

of democracy, co-op members are enthusiastically bringing into full play their right to be real masters, and thereby pushing forward agriculture and a new life in the countryside. Therefore, a steady way of earning a livelihood and an encouraging prospect have appeared right in war-time.

The working class has proved to be a revolutionary vanguard and shown its creative abilities in the struggle for keeping up industrial production. Centrally-run industrial enterprises have been unremittingly attacked by the enemy, but owing to the active evacuation, dispersion and defence of existing establishments, to the building of reserve establishments and the patient restoration of damaged ones, we have managed to meet our vital needs for fighting, production and to some extent for livelihood. Beside centrally-run industry, over the past three years we have witnessed a turning point of basic significance in the build-up and development of regional industry. About 1,000 undertakings have been enlarged or built, which have begun turning out means of production and consumer goods. Following this orientation, we are proceeding step by step towards setting up a complete industrial network in each province, capable of increasing our logistic potential on the spot, linking industry with agriculture, production with distribution, carrying out a new division of labour in each region and bringing into full play the people's right to be masters of the country. This is an initial result of basic and far-reaching significance of a great, very important policy with regard to the struggle against

U.S. aggression, for national salvation, as well as to the whole of our socialist construction in future.

One of the most typical achievements recorded by our people in the past three years is the strong development of the educational, cultural and medical work. In wartime normal activities in this sphere which to everyone seem difficult to be maintained, let alone to be developed, have progressed more rapidly than in peace-time. Living and fighting daily under the enemy's shower of bombs and bullets, our people have more than ever before shown eagerness to learn, asked for more books and newspapers, more culture, literature and arts, science and technology. The number of pupils and students have increased unceasingly; our schools have kept in touch with the realities of life, opening new prospects for socialist education in Viet Nam, linking study to action. Our literature and arts have been more and more imbued with the grand realities of life of our people engaged in combat and production, realities which have provided them an abundant source of inspiration for creation and interpretation, and reinforced them with new, young forces from among the masses. Our medical service has grown rapidly and all-sidedly, efficiently served our struggle against U.S. aggression and made substantial progress in the building of a socialist medicine in our country.

Since 1965, the annual State plans for the development of national economy and culture have been wartime plans, worked out to accomplish three main tasks :

1. To mobilize our forces in all fields in order to fight and win, to defend the North and liberate the South.

2. To maintain and boost production in keeping with the war situation, so as to meet the people's immediate requirements, and prepare for the future.

3. To satisfy the people's primary necessities in food, clothing, dwelling, travelling, health protection and study.

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

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

* South Viet Nam. (*Pub.*).

their best contribution to the defence and building of the North, the liberation of the South, and the peaceful reunification of the Fatherland.

Dear comrade-deputies,

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

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

Our entire people have enthusiastically participated in the struggle against U.S. imperialism, for national salvation; each of us, considering this struggle a sacred task towards the Fatherland and the greatest honour for him, brings into full play his patriotism, bravery, intelligence and creativeness, thus evincing noble qualities. Revolutionary heroism has become a

mass movement involving millions of people, a widespread and permanent social phenomenon materialized by various mass emulation movements: the "Let us resolutely defeat the U.S. aggressors" movement of the people's armed forces, the "Let us produce well and fight well" movement of the workers and peasants, the "Three ready's" movement of the youth, the "Three responsibilities" movement of the women, and the "Three determinations" movement of the intellectuals. Vietnamese revolutionary heroism is the crystallization of the noblest thoughts and feelings of our people in our times. The high tide of revolutionary heroism brings out the new Vietnamese, the result not only of many years of struggle against U.S. imperialism, but of the whole revolutionary process of tens of years under the leadership of our Party, combining the virtues of the working class with our people's beautiful traditions that had taken shape all through their millenary history. We are proud and elated that these fine virtues find a splendid expression in our younger generation, who is steadfastly and gloriously carrying on their forefathers' revolutionary cause.

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

The victory of our resistance for national salvation is the victory of our people and also of our regime, the socialist regime. It is the socialist regime which has brought to the highest degree the strength of our people, created all the material and ideological conditions to make the mass movement in fighting and production develop vigorously in scope and depth, and put all the fruits of socialism gained in the past more than ten years into the fight to defeat the U.S. aggressors. We are resolved to go on consolidating and strengthening our socialist regime, and pushing ahead our socialist construction right in wartime.

Our socialist construction involves three revolutions which are carried out simultaneously: revolution in the relations of production, technological revolution, and ideological and cultural revolution. The realities of war and construction work in wartime require that we think over these three revolutions more intensely, deeply and all-sidedly, and gradually achieve them through our practical work. We must very clearly realize the key position of the scientific and technological revolution which directly creates the material and technical bases of socialism, and impels the entire socialist revolution. We must see through the extremely important role of the revolution in the relations of production because it has a broad and deep significance that may be we do not fully grasp as yet, in order to solve these problems of utmost importance: the regime of ownership, relations between man and man, and the policy of distribution and consumption. We must perfectly realize the impact of the ideological and cultural revolution whose aim is to

change man. In the last analysis, man, the popular masses decide everything. With the coming into being of Marxism, for the first time in the history of mankind, man decides himself his own destiny in a fully conscious way. That is why we must bring the ideological and cultural revolution to success. We must step by step build the material and technical bases of socialism, and at the same time establish good social relations, and an ideal society in which man, evincing noble virtues and feelings, lives a plentiful life in every respect: productive labour, literature and arts, science and technology. We pay particular attention to gradually raising the people's material life while clearly realizing that the most precious asset of society and of man is not only its material side but its beautiful cultural, moral and sentimental life. To study and solve the aforesaid problems is the great and glorious task of Vietnamese social sciences embracing very important and competent scientific branches which can and must be vigorously developed.

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

ensure victory for the fight against U.S. aggression, and success for the building of socialism.

One of the most fundamental functions of the State is economic management. Lenin's teachings, as well as the practice of socialist construction in our country and many fraternal countries, show that economic management is one of the key problems of socialism, a science and an art that we have to grasp. This science and this art require that we know how to apply the laws of socialism, including the law of development of national economy in a well-balanced way, according to plan, with the participation of millions of labouring people and the bulk of scientific and technical cadres from the centre to the grass-root level, that is, the industrial enterprises and the agricultural co-operatives. At the same time, we have to know how to apply correctly the law of value in socialist economy. Thus, we shall obtain the biggest economic results from our investments, and the highest productivity. We have constantly to bear in mind Lenin's words that socialism will win capitalism on account of its higher productivity. All of us, especially those responsible for the management of our national economy from the centre to the grass-root level, must pay greater attention to this work and to the recapitulation of our experiences, while learning from the rich experiences of the fraternal socialist countries. In the near future, we have to impel the division of responsibilities in economic management, first of all, between the centre, on the one hand, and the provinces and cities, on the other, with a view to strictly enforcing the principle of democratic centralism together with the broadening

of power and duties assigned to the regions, and the promotion of the abilities of the latter in order to push ahead their economic construction and development with the active help of the centre. The policy of division of responsibilities in economic management and that of boosting regional economy are both an urgent requirement of the resistance against U.S. aggression and a policy of fundamental and long-standing significance which has an important impact on the whole development of the national economy and national construction in future.

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

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

PART III

THE WHOLE WORLD SUPPORT US

Dear comrade-deputies,

The Vietnamese people's resistance to U.S. aggression, for national salvation, has a very important international significance.

This significance grows at the same pace as the resistance. It also represents a step forward in the world people's understanding of the war in Viet Nam. Today, it has become very broad and profound, and finds expression in a great variety of forms. Each country, each people, each government, each organization, and even each individual has now seen the necessity to make clear its or his own stand and attitude concerning the Viet Nam war: which side to take, that of the aggressor or that of the victim of aggression, that of justice or that of injustice, that of the most reactionary and sinister forces in our times which can bring incalculable disasters to mankind or that of the Vietnamese people who are fighting for their sacred national rights and at the same time for

the interests of all nations and of the whole mankind? At present, this attitude, generally speaking, has been defined rather clearly as shown in the declaration of the World Cultural Congress held in Havana in January, 1968: "The struggle of the Vietnamese is the vanguard banner, the focus and the highest peak of the revolutionary struggle conducted by the labouring people and the oppressed nations all over the world against U.S. imperialism."

The "Oppose U.S. aggression and support the Vietnamese people" international movement represents a big defeat for the U.S. imperialists and a great victory for the Vietnamese people and the other peoples of the world. This is because the world people's understanding, as already said above, is the premises of the international movement of opposition to U.S. aggression and of support for the Vietnamese people, a factor which is greatly contributing to the complete victory of our people's fight against U.S. aggression, for national salvation. More important still, it will certainly give rise to actions against U.S. imperialism in every part of the world which are sure to expand continually and take on more and more resolute and vigorous forms. This is actually the revolutionary struggle of our times which includes the revolutionary struggles waged by various social strata and nations to solve the problems of our times, namely peace, national independence, democracy, and social progress. A large-scale struggle in the world stirring hundreds of millions in a great number of countries

and enlisting a firm support from the socialist camp — the bulwark of the world revolution and world peace — is sure to advance towards victories which will pave the way for new developments in the history of mankind, in conformity with the essence of our times.

As has been said earlier, the international significance of our people's fight against U.S. aggression has a process of its own — the process of the development of the war since 1954, particularly since 1965, the process of the continuous escalation of the U.S. imperialists' "special war" and "limited war", the process of the Vietnamese people's continuous resistance to, and repeated victories over, the enemy through fierce fights.

It is the resolute fight of our people that has gradually exposed the nature of U.S. imperialism and uncovered its true colours as an aggressor and war-monger, a kind of new fascism even more dangerous and loathsome than Nazism formerly. It is also this resolute fight that has gradually revealed all the very basic weaknesses and aggravated all the inherent contradictions of U.S. imperialism, enabling every one to see more and more clearly that U.S. imperialism is but a clay-footed colossus. One has thus come to this conclusion: Against U.S. imperialism — the arch enemy of the world peoples — it is necessary to wage an unflinching, resolute, unyielding, uncompromising struggle in all possible forms, including the highest one — armed struggle. Such a struggle must of course be a long, hard one. But it will be certainly crowned with glorious victory.

U.S. imperialism, which in essence is U.S. State monopoly capitalism, has grown and thriven quickly through the two World Wars at the cost of the blood, tears and sweat of hundreds of millions of toiling people in many countries, including the American people. It is nurturing the mad ambition to bring the whole world under its sway. For this wild dream to come true, the U.S. imperialists have got ready all kinds of plans, among which one for all-out war and many others for "flexible response". With the war of aggression in Viet Nam they want to prove that they are strong enough to crush the war of liberation in this country, thereby to "deter" all other struggles for liberation in the world. But they have obviously failed. And the gravity of their defeats increases in proportion to the magnitude of their efforts, the ferocity and craftiness of their moves, and the size of their forces (military, economic, financial, etc.) deployed in this war. This failure marks an extremely important turning-point in the slide and decline of U.S. imperialism, of U.S. neo-colonialism.

If Viet Nam with only a little more than 300,000 square kilometres in area and a little more than 30 million people, has kept on the jump the U.S. imperialists who just a few years back were feared by many for their seemingly matchless power and inexhaustible wealth, tomorrow and the day after tomorrow, when peoples in many other parts of the world — including Latin America and the United States itself with the Black people now already up in revolt—stand up and fight against the U.S. imperialists, assaulting them from all sides, under all forms, with all kinds

of weapons, then U.S. imperialism and all reactionary forces colluding with it will surely go through endless crises and finally meet with their doom.

In carrying out its policy of intervention and aggression, U.S. imperialism makes no distinction as to national borders or nationalities. Therefore, the fight against U.S. imperialism conducted by the Vietnamese people and the peoples of other countries in the world must essentially embody the broad internationalist solidarity in keeping with the famous call by Marx and Lenin: "Workers of all countries and oppressed nations, unite!". The movement of the peoples in various countries to oppose U.S. imperialism and support Viet Nam has shaped up a very broad front. This is an international event of highly positive significance. The world people's front against U.S. imperialism and in favour of national liberation will certainly progress and follow the inexorable trend of our times.

Dear comrade-deputies,

There is a deep realization among our people that their fight against U.S. aggression, for national salvation, is an integral part of the world people's revolution. Our successes are inseparable from the very great and valuable support and assistance given us by the Soviet Union, China and the other fraternal socialist countries. Nor can they be dissociated from the heartfelt and increasing sympathy and support shown us by the world working class, the communist and

workers' parties and the peoples in Asia, Africa and Latin America, and all peace and democratic forces in the world, including progressive people in the United States. Our people sincerely thank and will be forever grateful for this noble international support. The movement of the world people in support of Viet Nam now unfolding everywhere under a great variety of forms, so fine and moving, is a manifestation of their solidarity with, admiration for, and confidence in, our people. A far-reaching display of this international support was the setting up by famous social activists and prominent intellectuals in the world of the Bertrand Russell International Tribunal to judge the crimes of the U.S. imperialists in Viet Nam — crime of aggression, war crime and crime against mankind.

In our resistance to U.S. aggression as well as in our revolution as a whole, now as in the past and the future, we always attach paramount importance to the consolidation and strengthening of the solidarity and friendship between our country and the other socialist countries. To resist U.S. aggression and save our country is our sacred cause and at the same time an unflinching, unyielding struggle to defend the gains of socialism in our country, thus doing our worthy share in the defence of the socialist camp. It is the proletarian internationalist duty of our people. On the other hand, by supporting our people — fighters in the forefront of the struggle to defend the socialist camp, peace and national independence — other socialist countries are discharging their proletarian internationalist obligation. We have always highly valued this particularly important support and aid

because we have fully realized their usefulness, effectiveness and significance. We are very happy to know that side by side with us are more than one thousand million people in the fraternal socialist countries who together with us are fighting victoriously against the U.S. aggressors.

We have attached paramount importance to the defence of the socialist camp, of each of its members, being conscious that the socialist camp is the greatest gain of the revolutionary struggle of the world working class and labouring people. We warmly acclaim the brilliant successes recorded by the peoples of the Soviet Union, China and the other socialist countries in the building of communism and socialism, which contribute to increasing the might of the socialist camp and the defence of peace. We firmly support the determination of the Chinese people to recover Taiwan, an inseparable part of the territory of the People's Republic of China. We firmly support the staunch struggle of the people of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to frustrate all moves of the United States and the Pak Jung Hee clique to prepare for a new war, and her demand that the United States withdraw its troops from South Korea and let the Korean people settle themselves their own affairs and reunify their country. We firmly support the just struggle waged by the people and Government of the German Democratic Republic to resist the expansionist design of West German imperialism aided and abetted by U.S. imperialism, to defend their sovereignty and territorial integrity and to build a happy life for themselves. We firmly support the cause of

socialism in Cuba and the struggle conducted by the heroic Cuban people to foil all acts of provocation, blockade and aggression by U.S. imperialism and its henchmen.

For decades now U.S. imperialism has incessantly been stepping up its policy of intervention and aggression against the Indochinese countries. To counter this we have been constantly consolidating and developing the militant solidarity and the relations of neighbourhood and friendship between the peoples of Viet Nam, Cambodia and Laos, with a view to defending their respective basic national rights against the common enemy — the U.S. imperialist aggressors — and helping guarantee the security and peace of the peoples in Indochina and Southeast Asia.

We resolutely support the just and certainly victorious struggle waged by the Khmer people under the clear-sighted leadership of Samdech Chief of State Norodom Sihanouk to defend the Kingdom of Cambodia's independence, sovereignty, peace, neutrality and territorial integrity within its present borders.

We resolutely support the struggle of the Lao people aimed at ensuring the correct implementation of the 1962 Geneva Agreements on Laos, and warmly hail the Lao people's victories in thwarting the nibbling attacks by the U.S. imperialists and their flunkys and in safeguarding and consolidating the liberated areas.

The Vietnamese people and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam resolutely support the national-liberation struggles of the people of

Asia, Africa and Latin America, the national-liberation movement of the Black people in the United States, the struggle of the Arab countries against aggression by the Israeli reactionaries — a tool of U.S. imperialism, the struggle of the newly-independent countries to consolidate their national independence and achieve prosperity, the struggle for democratic freedoms of the working class and people in the capitalist countries, and the struggle of the world people against aggressive and warlike U.S. imperialism.

In this new period of our people's resistance war, we are holding higher than ever before the banner of international solidarity, striving ever harder to win the sympathy, support and assistance from the fraternal countries and the whole progressive mankind in our march toward complete victory and the noble goals of our people, thereby contributing to the cause of peace, national independence, democracy and social progress in the world.

Dear comrade-deputies,

In our resistance to U.S. aggression, our people have been using all forms of struggle — military, political and diplomatic — and all our capabilities to win the biggest possible successes for our cause of national liberation.

On the diplomatic as well as military and political fronts, we have been firmly holding the initiative and the offensive. Relying on the justice of our cause, which is to preserve national independence and

genuine peace; on the victories scored in military and political struggle in our country (chiefly in the South), on the great and powerful support from the socialist countries and the world people, including progressive American people, we have gradually broadened our diplomatic action and step by step foiled the perfidious schemes of the U.S. imperialists, from the "unconditional negotiation" swindle to the proposal of 15 sites for the preliminary talks, thus leading to the current official conversations between the representative of the D.R.V.N. Government and the representative of the U.S. Government in Paris*. These conversations are aimed at ascertaining with the American side the unconditional cessation of the U.S. bombing and all other acts of war against the whole of the D.R.V.N. territory,

* Let us review the following steps in the diplomatic struggle of our people:

— The 4 points of the D.R.V.N. Government (April 8, 1965).

— The 5-point declaration of the South Viet Nam N.F.L. (March 22, 1965).

— The January 28, 1967 statement of the D.R.V.N. Foreign Minister and his subsequent statements.

— President Ho Chi Minh's message of reply to U.S. President Johnson (February 15, 1967).

— The Political Programme of the South Viet Nam N.F.L. made public on September 1, 1967. (This Political Programme outlines a whole range of the N.F.L. policies in the struggle against U.S. aggression, for national salvation, as well as the basis for a political settlement in South Viet Nam).

— The April 3, 1968 statement of our Government following the March 31, 1968 speech of the U.S. President.

— The May 3, 1968 statement of our Foreign Ministry which has led to the Paris talks.

thus adequately meeting the very legitimate and firm demand of our people and the world people. Talks will then be held on other problems of common concern to the two sides. In Paris, comrade Minister Xuan Thuy, representative of our Government, firmly upholding our people's principled position, has severely condemned the aggressive policy and odious crimes of the U.S. imperialists against our country. The activity of our Government's representative at the Paris talks has enlisted warm support from broad public opinion in the world.

We have recorded important achievements on the diplomatic front because right at the beginning (April 1965) we have upheld the principled position of the D.R.V.N. Government on a political solution to the Viet Nam problem. That is the four points which are now well known to world public opinion and resolutely supported by the people in various countries. It has also been clearly expounded in the Political Programme of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation which has been warmly welcomed by broad public opinion in the world.

By stressing the principled position of our people and Government and that of the N.F.L. we want to bring out the goals of struggle of our people in both North and South Viet Nam, namely the right to independence and sovereignty, the right to live in freedom on the whole territory of our country, without infringement by any foreign country. That right represents the highest principles of human society and international relations and practice, which

every nation and people are duty-bound to recognize and respect. That right also epitomizes the principles which are embodied in the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Viet Nam and which the U.S. Government's representative at the 1954 Geneva Conference undertook to respect.

Proceeding from the above principled position, we have energetically, wholly and categorically rejected the utterly preposterous allegations which still are being obdurately repeated by the U.S. ruling circles.

First and foremost, we hold it necessary to throw light on a historical fact, an evident, undeniable reality: the U.S. Government from the other side of the Pacific, has brazenly conducted an aggressive war against the Vietnamese people in blatant violation of the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Viet Nam, and has been unceasingly stepping up its aggressive war in our country, first in the South then, since August 1964, escalated it to the North in the form of a war of destruction against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, an independent and sovereign country. The U.S. imperialists have brazenly brought war to our country. They are the war provocateur and aggressor who has perpetrated intolerable crimes against our people, crimes which will forever be condemned by mankind. They must be held fully responsible for all their acts of war. For their part, the people in South Viet Nam have from the outset stood up to fight back with the mettle and strength of the victor. When the U.S. aggressor expanded his war to the whole of Viet Nam, the entire Vietnamese people rose up against him with

redoubled might and a still more impetuous mettle. Our people have never done any harm to the United States. What has given the American imperialists the right to overtly send troops from the other shore of the Pacific to attack our country as a whole? That is why our entire people, 31 million united as one man, are resolved to fight and defeat the enemy, and wherever the enemy is all the Vietnamese have the right to go and fight him. That is the sacred right to self-defence of our people, which has won deep sympathy and firm support from the world people. It is necessary to underscore this fundamental point: the U.S. Government is the war provocateur and aggressor, therefrom to thoroughly refute the fantastic charge that "North Viet Nam commits aggression against South Viet Nam", and other cunning claims such as the demand for "reciprocity", "mutual de-escalation", "concession from both sides". No! The United States has provoked war and aggression, it must end its war and its aggression. The United States has escalated the conflict, it must de-escalate it. Decidedly, there is no question of paying any ransom to the pirates! Peace will immediately return if the U.S. Government end the war of aggression against our country and withdraw U.S. and satellite troops from South Viet Nam. The Vietnamese people love peace but this must be a true peace with genuine independence and freedom. Such is our principled position. Such a position is as firm as the Truong Son*.

* Long mountain range running from North to South Viet Nam. (Pub.).

Another utterly absurd contention of the U.S. ruling circles is what they call their "commitment" in South Viet Nam. What "commitment" is it, and to whom? Is it the "commitment" to Ngo Dinh Diem, the traitor who was assassinated on orders from the U.S. ruling circles themselves? Or the "commitment" to other Vietnamese traitors? Is it the "commitment" that "the U.S. borders extend to the 17th parallel"? What value has the commitment to a handful of traitors scorned and condemned by the whole Vietnamese people and progressive mankind? Can the farces staged by the aggressor and the traitors have any legal character? Everybody has seen through the dark design of the U.S. imperialists to perpetrate the partition of our country and turn South Viet Nam into a new-type colony and a military base of the United States. Here lies the origin of the U.S. imperialists' aggressive war against our country. Here also lies the brazenness and dangerous character of the U.S. "commitment". That is why our people are resolved to spearhead our struggle at the frantic design of the U.S. imperialists to cling to South Viet Nam to the end. It is to achieve this design that the U.S. imperialists have done their best to foster their henchmen, the Saigon puppet rulers, a clique of traitors who, in the eyes of our people and the people of the world, are but an outgrowth of the U.S. colonialist war in South Viet Nam. The U.S. ruling circles are obdurately sticking to the so-called "commitment" they have taken to the Vietnamese traitors so as to evade their commitment at the 1954 Geneva Conference on Viet Nam, which the people of Viet Nam and the world are

demanding them to carry out ; the commitment of the U.S. Government to respect the Geneva Agreements on Viet Nam, respect the independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of the Vietnamese people.

On the different fronts against U.S. aggression, we have upheld the above principled position since it reflects the will to fight and the invincible strength of our people. This position shining with justice has enjoyed strong and firm support from the peoples in the socialist countries and in the rest of the world, including progressive American people.

Its substance, as made clear in the four points of the D.R.V.N. Government and the Political Programme of the N.F.L., consists of the following very simple and clear points :

The U.S. Government must end its aggressive war against the Vietnamese people ; withdraw troops of the United States and its satellites from South Viet Nam ; stop permanently and unconditionally its bombing and other acts of war on the whole territory of the D.R.V.N. ; all affairs in South Viet Nam must be settled by the South Vietnamese people themselves according to the Political Programme of the N.F.L. without foreign interference ; the reunification of Viet Nam must be settled by the Vietnamese people in both zones through peaceful means, on a democratic basis and without foreign interference.

That is the goal of the persevering and indomitable struggle conducted by our people for many years now. This great struggle has recorded tremendous victories,

and driven the enemy into a blind alley. However, the aggressive and warlike U.S. imperialists have not given up their design, but continue to intensify the war. Therefore, our entire people must persevere in their fight, fearless of sacrifices and hardships, push it ahead so as to win big victories on all fronts. At the same time our people must ceaselessly increase their forces in all fields so as to be ready to cope with any eventualities and proceed towards complete victory.

With this end in view, we have, along with armed and political struggle, expanded our struggle on the diplomatic front with our principled position and an earnest attitude. This position and attitude have been shown at the official conversations in Paris between the representative of the D.R.V.N. Government and the representative of the U.S. Government. That is also the responsible attitude of our people towards the people of all countries who, with their warm support and firm confidence, are turning their thoughts towards our struggle full of a profound international significance.

Respected and beloved President Ho Chi Minh,
Dear members of the Presidium,
Dear comrade-deputies,

Though our people still have to persevere in their hard and complex struggle, we are more certain than ever of our victory since we have, right at the

beginning, seen the factors of victory which have now become more and more visible.

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

Our Party, the masses of our people, and the Vietnamese nation as a whole form a single monolithic bloc, united and one-minded in thoughts and in deeds, in the whole revolutionary cause. This is the firmest guarantee for all of our victories in the past, at present and in future. The symbol of this splendid solidarity and unity of mind is President Ho Chi Minh, the founder of our Party who has, together with the Party, led our people to stage the August Revolution successfully, the founder of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam — the first worker-peasant State in our history, who has, together with the Party, led our people to bring our past resistance war to brilliant victory, and who is, together with the Party, taking

the present resistance to U.S. aggression, for national salvation, from success to success till complete victory. For over 50 years now, the life and activities of President Ho Chi Minh have been closely bound to the long and hard revolutionary struggle of the Vietnamese people. They have represented the unflagging and indomitable will of our entire people "rather to die than live in slavery" and to prize independence and freedom more than anything else. His life and activities have upheld the thoughts and feelings of the revolutionary fighters and the mettle of the victor, namely "to remain loyal to the country and people, fulfil any task assigned, overcome any difficulty and defeat any enemy!". Working all his life and working all day long, President Ho Chi Minh has taught us the high qualities of Party and State cadres, namely "Public-mindedness and self-denial", "Industriousness, frugality, honesty and integrity", never to indulge in complacency over successes nor lose heart in adversities, always unite with and assist one another, and wholeheartedly serve the people and the Fatherland. President Ho Chi Minh symbolizes the sacred sentiments of our people towards heroic South Viet Nam — the "Brass Wall" of the Fatherland, the "blood of Vietnamese blood", the "flesh of Vietnamese flesh". These sentiments represent the profound belief that our compatriots and fighters who are combating very gloriously in South Viet Nam will certainly win brilliant victory. President Ho Chi Minh symbolizes the proletarian internationalism of the Vietnamese people, their warm feelings towards the fraternal socialist countries, the working people and

all oppressed nations in the world. He has devoted all his life to the revolutionary cause of our people and the world people as a whole.

On the 78th birthday of President Ho Chi Minh, the great leader of our Party and people, and to wish him good health and a long life, our people and fighters throughout the country pledge themselves to hold higher the banner of the struggle against U.S. aggression, for national salvation", march forward with yet greater ardour, enthusiasm and confidence, determined to carry out his resounding appeal:

" Forward !

Final victory will be ours! "

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