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PHAM VAN DONG NATIONAL DAY SPEECH

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Following is a full translation of the speech delivered by Premier Pham Van Dong at the grand meeting held here yesterday to celebrate the 25th anniversary of the founding of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam:

Respected President Ton Duc Thang, dear Members of the Presidium, Comrades and Friends, dear Compatriots and Combatants.

This year, we solemnly celebrate the 25th anniversary of the success of the August Revolution and the founding of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam at a time when our people, shoulder to shoulder with the brother peoples of Cambodia and Laos, are persisting in and stepping up the fight against U.S. aggression, for national salvation, till complete victory, and at the same time, endeavouring to build socialism in the North and strengthening the great rear in all fields in order to fulfill its duty towards the heroic great front.

The past quarter century has been the most glorious period in the history of our nation. It is closely linked with the birth and growth of the new social regime and is the offspring of the August Revolution. The new regime embodies the combination of the two forces of our era--national independence and socialism--the combination of the fine traditions of our nation and the most advanced ideology of mankind. It represents the close ties between our people and the revolutionary forces in the world.

During this historic period of 25 years, our country has gone through profound revolutionary changes: First, there was the August Revolution which took our people from the double yoke of oppression by the colonialists and feudalists to the status of master of society, which brought our country out of darkness to become the present Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam whose exploits in fighting and construction are resounding far and wide. Then came the victorious war of resistance against the French colonialists, which dealt a crushing blow at old colonialism, helping to usher in the process of chunk-by-chunk disintegration

of the colonial system of imperialism. And today, it is the resistance against U.S. aggression, for national salvation, which brings our people to the forefront and the peak of the world people's fight against aggressive and bellicose U.S. imperialism. There are also the pridesworthy accomplishment recorded in all fields--political, economic and cultural--in the building of a new life in the North which is advancing from a former colonial and semi-feudal country straight to socialism, bypassing the stage of capitalist development.

In this glorious historic day, the heart of every Vietnamese is filled with pride and gratitude as he turns his thought to beloved and venerated President Ho Chi Minh, the leader and great teacher who, together with our Party has led our people to the success of the August Revolution, the founder of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam who all along the past half-century led, and will forever lead our people from one victory to another.

#### The August Revolution and the Founding of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam

Comrades and Friends, the August Revolution was the first national and democratic revolution led by the political party of the working class to succeed in a colonial and semi-feudal country. That was a great victory of the Vietnamese people and of Marxism-Leninism.

The August Revolution developed the tradition of heroism of our forefathers in building and defending the country. The August Revolution was the fruit of 100 years of indomitable struggle against the French colonialists' domination. The August Revolution was a success of the revolutionary line of our Party after 15 years of persistent, dauntless and fierce struggle.

Right from the day of its founding and through many periods of crucial and complex revolutionary struggle from 1930 to 1945, our Party's leadership was reflected in these three aspects: working out a clear-sighted revolutionary line, organizing well-knit and powerful revolutionary forces, and adopting diversified and flexible methods of revolutionary struggle. Our Party attached first importance to the leading role of the working class, firmly held the banner of national and democratic revolution, mobilized the big forces of workers and toiling peasants, and at

the same time, built a broad national united front on the basis of the worker-peasant alliance. Right from its founding, our Party closely linked the revolutionary cause of our nation to that of the working class and oppressed peoples all over the world.

In particular, throughout World War II, in the midst of white terror by the colonialists and feudalists, our Party made painstaking preparations in all fields for a revolutionary high tide. In May 1941, the 8th plenum of the Party Central Committee held in Cao Bang under the chairmanship of President Ho Chi Minh decided to set up the Viet Minh (Viet-Nam League for Independence) and National Salvation Associations, decided to step up preparations for insurrection, build guerrilla bases and strengthen leadership toward the military and para-military forces. The plenum stressed: "A force must always be made ready so as to defeat the enemy at the most propitious moment, then with our forces available, we can lead partial insurrections in various localities and win victory to pave the way for a large-scale general insurrection."

In August 1945, the heroic Soviet army defeated the German, Italian and Japanese fascists, creating very favourable objective conditions for the revolution in our country. Seizing this opportunity, under the Party's timely leadership, the people throughout the country, who had been prepared ideologically and organizationally, valiantly and resourcefully acted with remarkable swiftness and firmness, and seized power from the hands of the Japanese fascists and their lackeys.

Dealing with the August Revolution, President Ho Chi Minh pointed out: "Not only our working class and people, also the working class and oppressed peoples elsewhere, may take pride in this fact: for the first time in the revolutionary history of colonial and semi-colonial peoples, a Party, only 15 years old, has led a revolution to success and seized power throughout the country."

The August Revolution was the explosive power of millions of people whose hatred for oppression and exploitation had reached the breaking point and who were resolved to smash the shackles of the colonialists and the monarchy, to gain independence and democracy and pave the way for the advance of the revolution.

The August Revolution was a far-reaching class struggle, rousing to action the most wretched strata in the Vietnamese society, drawing into its midst all patriotic and progressive strata of people, thus mobilizing the strength of our whole nation.

The August Revolution was a national liberation, a decisive step in the whole process of the Vietnamese national, democratic and people's anti-imperialist and anti-feudalist revolution in which the resistance to imperialism and the recovery of national independence was the primordial task. The August Revolution bears a very marked character of a national liberation revolution and a people's democratic revolution. It was the rising up of the entire people to turn our country from a colonial and semi-feudal country divided into three parts into an independent and democratic country, a single country stretching from Lang Son to Cape Ca Mau, to assert their role as real master of their own destiny, opening a new era and clearing the way for new, truly glorious victories.

While preparing for and carrying out the August Revolution, the Party applied a correct line in setting a series of important problems of the revolutionary struggle and gathered rich experiences in the process. In the new period of struggle inaugurated by the success of the August Revolution, those experiences continued to develop their effects, especially in the national people's democratic revolution in the southern part of our country. Those are experiences in correctly handling the relations between the national and class problems, in creatively combining the anti-imperialist and anti-feudalist tasks, in combining political and armed struggle, in carrying out partial uprisings before waging a general insurrection to seize power in the whole country. Those are precious experiences of one of the highly significant revolutions in the present epoch.

The August Revolution led to the founding of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, the first people's democratic state in Viet-Nam's history.

The basic question of revolution is the question of power. The more thoroughly the old power is destroyed and the more truly the new power belongs to the people, the bigger the strength of the revolution and the greater its capability for development. That fundamental truth of the revolution was firmly grasped by our Party right at its founding. The "Nghe-Tinh Soviet" movement

eloquently indicated the direction of struggle of our Party and people from the very outset. Throughout the process of the revolutionary movement, we have consistently adhered to the slogan: Prepare our forces, seize the opportunity to overthrow the ruling clique and bring back power to the people. Even before the day of the August general insurrection, at a national conference of the Party, President Ho Chi Minh and our Party Central Committee had correctly and clearsightedly pointed to the immediate goal of struggle: "Protest aggression, full independence, people's power."

On September 2, 1945, the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam came into being. President Ho Chi Minh pointed out in the declaration of independence: "Viet-Nam has the right to be free and independent, and in fact it is so already. The entire Vietnamese people are determined to mobilize all their physical and mental strength, to sacrifice their lives and property in order to safeguard their freedom and independence."

The Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, the fruit of the revolutionary struggle of the people throughout the country, is a national people's democratic state representing the right of our people from the North to the South as master of the country. Looking back into the past, the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam is the abolition of one century of colonial domination and of several thousand years of feudal rule. Looking into the future, the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam reflects the will and represents the forces of our people determined to safeguard their national independence and pave the way for advancing straight to socialism.

In the space of only one year or more from the success of the August Revolution to the outbreak of the nation-wide resistance war against the French colonialists, the new regime went through successive trials and had to cope with extremely complex and difficult situations. It was in the midst of such trials that the genius of President Ho Chi Minh, the clear-sighted leadership of our Party and the revolutionary energy of our people stood out in bold relief.

Only 5 days after the founding of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, the provisional government decided to hold general elections to the National Assembly. On January 6, 1946, our entire people went to the polls on a universal suffrage basis to elect their genuine representative. Two months later, the first

National Assembly in our country's history met to form an official government, and then adopted the first Constitution of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam. The elections to the National Assembly were followed by elections of people's councils at village and provincial levels, which in their turn set up administrative committees at all levels. Within a few months, we succeeded in building a new state of the people having a constitution, a national assembly, a government, elected bodies and administrative organs at all levels. We succeeded in setting up a democratic administration of the people, an effective instrument for mobilizing the forces of the people to safeguard the fruits of the revolution and build a new social regime.

Right after its founding, the people's state abolished head tax and all the other vestiges of the colonialist rule, proclaimed democratic liberties, issued an order on reduction of land rent, effected the eight-hour workday, proclaimed equal rights of all nationalities and between men and women, and freedom of belief.

In very gloomy conditions inherited from the old regime and caused by natural calamities, the state endeavoured to solve urgent economic and cultural problems, boosting production and practising thrift to combat famine, developing education and building a new culture to combat illiteracy in an urgent manner and with practical methods.

Soon after the new revolutionary administration was set up, foreign aggressors moved big into our country. In the North, 200,000 troops of Chiang Kai-shek, henchmen of the U.S. imperialists, swarmed in and joined hands with the Viet-Nam Kuomintang, posing a direct threat to the sovereignty and independence of our country. Meanwhile, British troops entered South Viet-Nam to help the French colonialists stage a come-back. The latter rekindled hostilities in Saigon, then extended them to South Viet-Nam and to the southern part of the Central Viet-Nam, in a bid to reimpose their rule on our country. Our fatherland freshly liberated was again in danger. Confronted with seemingly unsurmountable perils, under the leadership of President Ho Chi Minh and the Party, the people's administration from the central down to local level proved their strength and abilities in waging a revolutionary struggle to oppose and defeat the enemies at home and from abroad, and at the same time made all-round preparations for the war of resistance against the French colonialists which, in our early forecast, was unavoidable.

During this period, we negotiated with the French several times, but these stubborn colonialists who were bent on reconquering our country, only used negotiations as a delaying tactic, while seeking to gain ground. On December 19, 1946, in face of their brazen acts of aggression, President Ho Chi Minh called on the entire people to stand up to fight the aggressors and save the country.

### 25 Years of Fighting against the Imperialist Aggressors to Win Back and Defend Independence and Freedom

Comrades and friends, the past 25 years have been 25 years of unremitting struggle of our people against the imperialist aggressors to achieve national liberation, defend the fatherland, maintain and strengthen the people's democratic power and build the new social regime.

During the 9 years from 1945 to 1954, our people conducted a war of resistance against the French colonialists in response to the sacred appeal of President Ho Chi Minh: "We would rather sacrifice everything than lose our country. We are determined not to be enslaved... Those who have rifles will use their rifles, those who have swords will use their swords, those who have no swords will use spades, hoes or sticks. Everyone must endeavor to oppose the colonialists and save the country... Even if we have to endure hardships in the resistance war, with the determination to make sacrifices, victory will surely be ours!"

At first with bamboo sticks we fought the enemy while building the armed and political forces of the people, created and applied the strategy and tactics of people's war. Through a long and arduous struggle, we gradually tipped the balance of forces in our favour, dealt heavier and heavier blows at the enemy and won bigger and bigger victories.

The fight in Hanoi capital during the first few months after the outbreak of the national resistance war was marked by glorious feats of arms of our armed forces and people and an initial setback of the enemy's blitzkrieg tactic.

In the 1947 Autumn-Winter, our armed forces and people smashed the enemy's attack against the Viet Bac region aimed at destroying our main forces and nerve organs.

After that big victory, our armed forces and people stepped up fighting on all battlefields, developed guerrilla warfare in the enemy's rear, and at the same time, endeavoured to consolidate our rear bases. In three years of resistance, our forces grew rapidly. In 1949, the Chinese Revolution succeeded and the great People's Republic of China came into being, striking a deadly blow at imperialism, considerably tipping the world balance of forces in favour of the revolutionary forces, and strongly encouraging all nations in the world. In the 1950 Autumn-Winter, our armed forces and people won big victories in areas bordering on China, expanded and consolidated the Viet Bac resistance base, linking Viet-Nam to new China and the socialist camp as a whole.

From then on, our armed forces and people launched one campaign after another in North Viet-Nam midlands and delta, in Quang Binh-Quang Tri-Thua Thien area, in the southern part of Central Viet-Nam and in South Viet-Nam proper, wiping out much of the enemy live forces and enlarging the liberated zone everywhere. The war evolved rapidly and climaxed at Dien Bien Phu. The enemy mastered considerable forces at the Dien Bien Phu entrenched camp for a life-and-death show-down. Early in 1954, we tightened our siege on Dien Bien Phu and launched our attack. Under our heavy pressure, the enemy had to pour into Dien Bien Phu their remaining elite units. The U.S. imperialists set up an airlift to supply the beleaguered French troops and contemplated extremely dangerous military measures in an attempt to ward off failure. But nothing could save them. After 55 days and nights of fighting, our armed forces completely wiped out the enemy at Dien Bien Phu, striking a staggering blow at the French expeditionary army and shattering the U.S. imperialists' scheme to drag out and expand the war in Indochina.

The Dien Bien Phu victory made a decisive contribution to the success of the 1954 Geneva Conference on Indochina, leading to the signing of the Geneva Agreements which recognized the independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of our people, and of the Lao and Cambodian peoples, completely liberating the North and providing for the holding of free general elections in 1956 to reunify the country.

The Dien Bien Phu victory was a historic victory of our people and also a victory of far-reaching international significance of the peoples of the colonial and dependent countries, marked the

collapse of old colonialism, strongly impelled the national liberation movement and set a bright example inspiring the oppressed peoples in the world.

Unwilling to give up their aggressive design, immediately after the Geneva Conference, the U.S. imperialists stepped into the French colonialists' shoes, quickly switching from cynical intervention to direct aggression against our country. Like the French colonialists at the end of the 19th century and after World War II, this time the U.S. imperialists jumped into the southern part of our country with the intention of extending their occupation to the whole country. Our second war of resistance broke out, this time against the extremely cruel, stubborn and perfidious imperialist ringleader who has enormous economic and military potentials and the support of a number of its allies and satellites.

From 1954, the U.S. imperialists used the Ngo Dinh Diem stooge administration as an instrument to turn South Viet-Nam into a new-type colony and military base in preparation for an eventual attack on the socialist North. Our compatriots in the South immediately stepped up their political struggle backed by armed activities to maintain the revolutionary movement there. When the U.S. -Diem clique switched to fascist repression, ruthlessly massacring the patriots, our countrymen passed to the offensive, launching partial uprisings in vast rural areas. The "concerted uprisings" in late 1959 and early 1960 were a victory of particularly important significance, as they laid the ground-work for an all-out people's war under the banner of unity for national salvation of the South Viet-Nam National Front for Liberation.

From 1961 to 1964, in South Viet-Nam the U.S. imperialists carried out a "special war" by means of the puppet army and administration under the direct command of the U.S. with the aim of regaining control of the countryside through a system of "strategic hamlets," while undertaking a "search and destroy" campaign against the fledgling armed forces of the South Vietnamese people. But the latter have foiled the "state policy of strategic hamlets" of the enemy, wiped out a big part of the puppets' main forces, and rapidly developed the forces of the revolution. The repeated military victories coupled with the mounting political movement of the masses in the countryside and the towns led to the downfall of the despotic, fascist Ngo Dinh Diem administration and many other puppet administrations that succeeded it, and drove the U.S. "special war" to bankruptcy. .

Early in 1965, the U.S. imperialists massively sent their expeditionary troops to South Viet-Nam, started a local war there, launched a war of destruction by air and sea against the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, while feverishly intervening in Laos and constantly threatening Cambodia. On April 10, 1965, President Ho Chi Minh appealed to the people throughout the country:

"Our people are living in an extremely glorious period of history. Our country has the great honor of being an outpost of the socialist camp and of the world's peoples who are struggling against imperialism, old and new colonialism. Our people have fought and made sacrifices not only for the sake of their own freedom and independence, but also for the common freedom and independence of the other peoples and of peace in the world... At present, to oppose the U.S. and save the country is the most sacred task of every Vietnamese patriot... Let all of us single-mindedly unite millions as one man and be determined to defeat the U.S. aggressors!

"For the future of our fatherland, for the happiness of our people let all compatriots and fighters throughout the country march forward valiantly!"

From 1965 to 1967, the U.S. imperialists beefed up their expeditionary army from 200,000 to over 400,000. Together with more than half a million puppet and satellite troops, they launched two dry-season strategic counter-offensives. The main objective was to "search and destroy" the main forces of the National Front for Liberation. However, in both dry seasons, they got hard blows and had to fall back from a strategic offensive position to a posture of passive defense. From then on, the heroic South Viet-Nam armed forces and people, giving full scope to their offensive have fought the enemy relentlessly and won big victories on all battlefields.

In the North, the U.S. imperialist aggressors' war aimed at sabotaging socialist construction, impeding the great rear's support to the great front and swaying the entire Vietnamese people's determination to oppose the U.S. aggression and save the country, met with tough resistance from the North Viet-Nam armed forces and people, while the fight in the South continued developing steadily and powerfully. The criminal steps of escalation taken by the enemy in their war of destruction against the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam were shattered one after another.

It was in the general context of our glorious victories and the enemy's evident failure in both parts of the country the general offensive and wide-spread uprising in Spring 1968 broke out. The strength accumulated in many years of people's war was turned into thunder blows dealt at the U.S. and its puppets, hitting at one time almost all cities, province capitals, nerve organs and important military bases and supply areas of the enemy wiping out or disbanding a major part of their forces. This victory of paramount significance with regard to the overall situation of the war resounded far and wide in the world, and ushered in a new stage of the fight against U.S. aggression for national salvation. In late March 1968, the U.S. imperialists had to stop in part the bombing in the North. More than a month later, the U.S. government had to agree to the holding of talks in Paris with the representative of the D. R. V. N. A new front in our people's fight was opened. All along 1968, our people developing their victories and initiative of action, repeatedly hammered at the enemy on the battlefields in both parts of the country and on all the three fronts, and won big victories. In the South, the enemy was bogged down more and more deeply in their position of passive defense. In the North, the enemy had to accept complete failure of their war of destruction and to stop unconditionally their bombardments on the whole territory of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam. That was a victory of deep significance with regard to the whole war. In December 1968, the U.S. government agreed to a four-party conference in Paris with the participation of the representatives of the South Viet-Nam National Front for Liberation who were afterwards, representatives of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet-Nam.

Due to the obvious defeats suffered by the U.S. in its war of aggression in Viet-Nam, Johnson stepped down and Nixon took over in the United States under the deceptive slogan of restoring peace. But President Nixon spoke of peace only to conceal his policy of continuing and intensifying the war of aggression in furtherance of the so-called "Vietnamization-of-the-war." That plan is essentially intended to perpetuate the U.S. occupation of South Viet-Nam, feverishly build up the puppet army and administration, push up "pacification" with extremely brutal methods with a view to realizing the U.S. crazy ambition of turning South Viet-Nam into a new-type colony and military base of the U.S. and perpetuating the partition of Viet-Nam.

The "Vietnamization-of-the-war" plan born of the failure of the U.S. has met with successive setbacks on the South Viet-Nam battlefields ever since early 1969. The U.S. aggressors thought they could get out of their predicament by expanding the war to the whole of Indochina. But their military adventure in Cambodia proved to be a dismal failure. The U.S. "special war" in Laos also suffered repeated blows. The setbacks sustained by the U.S. imperialists in Indochina have driven them into tight straits right in the United States in the world.

Our protracted and arduous fight is unfolding in very favorable conditions whereas our enemy is facing innumerable difficulties. Our people throughout the country, upholding their determination to fight and to win, are persevering in and (? stepping up) the fight against U.S. aggression, for national salvation, with the resolve to put into effect President Ho Chi Minh's testament: "No matter what difficulties and hardships may lie ahead, our people are sure to win total victory. The U.S. imperialists will have to pull out. Our fatherland will be reunified. Our countrymen in the North and in the South will be reunited under the same roof."

At the same time, the Vietnamese people are wholeheartedly and unreservedly strengthening their militant solidarity with the peoples of our two brotherly neighboring countries in order to completely defeat the U.S. imperialist aggressors and their flunkies in the whole of Indochina.

Our people's victory will be a victory of an international and historic significance. President Ho Chi Minh has pointed out: "Our country will have the signal honor of being a small nation which, through a heroic struggle, has defeated two big imperialisms-- the French and American -- and made a worthy contribution to the national liberation movement."

## Building of Socialism in the North

Comrades and Friends,

After the conclusion of the 1954 Geneva Agreements, completely liberated North Viet-Nam immediately embarked on the period of transition to socialism.

In the 16 years that have elapsed since, the North has gone through various periods: The period of economic rehabilitation from late 1954 to the end of 1957 which saw the healing of the wounds of war left by the 9 years of resistance and the completion of land reform; the period of accelerated socialist transformation from 1958 to the end of 1960, which saw a decisive victory in agricultural collectivization, the completion in the main of the socialist transformation of the private capitalist sector of trade and industry, and the building of socialist ownership in the relations of production to lay the groundwork for further advance; the period of the first five-year plan [1961-1965] which prepared the promises for step by step socialist industrialization - the central task in the period of transition to socialism; the period of arduous fighting against the U.S. imperialists' war of destruction from 1965 through 1968 which required bold economic orientation to meet wartime conditions, to effectively serve the forefront while continuing socialist construction. Since 1969 we have striven to restore and develop the economy, so as to overcome the aftermath of the four years of war destruction and to prepare for the acceleration of socialist construction.

In the North, the Party's line has been blazing the way for us in every one of our steps forward. This line was charted in the resolution of the Party's third national congress in 1960, combining the universal principles of Marxism - Leninism with the practice of the revolution in our country. Creatively applying the Party's line, increasing the managing power of the state in its historic task of proletarian dictatorship, we are carrying abreast and developing the combined effectiveness of the three revolutions: The revolution of the production relations, the technical revolution and the ideological and cultural revolution, of which the technical revolution is the cornerstone. In his article written on the occasion of the 40th founding anniversary of the Party, Comrade Le Duan already made clear the Party's line concerning the first stage of our country's industrialization in these terms: "We must give priority to the rational development of heavy industry on the basis of the development of agriculture and light industry, build the economy at the central level while developing regional economy."

This is a correct, practical and sound point of view charting the road forward full of fine prospects and meeting the urgent demands of the people's life and war. This point of view must be grasped thoroughly and translated into practical deeds with clear economic effects by all responsible organs in the national economy, by all responsible organs of the Party and the state.

In the past 16 years, our people had to go through four years of a terrible war of destruction and to spend five years healing the wounds of two wars, so that the actual time given to peaceful construction was only about seven years. In this period, the people's democratic power, under the leadership of the Party, has brought into full play the strength of millions of laboring people in the building of a new life, and have recorded achievements our people can be proud of.

Thanks to the achievements in socialist transformation and socialist construction from 1954 to 1965 North Viet-Nam was strong enough to defeat the U.S. war of destruction and fulfill its duty toward the South. During the four years of war, in the midst of 100,000 enemy attacks and over one million tons of bombs and shells of various kinds rained on them, the North Viet-Nam people have achieved a miracle. They have safeguarded and even increased the strength of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam in all fields -- political, military, economic, and cultural. Carrying out the policy regarding economic reorientation, we have kept communications and transport open at all times, developed agricultural and industrial production in a way suitable for war time, improved the distribution of goods, thus meeting all requirements of the fight and on the whole stabilizing the people's life.

After only a very short period of construction, the socialist regime has gradually taken shape and grown up right from the age-old small production in our country. The socialist ownership in the production relations have been set up and strengthened continually, constituting the basis for the formation and development of socialism. The economic build-up and the boosting of agricultural and industrial production are gradually giving rise to a new economic structure suitable for the initial steps of our country in the transitional period. The face of our country has changed completely, and the people's material life and more particularly cultural life is already a far cry from what it was under the old regime.

Everyone knows that under the French colonial rule, North Viet-Nam was affected by chronic famine. In the years of crop failure, people died in countless numbers. The colonialist scholars at the time concluded that famine was a law and the destiny of North Viet-Nam. Proceeding from this situation, the imperialists, who have committed aggression against our country over the past 25 years, have hatched very perfidious and dark schemes, and realities of our fight on the military and economic fronts, have eloquently testified to their ignominious defeat. Nowadays, everyone in North Viet-Nam has enough food and clothing, and the people's life in those rural areas with a good production movement has by far surpassed that in the past.

Our achievements in culture and education are really wonderful. Under French domination, North Viet-Nam had only three senior high schools established in Hanoi. Today, all the districts and many villages have their own senior high schools or classes. It is now a long time since our people were freed from illiteracy, and one out of every three inhabitants are going to school. Total university enrolments in North Viet-Nam this year approximate 76,000 -- a 121-fold increase over the figure for the whole of Indochina under the old regime. North Viet-Nam now has hundreds of thousands of technicians and thousands of scientific workers. That is valuable asset which we must make good use of. The new culture and art with a socialist content and a national character, full of staunch combativeness and vitality, is developing under many diversified forms with the participation of broad masses of the people.

Thanks to the achievements of the socialist, health work, our people's health has improved markedly compared with the past, life expectancy has increased quickly, the infant mortality rate has dropped to one of the lowest in the world, and social diseases have been eradicated one after another.

The Vietnamese nation today is a very young nation. Those who were born in the new regime, that is below 25 years of age, now account for over 60 percent of the population. Every year, they will form a new contingent of working people with good health, sound knowledge and high technical skill. This is a very encouraging sign of the great vitality of our regime and our nation. We have achieved all that with our bare hands at the start and in the conditions of an unremitting fight against foreign aggressors for

several successive decades. For this, our people are for ever grateful to Uncle Ho, have seen all the more clearly, the clear-sighted leadership of the Party, and are proud of their own determination, energy and creativeness.

In the new situation that has emerged, socialist North Viet-Nam is assuming an ever more important position in our people's resistance to U.S. aggression, for national salvation. The North must endeavour to continue socialist construction, promote economic rehabilitation and economic and cultural development, in order to be worthy of its role as the ever stronger rear base of the great front. At the same time, it must always remain vigilant, ready to smash all war acts of the U.S. imperialists against the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam.

On the economic plane, the immediate task of our people in the North is to mobilize all capacities and existing reserve sources to eliminate in the shortest time possible the sequels of war, effect a vigorous step forward in the economic life, rehabilitate and develop production, increase social products to meet the needs of consumption and partly the needs of accumulation, build step by step an economic structure conforming to the Party's line in the present situation, and at the same time prepare the necessary forces for starting large-scale socialist construction whenever conditions permit.

We must boost the production of farm and consumer goods, considering this to be the main direction at present. We must step up the regional economy along with striving to restore and develop the key branches of the central economy.

Agricultural production, the key of which is production of food and foodstuffs, must in the coming years aim to solve basically the needs of North Viet-Nam in food and foodstuffs and also to supply raw materials for the processing industry and increase agricultural goods for export.

Production of consumer goods must be speeded up to meet the pressing demands of the people and increase industrial goods for exchange with the peasants with a view to stimulating agricultural development.

Along with the production of agricultural and consumer goods, we must promote such branches of heavy industry of first importance as coal, power, cement, timber, fertilizers, the production of medium and small-sized equipment and various kinds of implements for agriculture and many other branches of the national economy.

The restoration and development of the communications and transport and goods interflow and distribution must be undertaken proportionately with the national economy as a whole.

Simultaneously with the rehabilitation and development of production, we must perfect socialist transformation of agriculture, handicraft and small trade, and constantly consolidate and improve the socialist production relations.

To fulfill the above tasks, the basic and most decisive measure is to mobilize our production and technical force, make a balanced and rational distribution of these forces in various branches and localities with a view to a full use of the existing material resources (equipment, materials and raw materials), and the abundant natural resources of our country. Everyone of us must clearly realize the tremendous real as well as latent capacities in labour force and material resources and must know how to distribute and make use of them in the most rational way in the whole of our territory, from the central to the lowest level, down to each factory, construction site and co-operative. Only by so doing can we increase step by step social labour productivity and bring into play the economic effect of our investments in conformity with the present economic line of the Party. By laying emphasis on this point, we want to make everyone realize his responsibility toward the great interests of the country and the people as well as toward his own interests. This also serves to show to everyone our very favorable conditions and great abilities, hence to encourage him to march forward and enthusiastically and confidently joining the revolutionary struggle on the economic front in socialist North Viet-Nam. While promoting production we must practice economy in all spheres of construction, production and consumption, and protect and make good use of state and collective property. Everyone of us should bear in mind and act upon President Ho Chi Minh's teaching: "Each ton of coal, each machine, each quintal of food... we obtain from

extraproduction and economization will help speed up socialist construction in the North, constitute a support for the valiant struggle of our countrymen in the South, and contribute to the peaceful reunification of the country."

Comrades and Friends,

The successes our people have recorded in the past 25 years in their struggle against the imperialist aggressors, to defend national independence and the fruits of the revolution as well as in the building of a new life in all fields are eloquent and shining demonstrations of the absolute superiority, great vitality and mighty strength of the new regime.

Born from the victory of the August Revolution, the new regime is the most precious gain of our people. It symbolizes the independence of our nation, the freedom of the people, and the guarantee for the future strength and prosperity of our country. Thanks to the education by President Ho Chi Minh and our Party, our people have deeply understood the essence and value of the new regime, are always ready to make every sacrifice in defense of their regime. The absolute superiority, vitality and strength of our regime stem from its deep roots in and close attachment to people.

War is the biggest trial for a social regime. Is there any trial which is longer, more bitter and more significant than that which has been endured by our new regime over the past quarter century? In the protracted fight against one of the biggest and most powerful imperialists of our time, in these life-and-death confrontations, our new regime has triumphed and matured.

The new regime has built and constantly strengthened the people's armed forces and organized a big political army comprising millions of people. These two forces are closely coordinated in the fight against the enemy. The new regime makes it possible for the rear base to assist the front line, in material forces as well as providing it with great ideas and sentiments which are the determination of the entire people to fight and to win. The new regime represents the all-out resistance war, in the military, political, economic, ideological and cultural spheres. It brings out the international line of our Party, and

the foreign policy of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, tightens the friendship between our country and the other fraternal socialist countries, the ties between our people's fight against the imperialist aggressors and all peoples throughout the world who have independence and freedom at heart. Relying mainly on its own force, and at the same time making full use of world support, our new regime has been set up, consolidated, and constantly developed in all fields.

Our people's armed force, composed of three categories of forces, have grown out of practically nothing, from small to big units, from primitive to modern equipment. They have now become a powerful army, guided by a correct military line, provided with high political consciousness, and have step by step mastered the military science and art of people's war in accordance with President Ho's teaching: "Be loyal to the Party and people, overcome all difficulties, fulfill all tasks and defeat all enemies."

The political foundation of our regime has proved its steadiness and strength. Under the Party's leadership, the worker-peasant alliance has been steeled and tempered serving as the basis for making our national unity broader and closer, uniting the people of various strata, nationalities and religious beliefs, uniting the people at home with overseas Vietnamese and uniting the North and the South of our country. Young as it is, our people's democratic power has undergone many trials and has grown up through two patriotic wars.

The economic basis of the regime has unceasingly developed in the process of our advance from the national people's democratic revolution to the socialist revolution. The land reform which was carried out right during the resistance war against French colonialism was a deep and broad revolution that abolished the land ownership of the imperialist rulers and the feudal land ownership of the landlord class, materializing the age-old dream of "Land to the tillers" of the labouring peasants. The land reform liberated the production forces in the countryside, promoted agricultural production, replenished the forces of the people, especially the labouring peasants, and made an important contribution to the Dien Bien Phu victory. Since North Viet-Nam entered the period of transition to socialism, the successful establishment of socialist production relations has created the basis for applying the laws of socialism, stepping up agricultural and

industrial production, increasing the economic forces of the great rear, in the fight against U.S. aggression for national salvation.

The new regime finds a splendid expression in the new Vietnamese. The two resistance wars of our nation, especially the current resistance against U.S. imperialism, together with the socialist transformation and construction, have clearly shown that man makes the strength of the regime. This is the Vietnamese who is fighting the enemy while building a new life, considering it his sacred task toward the fatherland and his greatest honour, who is developing to the highest degree his patriotism, combined with proletarian internationalism, bringing into play his valour, intelligence, and creativeness, and giving full expression to his good qualities. The high tide of revolutionary heroism in the resistance war and construction has brought to the limelight the new man of Viet-Nam who is the fruit of the whole process of revolution in the past decades under the leadership of our Party and who combines in itself the strength of the working class and the tradition of the thousands of years of the national history.

Our army men are skillfully manning both primitive and modern weapons to wipe out the enemy. Our young volunteers are working with boldness and self-devotion at the most perillous battle grounds. The "Three Ready" youths, the "Three Responsibilities" women, the "Three Determinations" intellectuals, the white-haired militiamen, the "Combatants' Mothers", the young pioneers and children are eagerly joining the fight against the aggressors and the production front. All of them are new heroes, products of the new regime, who carry in themselves the strength of the new regime, fighting in the light of the truth: "Nothing is more precious than independence and freedom," and who understand deeply that to achieve independence and freedom is to build a new regime and a new life.

In the past 25 years, our new regime has grown up incessantly as a result of the inter action of the tasks of fighting and building, of the front and the rear area. The tougher our war of resistance, the firmer and stronger the regime must be and the stronger the front must stimulate the growth of the rear area. Inversely, the firmer and stronger the regime is and the more powerful the rear area becomes, the more effectively it will help the front to fight

victoriously. Our people are now persisting in and stepping up their fight against U.S. aggression, for national salvation, till complete victory. The building of socialism in North Viet-Nam must be pushed ahead even more powerfully. It must turn in fuller account the great role of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam in the cause of liberating the South defending the North and advancing to the peaceful reunification of the country, with a view to the realization of a peaceful, independent, unified, democratic, and prosperous Viet-Nam.

The Revolutionary Cause of our People is Linked  
with that of the World's People

Our people's revolutionary cause which consists in carrying out the people's national democratic revolution in South Viet-Nam along with the socialist revolution in North Viet-Nam is a typical instance of the trend of the present day world. In World War II, the success of the Soviet Union and the other democratic forces of the world over the most cruel imperialist forces of the time--the German, Italian and Japanese fascists--ushered in a period of the most stirring high tide ever seen in the history of the world revolution, the most striking feature of which is the combination of the two revolutionary currents of the area: the socialist revolution and the national liberation revolution.

First and foremost, we must bring out the victory of socialism in a series of countries in Europe and Asia, and then Latin America that led to the formation of the world socialist system. Over 1,000 million people of the 13 socialist countries are powerfully and steadily marching on the road of building a new society, converting the formerly underdeveloped countries into those having the best political regime, modern industry and agriculture, advanced culture and science and powerful national defense, setting a shining example and becoming the hope of mankind. In the present era, the socialist camp has unceasingly exerted its influence as the factor deciding the development of human society and the bulwark of the world revolution and world peace.

Together with the victory of socialism was the irresistible rising of hundreds of millions of people of various oppressed nations in a seething national liberation tide, completely changing the face of the globe in a very short period of history. More than

60 countries which had lost their independence and freedom, were freed from colonial bondage and stepped onto the international arena as newly emerging forces full of vitality and energy, for the march forward. The repeated victories of the national liberation movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America have caused the colonial system to disintegrate by big chunks, and dealt decisive blows at the rear of imperialism.

In the imperialist and capitalist countries there has emerged an unprecedentedly vigorous movement of the working class and other laboring people, in coordination with other democratic forces, against the state monopoly capital and the oligarchy of U.S. imperialism, to win democracy and social progress and defend peace and national sovereignty, dealing strong blows at imperialism right in its same area.

These great revolutionary forces together with the broad peace movement in the world are repeatedly attacking imperialism from many sides, tipping the world balance of forces in favour of the revolution.

In the meantime, international capitalism has been floundering more and more desperately in its protracted general crisis. In view of the law of uneven development of imperialism, during the past 10 years, a few imperialist countries have reared their heads, making the rivalry among the imperialist countries more acute and, at the same time, bringing out more strikingly the weakness of world capitalism as a whole. The most salient feature was the serious failure of U.S. imperialism. After World War One and particularly following World War II, U.S. imperialism, enriched by the two wars, stepped onto the international arena with its rabid ambition of world hegemony by means of nuclear weapons and dollars.

But U.S. imperialism is rearing its head at a time when world capitalism has, on the whole, weakened, when the balance of forces --between imperialism headed by U.S. imperialism on one side and socialism and all the revolutionary forces on the other--becomes more and more unfavourable to them, when the world revolution is launching repeated offensives, inflicting on it deadly blows and driving it from one defeat to another.

Since it plunged into the war of aggression against Viet-Nam, the down hill slide of U.S. imperialism has become even more quicker. In the fierce struggle between our people and the enemy, our victory is the victory of the new society, the failure suffered by the U.S. imperialists is the failure of an odious and reactionary social regime. That is the regime of state monopoly capital in the United States, characterized by oppression and exploitation of the people at home, coupled with aggression against the people of other countries. It plainly reveals all the brutality and barbarity of U.S. imperialism toward the working people, the human beings, in the U.S. as well as in the world.

The U.S. failure in its war of aggression in Viet-Nam has shaken the whole structure of the U.S., aggravated the all-round crisis of the social regime in the U.S., in the political, economic, ideological, cultural as well social spheres, directly harming the interests and profoundly shocking the conscience of increasing numbers of Americans.

Worthy of note is the crisis of confidence of the Americans in the words and deeds of the ruling circles, in the "Vietnamization of the war" policy, and in the realities of American society. More and more Americans have been awakened to the fact that the U.S. is not building a "great society," instead is becoming a "sick society" and that the role of the U.S. in the world is not one of a "great free power," but an international gendarme, the bulwark of the reactionary forces, hated and opposed by the people in all parts of the globe. Even in the imperialist camp, the U.S. no longer retains its absolute superiority as in the past, but is meeting with stronger and stronger rivalry. The U.S. position in all parts of the world has weakened.

The war of aggression in Viet-Nam is an important part in the global strategy of U.S. imperialism. The latter not only wants to occupy our country, but also to make of Viet-Nam a testing ground for its strategies, tactics and new kinds of weapons to repress the national liberation movement. In our country, the U.S. imperialists have revealed their extremely brutal fascist nature. But also in our country, the myth about the "invincible strength" of the U.S. has exploded, the contradictions and fundamental weaknesses of the U.S. imperialists have become more apparent than ever before, and the unavoidable failure of the U.S. has become ever more conspicuous to the world's people.

The time when the U.S. imperialists could rule the roost is past and gone, and no frantic counter-revolutionary acts of theirs can save them. The U.S. -led imperialists have sought a thousand and one means to counter-attack the world revolutionary movement. They have tried their hardest to revive Japanese militarism and West German fascism, feverishly stepping up the arms race, encircling, threatening and sabotaging socialist countries, and resorting to every way and means to sow discord among the socialist countries.

In the independent countries of the "third world", they have increased their interference, engineered coups d'etat to bring the henchmen of imperialism to power, actively carried out neo-colonialism under one form or another, including the waging of "special wars" or "local wars," but they have repeatedly sustained heavy defeats. The world revolutionary forces, (words indistinct) the offensive strategy, have repulsed imperialism step by step and overthrown it part by part, accelerating its process of inevitable doom.

The past 25 years have been the continuation and development of the trend of the first half of the 20th century when a new era was opened in human history with the triumph of the great October revolution and the coming into existence of the U.S.S.R. The remaining 30 years of this century will be a period indissolubly linked with the Vietnamese people's struggle and success of historic and international significance, with the great fight of the world people for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism and with the visible weakening of U.S. -led imperialism. It will certainly witness the rapid growth and new and still more brilliant victories of the revolutionary cause of the working class and people in the world.

From the outset, our people, educated by President Ho Chi Minh and the Party, have combined patriotism with proletarian internationalism, always conscious that their revolutionary struggle is an inseparable part of the revolutionary cause of the world's peoples. All the successes we have recorded cannot be thought of separately from the international support and assistance given us by our brothers and friends in all continents.

The Vietnamese people will for ever bear in mind and be grateful for the tremendous and invaluable support and assistance accorded them by the Soviet Union, China and the other fraternal socialist countries during their war of resistance against the French colonialists in the past as well as in the present war of resistance against U.S. aggression, for national salvation, and the building of socialism in North Viet-Nam. The Vietnamese people are sincerely grateful for the sympathy and support accorded them by the proletarian internationalism. The Vietnamese people are sincerely grateful for the warm sympathy and very effective support given them by the peoples of Asian, African and Latin American countries, the peace-and democracy-loving people in the world, including the progressive people in the United States. As a tribute to this noble international support, the Vietnamese people will always strive their hardest to fulfill their internationalist duty.

The Vietnamese people firmly support the fraternal Lao people's struggle under the leadership of the Lao Patriotic Front headed by Prince Souphanouvong, against the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys, firmly support the 5-point solution enunciated on March 6, 1970 by the Lao Patriotic Front aimed at solving the Lao question on the basis of the 1962 Geneva Agreements on Laos and the realities of the present situation in Laos, resolutely demand that the U.S. stop its war of aggression against Laos, withdraw totally and unconditionally U.S. troops and military personnel, and Thai and South Vietnamese mercenaries from Laos, first and foremost, completely end the bombing of Laos' territory without posing any conditions, in order to create facilities for the Lao parties concerned to meet one another.

Our people firmly support the valiant struggle waged by the fraternal Khmer people rallied in the National United Front of Kampuchea headed by Samdech Head of State Norodom Sihanouk who are defeating the U.S. imperialist aggressors and the Lon Nol-Sirik Matak clique. We firmly support the 5-point proclamation of March 23, 1970 of Samdech Head of State Norodom Sihanouk and the political program of the National United Front of Kampuchea. We firmly support the only legal and authentic government of Cambodia--the Royal National Union Government of Cambodia headed by Samdech Penn Nouth. We sternly condemn the U.S. imperialists for using their henchmen in South Viet-Nam and scheming to use their lackeys in Thailand and other satellite countries to carry on their aggressive war in Cambodia.

The Vietnamese people, now as in the past and in the future, will respect the sacred commitments made in the joint declaration of the Indochinese People's Summit Conference, respect the independence, peace, neutrality, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Cambodia with her present borders, respect all the national rights of the Khmer and Lao people and any political regimes of their choice. They pledge to unite with the Lao and Khmer peoples to fight against the U.S. imperialist aggressors and co-operate with them on a long-term basis to build each his own country.

Conscious that the socialist camp is the sacred gain of the revolutionary struggle of the working class and labouring people the world over, the Vietnamese people and the government of the D. R. V. N. have always made all-out efforts to do their share in strengthening the fraternal solidarity and friendship among the brother countries, consolidating and developing the strength of each country and of the socialist camp as a whole. We warmly hail the all-round brilliant achievements of the Soviet Union, China and the other fraternal countries in the building of socialism and communism, which we consider as a big contribution to the world people's revolutionary cause and the safeguarding of world peace. Acting upon President Ho Chi Minh's sacred testament, we have done all in our power to contribute to the restoration and consolidation of the solidarity of the socialist camp and the international communist and workers' movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, in a fair and reasonable way.

We firmly support the Chinese people in their struggle for the recovery of Taiwan, inseparable territory of the People's Republic of China, support the Korean people who are struggling against U.S. imperialist aggression, for the liberation of the southern part of Korea, support the Cuban people in their struggle against the U.S. imperialists who are encroaching upon the security and sovereignty of the Cuban Republic, for the defense of the fatherland and building of socialism, support the people of the German Democratic Republic now struggling to demand that the West German government recognize the G. D. R. in terms of international law, recognize the sovereignty and territorial integrity of that country, and truly respect the inviolability of the frontiers in Europe, including those between the two German states and the Oder-Neisse line.

We firmly support the Asian, African and Latin American peoples in their struggle against imperialism and old and new colonialism, for independence and freedom, support the Thai people's struggle against the U.S. imperialists and the Thanom-Praphas reactionary clique, support the Japanese people's struggle against U.S. imperialism, against the revival of Japanese militarism, to achieve an independent, peaceful, democratic, neutral and prosperous Japan, support the Palestinian people and the people of other Arab countries now struggling against the Israeli aggressors, henchmen of U.S. imperialism, to win back their fundamental national rights, support the American people, white and black in their struggle against aggressive wars in Viet-Nam and other Indochinese countries and racial discrimination, for peace and their own legitimate interests. We resolutely support the protracted, arduous but certainly victorious struggle waged by the world's peoples for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

#### Immediate Tasks

Comrades and Friends,

Reviewing our work over the past 25 years since the August 1945 Revolution and the founding of the DRVN, everyone of us can see clearly and rejoice at the wonderful accomplishments we have made in the course of our persistent and dauntless revolutionary struggle, a struggle that has brought out the position and role of the DRVN.

In the present era, in our country and any other countries in the world, the success of the revolution does not mean that the revolutionary cause has been accomplished. On the contrary, the victory of the revolution ushered in a new situation with new revolutionary tasks, demanding new, bigger and more painstaking efforts. Our Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, our socialist North Viet-Nam is now facing such a situation. In other words it is called upon to shoulder heavier tasks in its capacity as the revolutionary base of the whole country and the big rear area of a battlefield where fierce combats are taking place which are certain to be crowned with glorious victories. Therefore, our DRVN, our socialist North Viet-Nam must grow up more quickly and increase more urgently its own forces in all fields, political, military, economic, cultural and social. We are resolved to do

this, because we have a regime the superiority, strength and vitality of which have been proved by recent momentous trials. We must realize clearly that this regime has brought us immense possibilities for applying the laws of socialism, for the carrying out of the three revolutions to develop economy and culture, and build a new life and a new type of man.

At the same time, we must realize that North Viet-Nam possesses very abundant natural resources with three different regions and advantageous geographical conditions of which we must try our best to make the fullest and most rational use. We are not afraid of starting socialist construction with an underdeveloped and very backward economy. Neither are we afraid of the aftermaths of the recent war of destruction. Proceeding from the present situation of our country, we are fully able to move forward and build socialism, and in a relatively short period of history, build a modern industry, a modern agriculture, and an advanced culture, science and technology, hence bringing a life of plenty to everybody. To this end, everyone of us must be a staunch fighter on the economy front, chiefly we must work with ever higher efficiency to achieve ever bigger economic results.

It is essential that at present and in a short period of time to come, we must be determined to build a firm basis for making big strides on the path of building a socialist economy: That basis will consist of an agriculture and a consumers' goods industry in addition to some of the key branches of heavy industry as mentioned above. At the same time, we must make intensive efforts to increase our capacity in the management of the national economy, with a view to creating necessary conditions for the full application of the laws of socialism in conformity with the conditions of our country.

The main tool for the management of the national economy is the state plans, long-term and yearly plans. The planning system comprising plans of various branches, various localities and various basic units, is the main system to manage the national economy in view of the fact that it can distribute in a balanced way and on a national scale as well as in each branch and locality down to each production establishment (co-operative, enterprise, construction site...) the labour force, technical forces and material resources (equipment, raw materials...), ensuring a harmonious and rapid development of the national economy in keeping with the Party's line.

To carry out planning through all-sided three-level management (central, regional and basic) is to carry out democratic centralism, creating conditions for the central level to exercise concentrated and unified management of the whole national economy and enabling the exercise of broad democratic rights and tapping every capability of all services, localities and to the basic units where the labouring masses produce material wealth. The process of working out and implementing plans is a process of consolidating democratic centralism; strengthening the centralized management by the central organs coupled with the broadening of democracy in the various branches and localities with the aim of developing the talents and creativeness of all branches and levels and of broad masses of the people. A very important measure to mobilize the labour force in such a way as to achieve ever higher productivity and economy efficiency is to know how to make use of the law of distribution according to labour and of economic levers and the various policies on material incentives along with constant and practical ideological and political education directly related to the economic tasks of each locality and at given moments. Besides, it is necessary to enforce strict and rigorous discipline in economy.

The tangible result of economic management can be seen in the enlarged reproduction at the grass-roots level which will permit enlarged reproduction in the whole of the national economy, enlarged production of the productive forces, consolidation of the relations of production, improvement of the material and cultural life of the people, and strengthening of the socialist society as a whole, in a word, unceasing development of the superiority, vitality and strength of the socialist regime.

The strengthening of state management must be linked with the increasing broadening of socialist democracy in various forms through the organizational system of the state as well as all through the line of various branches of the economic management apparatus. Effective measures must be taken to (word indistinct) the labouring people's mastership of the country and ensure for each unit and each labourer the conditions to exercise their right as master within their power and responsibilities.

To manage the economy in order to develop the socialist economy cannot be the job of a body or a contingent of cadres alone, but the work of the masses, of millions of labouring people. In the final analysis, the management by the state is aimed at ensuring the right of the people as collective master in working out and executing state plan, in producing and distributing social products as well as in organizing their material and cultural life.

Attention must be paid to strengthening the socialist law, educating everybody in the sense of respecting and correctly abiding the laws, regimes and regulations with regard to the rights and duties of the citizen. The socialist society is a highly organized and disciplined society. In the socialist construction in our country at present, every labourer must raise further his sense of organization and discipline and his persistent fighting will, overcome every difficulty to boost production, and strive to practice thrift and safeguard public property. Everybody must fulfill his duty toward the state which is also his duty toward the fight against U.S. aggression, for national salvation, and socialist construction. The Party is the all-round leader of our people's revolutionary cause, the all-round leader of the socialist construction in the North, exercising leadership with regard to line, ideology, policies and organization.

As far as North Viet-Nam is concerned, the people's democratic state assumes the historic study of proletarian dictatorship and manages the national economy. Therefore, Party leadership is actually aimed at unceasingly consolidating the state machinery, unceasingly increasing its capacity to run the national economy and all other social activities, and mobilizing the entire Party and all people to carry out the state plan, the second political program (Cuong Linh Thu Hai) of the Party, and state law -- which are a manifestation of the people's determination. In order to defeat the enemy, our Party has attached importance to building, consolidating and strengthening the people's armed forces. In this spirit, to develop the economy and culture, to build socialism, the Party attaches importance to building, consolidating and strengthening the state machinery and every Party member must set an example in this matter. This is of very important and practical significance at the present time.

Comrades and Friends,

The policy of aggression pursued by the Nixon administration against the whole of Indochina has linked our people's resistance to U.S. aggression, for national salvation, with the fight for national liberation of our two brothers and neighbours: the peoples of Cambodia and Laos.

In South Viet-Nam, our people have been concentrating their strength and spearheading their fight at the U.S. imperialism's policy of "Vietnamization-of-the-war" with a view to bringing it to complete failure.

Right from the outset, when President Nixon announced his policy of "Vietnamization-of-the-war", we already pointed out that this policy could not help take the U.S. out of the war. It was born of the losing and weakening position of the U.S. imperialism and is fraught with irreconcilable contradictions. That is why the more the U.S. persists in and steps up this policy the heavier defeats it will incur. Reality has fully substantiated that assertion.

Since early 1969, our armed forces and people in the South have repeatedly attacked the enemy on all battlefields and won great victories while continuing to increase their own forces. (Word indistinct) their heroism, resourcefulness, and creativeness, the South Vietnamese people's armed forces have developed many flexible tactics to wipe out great numbers of U.S. and puppet troops and war means right at the moment when they had fallen back on the defensive strategy, set up defense rings around the towns and their military bases and beside important communication lines.

One of the key strategic measures of the "Vietnamization-of-the-war" policy is "pacification" which is aimed at winning the "hearts and minds" of the people, expanding the areas under U.S.-puppet control, wiping out the revolutionary forces, strengthening the political basis and draft possibilities of the puppet administration, especially in the countryside. The new element in the implementation by Nixon of the old pacification program is the fact of the countless and extremely barbarous crimes which the program has piled up in an attempt

to suppress and control the people. Public opinion in the world has been deeply shocked by mass slaughters as in Son My as well as by the tortures and murders of political prisoners in the "tiger cages" on Poulo Condor island and many other places.

Born of cruelty and running completely counter to the people's will and interests, the "pacification" program has achieved so frail results that even the Western press noted that a night of attack by the "Viet Cong" could sweep away all the results of the "pacification" program. Even in the places where they are forced by the enemy to live in concentration camps, our people always turned their thought toward the National Front for Liberation and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet-Nam, and have been struggling in all forms to smash the "pacification" maneuvers of the enemy.

In Saigon, Da Nang, Hue and many other cities and towns across South Viet-Nam a wide and deep movement of the people of all strata is surging: students and pupils, workers and labouring masses, wounded and invalid puppet army men, women, buddhists, intellectuals, pressmen and national capitalists. "Vietnamization-of-the-war" means prolongation of the war, and using Vietnamese to fight the Vietnamese, throwing the burden of the U.S. war of aggression on our people in the areas still controlled by the enemy, drafting people irrespective of age, sex and occupation into the puppet army, increasing repression and terror, and increasing plunder of the population...

Such a policy will inevitably lead to the fascisation of the Thieu-Ky-Khiem regime, the last resort of the U.S. imperialists' "Vietnamization-of-the-war" policy. When the people of all strata right in the enemy's rear have risen up to wage a bitter struggle against them, this is a sign that the U.S. -puppets' doomsday is not far off. They are now sitting on a volcano. In their critical situation in South Viet-Nam, the U.S. imperialists staged a reactionary coup d'etat in Phnom Penh then massively sent their troops to invade Cambodia along with intensifying their "special war" in Laos.

Their aim was two fold: to save the "Vietnamization-of-the-war" policy from failure and enlarge the base for the continuation of that policy, at the same time to widen the scope of U.S. neo-colonialism in Cambodia and Laos. By this move the U.S. even contemplated the formation of an alliance of reactionaries, stooges of the U.S. from Saigon to Phnom Penh and from Vientiane to Bangkok.

But only in the space of a few months, it was proved beyond doubt that the U.S. imperialists have failed in both goals. Public opinion in the U.S. has pointed out that the adventurous aggression against Cambodia was a big military setback and a political "disaster" for the U.S. An answer to the U.S. imperialists' aggression was a new development of historical significance of the militant solidarity of the peoples of the three brotherly neighbours in Indochina who are wholeheartedly supporting and assisting one another in defeating the common enemy. Thus our people's fight to defeat the "Vietnamization-of-the-war" policy is unfolding in ever more favourable conditions.

In Cambodia, the patriotic armed forces and broad strata of people have risen up in a staunch struggle against the U.S. aggressors and the Lon Nol-Sirik Matak clique. They have won very important victories and liberated many vast areas. With the leaping advance of the Cambodian people and in the context of the critical situation of the U.S. stooges in Phnom Penh, the struggle for self-liberation of the Cambodian people is certain to make new, quick and big strides forward.

In Laos, the patriotic forces have continued their victorious march and unceasingly widened the liberation zone on all battle-fields. The failure sustained by the U.S. in intensifying its special war has helped many personalities in Vientiane, who have so far relied on the U.S., begin to worry about the consequences of the U.S. aggressive policy in Laos. In such a situation, exchange of letters has of late taken place between Prince Souphanouvong and Prince Souvanna Phouma which led to agreement upon the holding of a meeting between their plenipotentiaries in Khang Khay. Our people welcome this event of a positive significance.

The Nixon doctrine has met with initial failure shortly after it was applied in Indochina. This is so evident that even many satellite countries of the U.S. in Southeast Asia, in spite of U.S. pressure, have refused to act at the beck and call of the U.S.

In the United States, the movement against the U.S. war of aggression in Viet-Nam and Indochina, developing through many broad campaigns in the autumn of 1969 and the spring of 1970, has spontaneously erupted with unparalleled force, with the participation of millions of people right after President Nixon sent troops to invade Cambodia and ordered the bombing of many places in North Viet-Nam. The progressive people in the U.S. have seen more and more (words indistinct) the grave consequences of the policy of "Vietnamization-of-the-war" toward their interests and the future of their country.

Contradictions among the U.S. ruling circles have become acute in many domestic problems as well as foreign policies, chiefly in the Viet-Nam and Indochina problems. Many influential political and economic circles, many well known figures in both Houses of the U.S. Congress have used all in their power to oppose the "Vietnamization-of-the-war." They strongly protest against the Nixon administration's committing American troops to Cambodia and Laos and widening the war to the whole of Indochina. They demand that the Nixon administration bring all American troops home in a short period of time, that the Saigon puppet administration be toppled, that a coalition government be set up, and negotiations be stepped up to end the war at an early date.

In the world, stirring drives of struggle have surged up in many countries against the Nixon administration's stubborn pursuance of the "Vietnamization-of-the-war" policy and extension of the aggressive war to the whole of Indochina. The world people's front in support of Viet-Nam against the U.S. has been gaining in scope and depth, and as in the United States, has been focussed on demanding an end to the aggressive war and withdrawal of all American troops in a short period of time and supporting the formation of a coalition government in South Viet-Nam. The whole progressive mankind energetically condemns the extremely savage crimes and deceptive peace moves of the U.S. imperialists, strongly supports the fight of the Vietnamese, Lao and Khmer

peoples against U.S. aggression, for national salvation. The governments and peoples of the socialist countries have constantly strengthened their solidarity with the Vietnamese people and continue to render to our people vigorous political support and great material assistance. In third world countries, more and more people have shown their deep and broad support to the just and surely victorious fight of our people and their sympathy with the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet-Nam. In the capitalist countries, the people's movement in support of Viet-Nam against U.S. aggression has developed under very varied forms, the ruling circles in these countries have expressed their worry and disapproval of the U.S. "Vietnamization-of-the-war" policy. In face of our people's victories and the U.S. imperialists' defeats, many countries, in spite of U.S. pressure, have refused to share with the U.S. the burden of the policy of prolonging and expanding the war in Indochina.

This situation has proved that the "Vietnamization-of-the-war" policy has met with strong and very accurate rebuff from all sides. The undaunted and bound-to-be victorious fight of our people constitutes the decisive factor of this development: On the one hand it reveals the irretrievable losing position of the U.S. imperialists' war of aggression in our country, a position that has been made ever more obvious by the "Vietnamization-of-the-war" policy; on the other hand it brings out the unjust, inhuman and extremely atrocious character of the aggressor and the just and noble character of our people's fight.

A new element has emerged in the struggle against the "Vietnamization-of-the-war" policy of the U.S. imperialists in South Viet-Nam, especially in the areas still controlled by the enemy, including Saigon, in the United States and other places. That is the new outlook on the war, its origin and the dangers it carries as well as the new undertakings to end the war and restore peace on the basis of the inalienable national rights of our people in the South.

The struggle of the broad masses of people in Saigon, Da Nang, Hue and other cities and towns in South Viet-Nam, the popular, hard, persistent and at times fierce struggle right in the enemy rear, bears an important and profound significance. This struggle is being spearheaded at the source of the war--

U.S. aggression--and the sanguinary lackeys of the U.S. aggressors, the Thieu-Ky-Khiem clique. The slogans of action in this struggle actually represent the immediate interests of every section of the people as well as the supreme interests of the nation. They include a slogan with tremendous appeal, that is peace: "Stop the war of aggression", "Stop Vietnamization", "Restore peace" ... The slogan "Restore peace" is linked with series of undertakings which the reality of the struggle has proved most effective and urgent. They are independence, democracy, peace and neutrality. That is the prerequisite for a coalition government, the natural merging of the patriotic movement in the South Vietnamese cities and towns and the resistance to U.S. aggression, for national salvation, of the whole nation. That is a happy meeting between the earnest aspirations of broad masses of the townspeople and the great policies of the Front and the P. R. G. of the Republic of South Viet-Nam. That is a new and very significant development of the struggle for national liberation in South Viet-Nam which reflects the visible change in the balance of forces in South Viet-Nam in our favour and to the detriment of the enemy.

The slogan "Restore peace" chanted by the students, pupils, workers, women, intellectuals, buddhist believers and even many personalities in the puppet administration and army, and even American troops is a vigorous response to the four-point stand of the D. R. V. N. government and the 10-point overall solution of the N. F. L. and P. R. G. of the Republic of South Viet-Nam. We have on many occasions declared that we are fighting to win at all costs genuine independence and peace, and so long as these sacred objectives are not reached, we will fight on no matter how long it will take and what sacrifices we have to make. We have also stated that nobody cherishes peace more than our Vietnamese people do, but the peace we want must be a genuine and stable peace, not a "Pax Americana." It must be a peace associated with national independence and democratic freedoms, which ensure the life and interests of the people of all strata.

Such a peace is the goal of our struggle. It has been expounded in the 10-point overall solution. Among those objectives, we should, once again, lay stress on the two following points:

1. The United States must withdraw unconditionally from South Viet-Nam all its troops and those of the other foreign countries in the U.S. camp.

2. A provisional coalition government must be set up in South Viet-Nam to organize free and democratic elections with a view to setting up the official coalition government in South Viet-Nam.

To withdraw U.S. troops and troops of the foreign countries in the U.S. camp from South Viet-Nam is to really respect the independence and sovereignty of Viet-Nam. To form a broad provisional coalition government in the spirit of national concord in order to hold really free and democratic general elections in South Viet-Nam is a fair, reasonable and necessary measure to ensure the right to self-determination of the South Vietnamese people.

Those two key points are closely related to each other. Only when those two points are fully observed can genuine and durable peace be ensured, because any correct settlement of the Viet-Nam question must be based on the respect for the fundamental national rights of the Vietnamese people and the right to self-determination of the South Vietnamese people. The U.S. refusal to agree to withdraw all American troops, its scheme to maintain a big part of the U.S. forces to occupy South Viet-Nam permanently, its obdurate maintenance in power of the Thieu-Ky-Khiem puppet administration, its stooge, which is dead set against peace and the right to self-determination of the South Vietnamese people, constitute the very obstacle to a political settlement in South Viet-Nam.

Ruling circles in the White House and the Thieu clique also talk of peace. But how can one give any credit to their "peace" professions when they are seeking by all means to step up the "Vietnamization-of-the-war", perpetrating the presence of U.S. occupationist troops in South Viet-Nam? Obviously they can pull the wool over nobody's eyes but only reveal more clearly their aggressive and warlike nature. There also lies the reason why they oppose the coalition government. The N.F.L.'s proposal to set up a coalition government stems from a noble national spirit and humanism. In the present political and social

situation in South Viet-Nam, after years of wars and chaos, the most important thing, the prerequisite for the restoration of the normal life of the society and of each Vietnamese is the realization of the policy of great national union and national harmony without any discrimination as expounded in the political program of the N. F. L. This policy will have a direct effect on the people of all strata, arousing their enthusiasm, their mutual love and confidence which are very necessary for stabilizing the political and social situation in South Viet-Nam.

It will stir up the very natural patriotism of every Vietnamese including those who have at one time or another served the puppet army and administration. Not only does the policy of the N. F. L. and P. R. G. of the Republic of South Viet-Nam never undertake "reprisals", but also is intended to eliminate all enmity among the people of various strata in the interest of the great cause of the nation and of every South Vietnamese.

In opposing the setting up of a coalition government, the U.S. aggressors and their henchmen are opposing the policy of national concord and great national union. They want to prolong and step up the "Vietnamization of the war" to make Vietnamese fight Vietnamese and realize the odious design of the U.S. aggressors "to change the skin's colour of dead bodies!" The fight of our people against the U.S. aggressors and the "Vietnamization-of-the-war" policy of the U.S. is developing in favorable conditions. But we never forget that we are facing an extremely obdurate and cruel enemy who will stop at no barbarous crimes and perfidious maneuvers to realize his dark design. More than ever before, our people must uphold their determination to fight and to win, to persevere in and step up the fight on the three fronts: military, political and diplomatic, till complete victory.

Dear members of the Presidium, Comrades and Friends,  
Dear Compatriots and Combatants,

At this grand ceremony to celebrate the great anniversaries of the nation and hail the brilliant victory of the August Revolution and of the 25 glorious years of the D. R. V. N., our hearts are filled with emotion and boundless gratitude to those compatriots and comrades who have struggled and laid their lives for the recovery and defense of national independence and freedom. They

are outstanding sons and daughters of the nation, staunch fighters of the Party and army. A great many of them have fallen, but every time one of them fell, hundreds and thousands of others rose up to join in the fights. That is the upsurge of the revolutionary masses burning with hatred for the enemy and determined to fight and to defeat the enemy. Today our hearts are turned with deeper love than ever to our countrymen and combatants in the South who over the past quarter-century have fought continuously with immense heroism and have won tremendous victories for our nation. We convey to our southern kith and kin our deepest sentiments, our pride and our confidence and we pledge to stand shoulder to shoulder with our countrymen and combatants of valiant South Viet-Nam to fight and defeat the enemy.

The entire Vietnamese nation is shouldering great and glorious revolutionary tasks. Today, we pledge our iron-like determination to honour our independence oath on September two, 1945 and implement the sacred testament of President Ho Chi Minh: To unite and fight in order to liberate the South, defend and build the socialist North, and proceed to the peaceful reunification of the country, to achieve a peaceful, reunified, independent, democratic and prosperous Viet-Nam. At the same time we will do all we can to tighten our solidarity with the people of the two brotherly neighbour countries, support and assist one another in the fight to defeat the U.S. aggressors and their henchmen, to liberate completely the three Indochinese countries, thus making our worthiest contributions to the cause of peace, national independence, democracy and social progress in Southeast Asia and the world.

Over the past 25 years, our Vietnamese nation has travelled a road full of hardships but radiant with victories. Our fight is going on. On the crest of the victories already recorded, our Vietnamese nation is steadily marching forward with the high spirit of a victor, to bring our revolutionary cause to still greater victories, at the same time to fulfill our noble international obligation toward the world's people.

Under the glorious banner of the Party, and following the road charted by President Ho Chi Minh, let our countrymen and combatants march forward! Glorious victories are waiting for us!