLUTION TRACED*

Speech by Nguyen Vinh; Hanoi, Hoc Tap, Vietnamese, No. 6, June 1968, pp 17-287

Beloved comrades!

In the land of the great October Revolution, we were very privileged to participate in a scientific conference on the occasion of the 150th anniversary of the birthday of Karl Marx, the founder of scientific socialism and the great teacher of the working class and the working people throughout the world.

On this occasion, on behalf of the comrades working in the High Level Party School subordinate to the Vietnam Lao Dong Party Central Committee and the Vietnam Social Science Committee, we wish to convey the warmest fraternal greetings to the Marxist-Leninist Institute, the Social Science Academy, the high level party school of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee, and the Soviet Science Academy.

We wish to convey good wishes to the delegations of the various fraternal parties participating in this scientific conference.

*Speech by Comrade Nguyen Vinh, Deputy Director of the Nguyen Ai Quoc School, at the scientific conference held by the Marxist-Leninist Institute, the Social Science Academy, the High Level Party School of the Soviet Communist Party Central Executive Committee, and the Soviet Science Academy on the occasion of the 150th anniversary of Karl Marx's birthday.

No theory in history has had such a profound influence on the development of human society as the theory of Marx. Absorbing the very best ideological currents of mankind up to the 19th century and synthesizing the struggle experiences of the proletarian class and the working people during their own time, Marx and Engels created a balanced, complete, and precise theory, a theory in which there is a very high scientific character fused with a radically revolutionary spirit. It not only sought to explain the world but also sought to reform the world. It is the sharpest ideological weapon of the proletarian class in its struggle to liberate itself and to liberate mankind from every oppression and exploitation.

Like a brilliant sun driving away the clouds and the night, Marxism awakened the proletarian class and all oppressed people throughout the world, freed them from spiritual enslavement, and paved the way for the development of a brilliant future. In concert with the workers' movement, Marxism has become an invincible power, has generated an unshakeable confidence among the proletarian class in its own destiny and in the victory of socialism and communism, and has energized class struggle under the slogan "Proletariat of all countries unite!"

In the beginning of the 20th century, Lenin inherited and developed the theory of Marx during the period of imperialism and proletarian revolution. Proceeding from Marx's theory and in absolute fidelity to its revolutionary spirit and scientific character, Lenin, in a new historical milieu, constructed the theory about imperialism, the terminal stage of capitalism; developed Marx's theory concerning proletarian revolution and proletarian dictatorship, concerning the worker-peasant alliance, concerning the question of nationality, and concerning the matter of developing the party; and developed the class struggle contents during the new period through the slogan "Proletariat of all countries and all oppressed peoples unite!"

The Russian October Revolution, the first proletarian revolution which succeeded over 1/6th of the earth, inaugurated a new era, the era of the collapse of capitalism and the era of the victory of socialism. The victory of the October Revolution was the common victory of the proletarian class and of oppressed peoples throughout the world. The Soviet Union, the offspring of the October Revolution, became the first fatherland of the proletarian class and the first great base area of revolution and the summoning banner of the new era.

The victories of the revolutionary movement in the world since the time of the October Revolution increasingly prove the great value and the invincible power of Marxism-Leninism, the highest pinnacle of human intelligence. Socialism broke out of the confines of a single country and became a world system encompassing 13 countries in Europe, Asia, and Latin America with more than one thousand million people. The socialist system, the fortress of world revolution, is becoming the decisive factor in the development of human society. The world revolutionary forces, the center of which is the socialist camp, are becoming stronger and stronger while the imperialist camp is sinking into increasingly serious crisis.

Today socialism has become the direct fighting goal of the people of the world. The "three great revolutionary movements, the development of socialism and communism within our camp, the non-capitalistic path of development in nationalistic countries, and the socialist revolution in imperialist and capitalist countries, have different contents and roles which are three great currents creating the full-blown socialist revolutionary movement of our time and drawing mankind away from the orbit of capitalism into the orbit of socialism." 1

The power of the world revolution is the combined power of the revolutionary forces attacking from many directions against imperialism, led by United States imperialism, directed against the three targets of the age: national independence, peace, and socialism.

In looking at the international situation today, the revolutionary and peace forces are far larger and more powerful than the forces of imperialism and war. The revolutionary forces today are in an attack posture and are waging an arduous and complicated struggle designed to systematically drive back and topple imperialism piece by piece until it is finally completely liquidated. In view of the requirements of the age, Vietnamese communists as well as communists throughout the world, are increasingly cognizant of the enormous obligation to raise higher the flag of Marxism-Leninism, to be loyal to the revolutionary principles of the 1957 and the 1960 Moscow declarations, to strive to strengthen solidarity within the socialist camp and the international communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, to unite all the forces which can be united, to struggle for a united world front against imperialism led by United States imperialism, and to resolutely intensify the attack posture, surmount difficulties and hardships, and

relentlessly advance the world revolutionary cause.

Classicists of Marxism-Leninism usually say that their theory is not dogma but is a guide for action. Therefore, communists in each country cannot simply rely on existing revolutionary forms but must adapt Marxism-Leninism creatively and must, on the basis of the particular situation in each country, devise the correct revolutionary line for leading the masses in the struggle to obtain victory for the revolutionary cause in the respective countries and to positively contribute to the common revolutionary cause of the entire world.

Comrades:

Living in an environment of having been deprived of their country and abused in the hell of colonialism, the Vietnamese people, prior to the birth of the party of the Vietnamese working class, had been through numerous national salvation movements and had many times engaged in very violent armed resistance. But all of these movements failed because they did not have the correct revolutionary line. The October Revolution awakened the nations of the East and brought the great ideology of Marxism-Leninism to the people of Vietnam. Comrade Ho Chi Minh, the first Vietnamese communist, said: "The Vietnamese revolutionaries were influenced and impregnated with the vitality of the October Revolution and of Marxism-Leninism. This is similar to the situation of a person who is thirsty when he leaves although he has water to drink and who is hungry although he has food to eat." 2

In 1930, the founding of the Vietnamese workers party marked a fundamental turning point in the national liberation revolutionary movement of our country. Creatively adapting the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism to the particular situation of the Vietnamese revolution, our party clearly spelled out in its first political program issued at the time of its birth that during the period of imperialism and proletarian revolution the Vietnamese revolution must be an integral part of the world revolution; because of the nature of the society of Vietnam, which was a colonialist and semi-feudal country, the Vietnamese revolution had to take care of two things intimately related: to overthrow the rule of imperialism and to liquidate the system of feudal oppression. After completing the task of national and democratic revolution, Vietnam would skip the period of capitalistic development and proceed directly to socialism.

In the course of the revolution, our party correctly combined the anti-imperialist task with the anti-feudal task, viewing the task of opposing imperialism as the most essential task and the task of combatting feudalism as one that must be systematically carried out in close coordination with the task of opposing imperialism. Because it constantly adhered to and raised high the banner of nationalism and democracy, the Vietnamese working class, under the leadership of the party, from the moment it entered the political arena defeated the reformism of bourgeois class, smashed the provocations and subversion of the Trotskyite elements, unmasked the super-class line and program of the various strata of the petty bourgeois, and established the revolutionary leadership authority of the working class.

Firmly adhering to the banner of nationalism and democracy, the party of the Vietnamese working class correctly resolved the peasant problem, i.e., the essential contents of the national problem, and the land problem, i.e., the essential contents of the democracy problem. The attachment of the peasants to the working class further consolidated the leadership role of the working class and further strengthened the main force army of the revolution comprised of the two classes: the working class and the working peasant class.

On the basis of this strong worker-peasant alliance, the party of the Vietnamese working class pulled together all nationalist and democratic forces into a broad, national, united front, uniting all patriotic and progressive forces, and concentrating the spearhead of the revolution against imperialism and their clique of henchmen.

The basic question of each revolution is the question of political power. In Vietnam, the political power of imperialism and feudalism constantly suppressed the revolution in an extremely callous manner; the Vietnamese people had no other way except to use revolutionary violence in order to win political power. In order to move forward to overthrow the reactionary government and to return political power to the hands of the people, our party painstakingly built up the political forces of the masses and, from that foundation, moved forward to build the armed forces of the masses. By using revolutionary struggle movements one after another in different periods and by skillfully coordinating covert activities with overt activities and legal activities with illegal activities, our party, when the situation was favorable, promptly led the masses to flexibly employ various forms of revolutionary violence, combined armed forces with political forces, com-

bined armed struggle with political struggle, launched a broad and vast full-blown revolutionary movement throughout the countryside and in the urban areas, resolutely attacked the enemy, used revolutionary violence to smash counter revolutionary violence, seized partial political power in the countryside, and, finally, rapidly seized the opportunity to mobilize the masses to rise up in a general uprising to overthrow imperialist and feudal political power.

With the success of the August Revolution, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam was born. The first worker-peasant government in Southeast Asia was founded. But the French colonialists, aided by British and United States imperialism, turned around and waged a war of aggression in the hope of reestablishing colonialist and feudal rule on the Vietnamese people. In order to protect the fruits of the revolution, the Vietnamese people, in response to an appeal from our party, led by the beloved Comrade Ho Chi Minh, waged a national all-encompassing, and long-range resistance, relying principally on their own power, both resisting and building an army, building up the rear area, and gradually carrying out rent reductions, interest reductions, and land reform, working under the slogan: "Everything for the front line, everything for victory."

The people's war developed from weakness to strength and ultimately to the famous victory at Dien Bien Phu. The 1954 Geneva Accords recognized the independence, sovereignty, unity, and territorial integrity of Vietnam. However, the national liberation revolution of our country is still not over. While the North which had been completely liberated was moving forward on the road of socialist construction, our compatriots in the South have had to continue an extremely arduous and heroic revolutionary struggle against U.S. imperialism and its clique of henchmen in order to complete the people's national democratic revolution in South Vietnam.

Unlike the French imperialists, the U.S. imperialists instituted in South Vietnam a camouflaged colonialism, neo-colonialism. Neo-colonialism is no far away and unfamiliar thing. It is the defensive policy of the United States designed to avoid the attack blows of world revolution in general and especially the revolutionary typhoon in the countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. It is, in essence, a policy designed to block the increasingly larger influence of the socialist camp in the national liberation movement. It is a patchwork policy born on the bankruptcy of the old colonialism. It is the special policy of the U.S.

imperialists who seek to fulfill the role of international policemen and to carry out the scheme of ruling the world.

In order to defeat the neo-colonialism of the United States it is not only necessary to clearly define the strategic goals and tasks of the revolution but it is also necessary to have correct revolutionary methods, i.e., the question of how to mobilize the revolutionary forces and of how to adapt the various forms of struggle in order to attain the revolutionary objective within the concrete circumstances of the balance of forces between ourselves and the enemy. Unlike the old colonialism which ruled through a policy of brazen suppression, neo-colonialism, although completely hostile to the aspirations of the people for independence and democracy, by necessity has had to rely on a puppet army and a puppet government and on bombastic talk about a counterfeit nationalism and democracy in order to trick the masses in the hope of averting the attack blows of revolution. This thing made it possible for the revolutionary masses to take unto themselves the slogans of independence and democracy and to use broad political struggle combined with armed struggle in attacks against imperialism and the lackeys in order to achieve the revolutionary objectives during each given period.

During the first several years, following the Geneva Accords of 1954 on Indo China, the people's army of Vietnam regrouped to the North. At this time there was an important change in the balance of forces between the revolution and the counter revolution in South Vietnam; the reactionary forces of imperialism and feudalism temporarily seized superiority. Therefore, during the first several years, the revolution in South Vietnam had to temporarily shift onto the defensive strategically and, at the same time, to relentlessly intensify the counter-attack struggle against the enemy through political means using legal and illegal forms and with assistance from armed propaganda forces in order to preserve the revolutionary forces. The vast political struggle movement during this period unmasked the U.S. imperialists and their clique of henchmen as country-robbing and country-selling criminals, as criminals robbing the peasants of their land, as the saboteurs of the Geneva Accords seeking to block the unification of Vietnam, and as the saboteurs of peace in Vietnam.

Encountering virtual political defeat, the U.S. imperialists had to employ extremely cruel counter-revolutionary violence, from the introduction of fascist policies and mass terrorism and murder to the waging of a "special war" and a "limited war." In order to achieve their basic, immediate

goal of independence, democracy, peace, neutrality, and prosperity and to move forward to peace and national reunification, the South Vietnamese people had no other road to follow than to use revolutionary violence in order to smash the extremely cruel counter-revolutionary violence of the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen. "Revolution is the uprising of oppressed and exploited masses against the rule of the oppressors and exploiters and, therefore, one must proceed from the mass revolutionary point of view in order to understand revolutionary violence."³ Creatively adapting Marxist-Leninist theory on violent revolution, our people of the South developed to a very high degree the effectiveness of the two forces: the political forces and the people's armed forces. They coordinated and intensified the two methods of revolutionary struggle: political struggle and armed struggle. Armed struggle is the most drastic form of revolutionary violence designed to defeat the ruling class which is ready to sink the revolutionary movement into a sea of blood. But armed struggle, regardless of the level of its development, can only express part of the power of the revolutionary masses. The armed forces of the revolution play an extremely important role but they are only one part of the overall revolutionary forces of the masses. The only way to fully develop the power of the masses and to implement an attack posture for the revolution once the situation has ripened is to use both the political and the armed forces and to rely on the most skillful coordination of both political and armed struggle, using this form to aid and supplement that form depending upon the particular conditions. Speaking about coordination between political struggle and armed struggle, Lenin wrote: "This coordination is the special feature of the entire period of revolutionary violence."⁴ "If we take the simple view of violence as armed struggle and, as a result, merely consider the opposing military forces in appraising the balance of forces between the revolution and the counter-revolution we will commit an error, we will be unable to fully recognize the power of the revolution, and we will not dare to mobilize the masses to rise up in revolt; and once the masses have risen up in revolt we will not dare to continue to attack in order to bring the revolution forward or once we have launched armed struggle we will not be able to avoid moving into a defensive strategy."⁵

In the southern part of our country, the fight on the front line does not merely involve armed forces but also involves tens of thousands and millions of masses, old and young and male and female, struggling before the muzzles of the enemy and creating an extremely valiant political army of the

masses. This political force, formed in the course of extended revolutionary struggle and tempered and developed to a large scale through many rich forms during the period of political struggle following the Geneva Accords, rose up like water overflowing a bursting dyke with the help of the self-defense armed forces in a spontaneous movement in late 1959 and broke the grip of the enemy, disintegrated the puppet government at the foundation, demolished scores of concentration camps which were disguised as "strategic hamlets," and seized control in many vast rural areas. After that, the revolution in the South shifted from the defensive to the offensive.

In the face of this enormous defeat, the U.S. imperialists completely revealed their aggressive and extremely belligerent character. Through a network of advisors and using the forces of the puppet army, they waged an undeclared war of aggression which they called a "special war" and, when the "special war" failed, they hurriedly brought U.S. expeditionary troops into South Vietnam to wage a "limited war" there. At the same time, they used their air force and navy to wage a war of destruction against the North. Under the flag of the National Front for the Liberation of South Vietnam, our southern compatriots successively defeated the "special war" and began to defeat the "limited war" of the U.S. imperialists. The reality of the war has proved that the modern weapons of the United States are not all-powerful and that the modernly equipped army of the United States is not undefeatable! Weapons are a very essential element in war but the essential element which determines victory or defeat is not weapons but men. When they have a correct leadership line and when they have a distinct consciousness about the righteous fight of theirs, the people will obtain a very large spiritual power; they will be ready to surmount every difficulty and hardship in order to resolutely fight and win. People with adequate combat experience and technical expertise when appropriately organized will learn how to fully exploit the capabilities of the weapons and to create extremely flexible methods of attack and will acquire a totally new fighting ability; they will be able to use a few to defeat the many; with small well-trained forces they will be able to create marvelous victories similar to the mythical tales. In short, they will have a very high spirit of revolutionary boldness but they will not be adventurous because not only will they have the courage to attack but they will also know how to attack and win.

In order to extend their system of rule, the enemy hopes to rely on the cities, the places where they concentrate their

military power. But in the Vietnamese revolution, the cities have not played a passive role but a very active one. Because the working class is not only the leadership class but is also, along with the peasants, an integral part of the main force army of the revolution, the revolutionary forces were not only developed in the countryside but were also developed in the cities; political struggle and armed struggle were not only developed in the countryside but were also developed in the cities with suitable forms. The struggle movement in the countryside and the uprisings in the countryside unavoidably have an effect on the cities, increasing the existing contradictions within the cities and assisting the struggle movement of the working class and people of the cities. Conversely, when the struggle movement in the cities directly attacks enemy fortifications it also has a positive effect on the movement in the countryside. The general offensive and uprising which broke out in late January of this year in 64 cities and towns and municipalities and in many vast areas of the countryside is a very specific and very vivid picture of the relationship between the movement in the countryside and the movement in the cities. During this general offensive and uprising, our army and people of the South closely coordinated the military attacks and the uprisings of the masses and, at the same time, carried out enemy proselyting and puppet proselyting. These are high forms of development of the precept on combining armed struggle with political struggle. This general offensive and uprising brought the war into the cities, i.e., the secure rear area and fortified hideouts of the enemy, wiping out and wearing down a considerable portion of their troop strength; massively destroying their war material and rear services installations; disintegrating a large part of the puppet government at the basic levels; paralyzing the puppet government at district and township levels; and massively destroying the puppet army and, thereby, sinking the enemy army into a position of strategic defensiveness.

This new and enormous victory of our people of the South has a all-round military, political, and spiritual character. It has helped the revolutionary forces in the South to develop much larger than before, it created a very new situation, and it created very favorable conditions for our army and people of the South to move forward to defeat the aggressive war of the U.S. imperialists.

This immense victory, as well as all of the victories in the resistance of our people in both parts of the country against the United States for national salvation, is a

victory of the correct revolutionary line, the people's war line, and a victory of the invincible Marxist-Leninist military science developed to a high degree during the period when imperialism is in its death fit and socialism is winning out -- in a backward agricultural country where the people have a high level of political consciousness and a long tradition of combatting foreign aggression and where there is the great rear area which is the socialist North and assistance from fraternal socialist countries and support from the people throughout the world.

Comrades:

For 14 years now, following its complete liberation, the northern part of our country has moved ahead on the road of socialist construction. In accordance with a resolution of the Third Congress of our party and in order to bring the North directly forward from a backward agricultural production to socialist construction it was imperative to use the people's democratic government to discharge the historic task of the proletarian dictatorship in order to effect socialist reform of agriculture, handicrafts, small commerce, and private capital industry and commerce; to develop the size of the state-run economy and to carry out socialist industrialization with priority on the rational development of heavy industry while, at the same time, striving to develop agriculture and light industry; and to intensify the socialist revolution concerning ideology, culture, and technology, with a view to transforming Vietnam into a socialist country with a modern industry, a modern agriculture, and an advanced science and culture.

To state it differently, in order to move forward from what was essentially small production to large socialist production we had to simultaneously wage three revolutionary campaigns: the revolution in the production relationship, the technological revolution, and the ideological and cultural revolution.

The revolution in the production relationship is designed first of all to reform the non-socialist production relationships into socialist production relationships; the key to this is changing the system of individual ownership and the system of capitalistic ownership of production materials into various forms of the system of socialist ownership. Once the socialist reform is basically completed and the socialist production relationship basically established, our party believes that the revolution in the production re-

lationship still must continue for a long time in order to constantly consolidate and perfect the new production relationship, especially as regards the matter of distribution and the system of economic management.

The technological revolution in the circumstances of our country means essentially transforming manual production into large mechanized production, the basic prerequisite for being able to upgrade social labor productivity. Because of the conditions of the Vietnamese economy and through the assistance and cooperation of the socialist camp, the provision of new technology to all of the branches of the economy was conducted along two paths: changing a number of branches of the economy from manual labor to mechanized production employing some of the most modern technology and developing the existing capabilities within the economy in order to progress from manual to semi-mechanized and later to modern, mechanized production.

Along with the revolution in the production relationship and the technological revolution, we have had to conduct an ideological and cultural revolution in order to purge the bad traces and the backward habits of the old system and to systematically develop the new thinking and the new culture suited to the socialist economic foundation. The ideological and cultural revolution is designed to build the new Vietnamese man with the strong world view of Marxism-Leninism, with communist ethics, with an increasingly higher cultural and technical level, combining the beautiful traditions of the people with the essence of the advanced culture in the world, and combining ardent patriotism with the international proletarian spirit.

Of the three closely related and mutually supporting revolutionary campaigns mentioned above the one that plays the key role in the conditions of Vietnam which is moving forward to socialism without passing through the period of capitalistic development is the technological revolution.

Socialist industrialization is the only path we can follow in order to improve the backward agricultural situation of our country. In the circumstances of Vietnam, socialist industrialization seeks to build the material and technical base of socialism and to make it possible for socialism to be completely successful; it is the central task in the entire period of transition to socialism and it is a principle of the socialist revolution in Vietnam. In our country, carrying out socialist industrialization means "building a

balanced and modern socialist economy that combines industry and agriculture, that uses heavy industry as the foundation, that gives priority to the rational development of heavy industry, and that, at the same time, seeks to develop agriculture and light industry"6 in order to transform Vietnam from a backward agricultural country into a country with modern industry and modern agriculture and advanced culture and science.

Socialist industrialization is a necessary prerequisite to the development of an independent and free economy, to the creation of a good relationship between industry and agriculture, to the creation of a new division of labor, to the creation of conditions for the rational employment of manpower, materials, and talents within the country, and, thereby, to the proper attainment of a division of effort and cooperation among fraternal socialist countries.

In carrying out a socialist revolution in the northern part of our country the basic contents are the three revolutionary campaigns mentioned above and the waging of a very severe and complex class struggle designed to resolve the question of "who rules whom" between socialism and capitalism. To use the proletarian dictatorship in order to carry out the three revolutionary campaigns mentioned above is, in essence, to conduct one of the most radical class struggles because it not only seeks to overthrow the exploiting class but also seeks to create conditions to achieve the total victory of socialism. For this very reason, our party has been very concerned about consolidating the people's democratic dictatorship, in essence the proletarian dictatorship, in order to use it as a sharp tool in the hands of the proletarian class. To do the following two things: to carry out socialist reform and socialist construction, constantly consolidating political and spiritual unanimity among the people, reinforcing the worker-peasant alliance under the leadership of the working class, and strengthening national solidarity; and, in order to achieve dictatorship over counter-revolutionary elements, to be ready to smash every aggressive scheme of the U.S. imperialists and their clique of henchmen and to promptly punish reactionary elements opposed to the socialist revolution and opposed to the struggle to unify the country.

In order to guarantee control by the masses and in order that the masses would be able to spontaneously develop their full revolutionary creativity once political power had been won and especially during the process of socialist construction, our party has emphasized the matter of practicing

democracy with the people and combatting all arbitrary dictatorship. However, socialist democracy cannot be democracy for everyone. Along with practicing democracy among the people, our party has also paid very much attention to strengthening the legal system of the state, to resolutely resisting bourgeois, liberal tendencies, and punishing schemes to expropriate the signposts of "liberty" and "democracy" in order to oppose the proletarian dictatorship such as the scheme of the Nhan Van -- Giai Pham reactionary elements (1956-1957) and the rightist opportunist group in the newspaper Van (1957) which appeared at a time when the revolution was encountering temporary difficulties.

In the 10-odd years of socialist construction, we have accomplished great things. The economy of North Vietnam has changed from its ancient dependency to an autonomous economy. The system of man exploiting man has been virtually expurgated and the socialist production relationship has been established. This is the foundation of the political and spiritual unanimity of the people. All aspects of the national economy are developing. For this reason, the material and cultural life of the people has markedly improved. Generally speaking, everyone is far better off than before with respect to employment, school, food, clothing, and accommodations.

In August of 1964, losing in South Vietnam, the U.S. imperialists used their air force and navy to wage a war of destruction against the North with a view to preventing the people of the North from supporting the liberation war of their compatriots in the South, sabotaging socialist construction, dissipating the determination of the Vietnamese people to fight the United States in order to save the nation, and compelling the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam to negotiate with the United States on terms favorable to the United States.

But our people of the North have never waived. In response to the appeal from Chairman Ho Chi Minh that "there is nothing more precious than independence and freedom," the army and people of the North have enthusiastically produced and valiantly fought. In a people's war unprecedented in the history of Vietnam, the army and people, old and young, men and women, in the northern part of our country have in succession struck down nearly 3,000 airplanes of all types belonging to the U.S. invaders, including the latest model types such as B-52's, F-105's, F-111-A's, capturing many pilots and setting fire to and sinking many war ships of the United States.

On the production and communications and transportation front, our people of the North have overcome very many difficulties caused by the enemy and have carried out the program to reorientate economic development during wartime; have carried out partial evacuation of the major enterprises; and have accelerated local economic development. For this reason, despite the fact that the enemy has fiercely attacked and has caused many losses, the task of socialist construction in North Vietnam has not only not stagnated but has continued to develop. Agriculturally, the high-productivity rice area has constantly increased and thousands of co-ops have attained an average of five tons of patty per hectare per year and hundreds of co-ops have attained an average of seven or eight tons per hectare. Local industry has constantly developed and nearly one thousand factories have been built in the local areas and have developed their effect in serving agriculture and consumer production. The communications and transportation arteries which the enemy seeks to destroy are still intact. North Vietnam is continuing to fulfill the sacred duty of the great rear area to the great front line of the South. In short, with a high spirit of determination to fight and to win, with a scientific and technical level developed during several years of socialist construction, with rich combat experience, and with the support and assistance of fraternal countries and of people throughout the world, our army and people of the North have virtually defeated the war of destruction waged by the U.S. imperialists. This victory increasingly testifies to the superiority of the socialist system in the North.

The aforementioned immense achievements prove that in the present world situation a backward agricultural country like ours can skip the stage of capitalistic development and proceed directly to socialism. From the domestic point of view, we can proceed directly to socialism because the working class, whose vanguard is the Vietnam Lao Dong Party, has achieved absolute leadership authority in the revolutionary process, has developed a strong worker-peasant alliance, and has united all strata of the people in carrying out the successful people's democratic national revolution and in moving over to socialist revolution. This, in essence, is the road of constant revolution which Lenin charted out.

The socialist revolution in our country has its peculiar characteristics but, in essence, we still follow the path of the October Revolution and the universal laws summarized in the 1957 Moscow Declaration of the Conference of Delegates of Communist and Workers Parties.

From the external point of view, we have been able to proceed directly to socialism because we have had the assistance of the powerful socialist camp. Our party and our people place a very high value on the role of the socialist camp and regard the survival of the socialist camp and its assistance as an indispensable condition on our country's road to socialism. For this reason, our people must develop to a high degree the spirit of self-sufficiency and aggressively build an autonomous economy in order to be able to properly employ the assistance of the fraternal countries and to make their own positive contribution in international cooperation.

Comrades:

The road which the Vietnamese people have been and are now following is an arduous and complicated revolutionary road but, under the light of Marxism-Leninism, our party has been able to surmount all difficulties and to lead the Vietnamese people to increasingly greater victories. This really is a victory for Marxism-Leninism in a country which has historically been a colonial and backward agricultural country.

In the present struggle against the United States for national salvation, as well as during the previous, long-term revolutionary process, we have constantly received spiritual and material assistance from the Soviet Union, China, and other fraternal socialist countries, and support from the international communist and workers movement and from people throughout the world, including progressive Americans. The Vietnamese people are profoundly grateful for this sincere support. The victories which the Vietnamese revolution has won are a result of the common efforts and are also a common victory for the socialist camp and revolutionary forces in the world.

We also view the accomplishments of the Soviet Union in building the material and technical base of communism, the successes of other socialist countries in socialist construction, and the successes of the international revolutionary movement as common successes and as positive developments for the Vietnamese revolution.

The fight of the Vietnamese people in both parts of the country at the present time against the United States for national salvation has begun to enter a new period, the most decisive period, and also the most proudly victorious period.

If the arrogant and extremely optimistic people in the White House and Pentagon fail to learn lessons from their continuous defeats and keep on plunging into the aggressive war in Vietnam then the Vietnamese people, under the flag of Marxism-Leninism, relying chiefly on their own strength, and with support and assistance from the socialist camp and people throughout the world, will resolutely fight until the end and will completely defeat the aggressive war of the U.S. imperialists for the sake of the independence and unity of their fatherland, for socialism, and for the sake of the sacred obligation to all peoples struggling against the U.S. imperialists, and for world peace.

1. Le Duan: Hang Hai Tien Lon Duoi Ngon Co Vi Dai Cua Cach Mang Thang Muoi (Enthusiastically Moving Forward Under the Banner of the October Revolution,) Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1967, pages 25-26.
2. Ho Chi Minh: Tuyen Tap (Selected Works), Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1960, page 652.
3. Le Duan: Op. Cit., page 40.
4. Lenin, Complete Works, 5th Printing, Russian-language edition, Book 41, pages 378-379.
5. Le Duan: Op. Cit., pages 40-41.
6. Van Kien Dai Hoi (Congress Documents), published by the Vietnam Lao Dong Party Central Executive Committee, 1960, Book 1, pages 182-183.

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