

to the Preliminary Agreement of March 6, 1946, Viet Nam and France came to a compromise: France agreed to recognize Viet Nam as a free state having its own Government, Parliament, army and system of finance; Viet Nam agreed to remain part of the French Union; France was given the right to station troops on the territory of Viet Nam for a fixed period, and generally speaking, French economic and cultural interests in Viet Nam were to be ensured. So, our country was only a free state but not yet a completely independent one.

What is complete independence for us? The whole of Viet Nam from Nam Quan to Ca Mau must be placed under the people's power elected by the people; there should be no foreign troops on the territory of Viet Nam. The Vietnamese economy must be independent, not tied to the French economy or to that of any other country; Viet Nam must have the right to develop its national culture. In a word, the Vietnamese people must be the masters of their country in every respect and the revolution for national liberation must complete its task of shattering all imperialist bonds.

The Franco-Vietnamese Preliminary Agreement was not the ultimate aim, but only a temporary measure, in order to give our people a breathing space in which to consolidate the position of the democratic republican regime brought into being by the August Revolution, and to strengthen our forces to march towards a new stage.

The Vietnamese Revolution must progress constantly, sometimes quickly, sometimes slowly, sometimes by leaps and bounds, sometimes stopping for a time to catch its breath,

or move a step backwards to jump over a deep ditch, sometimes dodging to avoid an obstacle so as to reach its goal rapidly.

During the course of its development, the Vietnamese Revolution must not only fulfil its anti-imperialist task, but also complete its anti-feudal task, the agrarian task. As long as these tasks are not realized, Viet Nam will not get rid of its dependence on others, of poverty and backwardness, and the Vietnamese people will not be completely independent and free and have enough to eat and to wear.

Indeed, to become prosperous and happy, Viet Nam must change from an agricultural country, as it is now, into an industrial one. The long imperialist domination has kept Viet Nam in a backward agricultural state. The French imperialists monopolized heavy industry for French capitalists in France and established only some light industry in Indochina. In the development of even light industry, the capitalists of our country suffered from imperialist competition and oppression; while under the French and Japanese domination, the question of installing heavy industry was something they could never think of. Thus, the French imperialists monopolized heavy industry with the aim of compelling Viet Nam to consume their goods and preventing all competition with them. That is why Viet Nam can become a prosperous country only by freeing itself from all imperialist links and developing its heavy industry, so as to be completely liberated from foreign economic subordination. This means that it must be independent in the economic field as well as in the political and cultural fields. The Vietnamese Revolution has not yet thoroughly abolished all

imperialist privileges in our country, but has only restricted them. Furthermore the Vietnamese people have had to wage a war of resistance to smash the French colonialists' design to reconquer Viet Nam. The Vietnamese revolution must progress further to fulfil its anti-imperialist task.

In another respect, the French imperialists continued to maintain all forms of feudal exploitation in order to exploit our people more and more. In the mountain regions, they continued to practice serfdom. In the delta, the tenancy regime with high land rents was maintained. Moreover there were heavy taxes, *corvées*, etc. Most of the people were peasants and they were cruelly exploited, and as a result, many of them became impoverished. Unable to live in the countryside they had to go to the towns hoping to find jobs in factories; but as industry in our country was not developed, the few enterprises which existed (factories, mines, plantations, etc.) could only employ a small number of them while the remainder went to increase the ranks of the army of unemployed or vagrants. The greater the number of unemployed, the lower the wages. The very low wages had a considerable influence on technical improvement in agriculture and industry. As the exploitation of cheap labour was sufficient to earn them big profits, the colonialists did not bother to improve production techniques, and as a result, the economy of Viet Nam under the imperialist yoke was unable to escape from a state of backwardness. The peasants were short of land to till and the workers heavily exploited: long working hours, starvation wages, ill-treatment, fines and other sanctions, etc. In an agricultural country like ours, when speaking of the people's happiness, we mean the

improvement of the workers' and peasants' life, particularly the latter, who make up 90 per cent of the population. But how can the peasants' living conditions be effectively improved if they do not have enough land to till? The question of the people's happiness is thus basically one of giving land to the peasants.

It is for this reason that the regime of feudal land ownership must be abolished, and the slogan "land to the tillers" must be realised. So far, the Vietnamese Revolution has only restricted this feudal exploitation. It must progress further to complete the land revolution and wipe out feudal and semi-feudal vestiges in Viet Nam. In brief, the Vietnamese Revolution must fulfil both the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal tasks to realize *independence, freedom and happiness* for the people. In other words, it must complete the task of national democratic revolution paving the way for the socialist revolution in the future: to socialize all essential means of production, and abolish the regime of exploitation of man by man in Viet Nam.

PROCESS OF DEVELOPMENT OF THE VIETNAMESE REVOLUTION

A wrong conception of the progress of the Vietnamese Revolution must be eliminated now. Some people think that the Vietnamese Revolution must progress step by step: that after the revolution of national liberation (anti-imperialist) comes the agrarian revolution (anti-feudal), then after the completion of the democratic or agrarian revolution, the socialist revolution.

This theory of "orderly advance" is wrong. At home, the leadership of the Vietnamese Revolution grows stronger and stronger in the hands of the proletariat in power; the progressive democratic forces form an unshakable bloc. Abroad, the Soviet Union, the socialist state, has triumphed, and the people's democratic movement is in full development. In such historical conditions, the Vietnamese Revolution can fulfil its anti-imperialist task and at the same time perform the agrarian task. The two tasks of the national democratic revolution in Viet Nam are closely bound together. This revolution will necessarily progress towards socialist revolution. In Viet Nam socialist revolution may get under way even before the existence of all necessary economic and social conditions (for instance: heavy industry is not yet developed; all forms of pre-capitalist exploitation are not yet abolished, etc.) if the leadership of the proletariat has been consolidated on the basis of the worker-peasant alliance and if the cause of socialist revolution in our country benefits from the help of socialist and people's democratic countries. As stated in *the Communist International's Programme*:

"... Although the social relations in every colony and semi-colony have not yet ripened, the movements for national liberation in these countries can none the less develop into socialism, if these movements enjoy the help and support of proletarian dictatorship in particular and that of the international proletarian movement in general."

CHAPTER VII

THE URGENT TASKS OF THE VIETNAMESE PEOPLE

FOUR MAIN POINTS, FOUR SLOGANS

After the Second World War, the Vietnamese Revolution, developing in the new conditions prevailing in the world, has many allies and enjoys much support. But no matter how favourable conditions are, the Revolution might fail if our people, and especially our revolutionary fighters, failed to go about it in the right way.

Moreover, the French reactionaries, collaborating with the international reactionaries, are putting into practice a perfidious policy designed to rob us of our power. Officially, they recognize our country as a free state, but in actual fact, they want to reduce our country to being an "autonomous" one.

Under the cover of "New France", they have signed an agreement with us, but at the same time they use fascist methods which run counter to the French people's will: indulging in acts of provocation, *faits accomplis*, and gradual encroachment, so that finally the Agreement becomes an empty shell.

They apply the traditional imperialist policy of "divide and rule" cunningly and according to a systematic plan: division between different nationalities, regions, religions,

political parties, etc. aimed at rendering us powerless to fight against them. They savagely terrorize people in the occupied zones or in the zones where their strength is greater than ours, hoping to annihilate our cadres and to intimidate and demoralize our compatriots.

We are faced with a machiavellian and experienced enemy. New difficulties await us. All our compatriots must remain vigilant and thoroughly understand their urgent task.

In the present stage, our people's revolutionary task can be summed up in these four main points :

NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE, UNIFICATION, DEMOCRACY, REBIRTH

a) INDEPENDENCE : Our country is not yet completely independent. The foreign army is still occupying part of our territory. We must struggle to force it to withdraw completely from our country some time in the future. We must struggle for our national sovereignty, so that in addition to our own government, army, finances, and Parliament, we also have our own diplomatic representation. We must struggle to change our position from that of a free state to a completely independent state on the principle of "the right of nations to self-determination"; this means that we have the right to adhere to the French Union of our own free will (if France remains a progressive country) or to withdraw from it if need be.

b) UNIFICATION : Viet Nam must be one, and its territorial integrity must be guaranteed. To achieve this, we must wreck the reactionary French colonialists' plot to

partition our territory and to carve out what they impudently call the : "Nam Ky state", "Moi state", "Thai state", "Nung state" etc. There cannot be three states or three *Ky* set up in our country differing from one another in their political, economic and cultural regimes. There is all the less reason why a free state should exist in our country north of the sixteenth parallel and an autonomous one in the south. Viet Nam must be a state worthy of the name because Viet Nam is a nationally, territorially, politically, economically and culturally unified whole ; this unity is not a fortuitous or a temporary combination, but one which has been built up by the blood and sweat of our people in the course of many historical epochs.

c) DEMOCRACY : In maintaining and developing the democratic republican regime, strengthening the people's power and building the new, people's democratic constitution, we must guard against attempts to make our constitution into a meaningless one, along the lines of a bourgeois constitution. We must furthermore oppose all tendencies to sap the regime of popular representation, a progressive regime won by the people's revolutionary initiative in the course of their struggle for liberation. The country must always have a constitutional government which is elected, supported and controlled by the people.

We must reorganize the administrative services, eliminate traitorous and corrupt elements from the public services, and wipe out arrogance and bureaucratism. We should do our utmost to transform Viet Nam into a really democratic country in the Far-East, one of the people's democracies which have just been liberated from the fascist yoke.

d) REBIRTH : We must build up and consolidate the bases of the democratic regime by economic restoration and cultural development and by improving the material and spiritual conditions of the people, particularly the workers and peasants.

On the one hand, we must keep on producing more and more, without interruption. We must increase industrial and agricultural production to heal the war wounds and put an end to all signs of misery and devastation caused by eighty years of slavery. Everyone should make a contribution to the national restoration : the rich should contribute their money, the able-bodied should work hard, those with intellectual abilities should contribute their talents. We must respect labour, encourage private enterprise, reward those who have rendered good services to the country and punish those guilty of misdeeds. It is not enough to make Viet Nam a politically democratic state ; we must change it into a country with a new democratic economy and culture.

On the other hand, we should meet the people's material needs, especially those of the working people (both manual and intellectual), so that they will have the necessary strength to work and produce ; we should strive to protect the health of our people, reduce infant mortality and fight against diseases.

We must further strengthen our nation's resiliency and our people's unyielding will to struggle, and instil in our citizens both genuine patriotism and proletarian internationalism.

RESISTANCE AND NATIONAL RECONSTRUCTION

The war of resistance consists in struggling for national reunification and independence and repulsing the French colonialists' attack. National reconstruction aims at establishing and consolidating the democratic republican regime, and building a new democratic economy and culture. For a year now, our people have been waging the war of resistance and carrying out national reconstruction at the same time. That is an inherent characteristic of the struggle for the liberation of our country, one part of which has been liberated while the other is still oppressed by the imperialists.

In the reconstruction work, our people have striven for a year now to increase production, simultaneously supplying the front and fighting against famine. We have repaired roads, bridges, dykes, etc. This year, our people have won victories over three major enemies: famine, illiteracy and flood. Those are remarkable achievements. But we still lack a general plan for our reconstruction work. Following are some examples:

Seeking to put into effect the slogan "not an inch of land left untilled" our compatriots in the mountain regions have in some places burnt down parts of the forest, clearing land for cultivation at random — a practice which is harmful to the preservation of forests and the prevention of floods.

In various provinces and localities, the slogan "increase production" is carried out without close guidance as to what crops to grow and how much of each in each period, and how to distribute them, etc.

The efforts exerted by our people in the past year are unbelievable. However, one has the impression that they have thrown themselves into production like a wood-cutter who chops wood with his eyes shut — vigorously, but with much effort wasted.

It is time to work out an overall economic and cultural plan for the whole country, to ensure essential living conditions for the people and supplies for the war of resistance against French colonial aggression.

Of course this work of planning will meet with difficulties because the situation has not yet been stabilized and the question of French interests in Indochina has not yet been settled. Nevertheless, it is not absolutely impossible to draw up a preliminary plan on simple and realistic lines.

If we strive only for national reconstruction but neglect to struggle for independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity, our country will be reduced to being an "autonomous state", a form of dependency on France. Our people are not a warlike people. We love peace. Hence our government signed the Preliminary Agreement of March 6, 1946. But the treacherous behaviour of the French colonialists forced us to pursue the war of resistance to defend ourselves. We are ready to accept an armistice on the basis of true recognition by France of our fundamental national interests, but as long as the French forces continue to attack and terrorize us, we must continue to defend ourselves arms in hand until they recognize the impossibility of re-establishing their domination over our country and partitioning our territory. Has the war of resistance in the South only a local and provisional character or will it be transformed into a

long-term and nation-wide resistance ? That is for the French to answer. As for us, we must thoroughly support the struggle of our people in the South, increase our forces everywhere, heighten our vigilance, be ready to face any eventuality and fight until complete victory is gained.

GREAT UNITY : A KEY TASK

To carry out resistance and national reconstruction, we must mobilize all the forces of our country, fight against the French colonialists' policy of division, consolidate national solidarity and seek new allies in the world.

The policy of great unity advocated by President Ho Chi Minh must be carried out thoroughly and extensively.

National unity : frustrate the colonialist schemes to divide our nation along the north-south or the former three-Ky line and to set the national minorities against the majority population.

Popular unity : All classes and strata of the people must struggle side by side against the common enemy to gain national independence and unity.

Unity between religions : Not to allow the colonialists to incite Catholic, Buddhist, Hoa Hao and Cao Dai compatriots to oppose their own people.

Unity between all parties : All patriotic and democratic parties must put aside all prejudices so as to struggle hand in hand against the colonialists and the Vietnamese traitors.

The entire people should unite into a National United Front to fight the French colonialist aggressors and wrest

back complete independence. For a year now, nothing has been able to shake that Front, which is cemented by the blood of our fighters coming from all over the country to defend the South. On that front, the whole people should act as one to fight the aggressors, repress the traitors, defend the democratic republican regime and rebuild our country so as to make Viet Nam into an independent, unified, free and happy country.

That is the objective of Lien Viet, the Viet Nam National League. This National United Front represents a highly appropriate form of national unity which our people have devised in their struggle against the French reactionaries and the Vietnamese traitors in the present stage. It must be broadened to include all parties which are struggling for national independence and democracy, as well as all patriotic non-party elements.

It might be asked : Is the Viet Nam National League only a short term political manœuvre as thought by some ? Certainly not ! It must be a political organization able to mobilize all the broad masses to fulfil the tasks of national salvation and national reconstruction.

To broaden and consolidate the Viet Nam National League, we ought to develop and strengthen the Viet Minh Front, because the Viet Minh Front with its strong organizations naturally constitutes the core of the National League. And in order to develop and consolidate the Viet Minh Front, it is necessary to unite and develop all organizations of the working class and to consolidate the worker-peasant alliance.

Inside the front, our compatriots must strive for close, broad and effective unity. But that is still not enough. We

must also find allies outside our country, strengthen international solidarity, and unite with all anti-imperialist forces in the world.

First we must unite with the great Soviet people who have defeated fascism and are healing the wounds of war in order to go on with socialist building and consolidate the Soviet State, the bastion of peace and democracy in the world.

We must unite with the French people who have made many sacrifices in their struggle for liberty and justice, and who share a common enemy with us: the French reactionary colonialists. We agree to join the French Union but this Union must be a "*democratic and fraternal union between free and equal people*", to use the words of Comrade Lozeray, member of the Central Committee of the French Communist Party at a session of the French Constituent Assembly on March 20, 1946. That Union should not be used as a cage to imprison the colonial peoples after "clipping their wings". In our struggle to force France to respect our independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, we must achieve unity of action with the French people and with all parties and organizations faithful to the ideals of the French Revolution: liberty, equality, fraternity. For that reason we greet the formation of the "Franco-Vietnamese Association" warmly¹ and we hope that it will become a firm bridge between the two peoples who have a common enemy: French colonialism.

We should also ally ourselves with all peace-loving and democratic peoples, particularly with the Chinese people,

1. Just set up in France, with Justin Godart as president. The aim of this Association is to promote friendship between the French and the Vietnamese peoples.

our great neighbours who are resolutely struggling for democracy, unification and independence. Generally speaking we must unite with all oppressed peoples who are fighting to liberate themselves.

During the Second World war, we joined our efforts to those of the forces fighting aggressive fascism. Today, the war is over but we must continue to side with revolutionary and progressive forces to liquidate the remnants of fascism, fight the international reactionaries, consolidate world peace and smash the imperialists' schemes to draw mankind into another world war.

For that reason, the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam must claim its place in the United Nations Organization and in the international arena as a people who have participated in the struggle against aggressive fascism, wrested power from the Japanese fascists, and now continue to struggle to force the French colonialists to respect the Charter of the United Nations Organization.

CORRECTING SHORTCOMINGS AND ERRORS

To fulfil these tasks, the entire people, and particularly the Communists and the other revolutionary fighters, must correct their shortcomings and errors. President Ho Chi Minh often says: *"We don't fear the enemy; we only fear the errors of our comrades!"*

Indeed, has not the enemy attacked us by exploiting our shortcomings and errors? That is why we must resolutely eliminate all erroneous tendencies.

We should wipe out the tendencies to anarchy and indiscipline seen in carelessness and disobedience of orders from superiors, and infringements of government instructions and of Party discipline. These tendencies show a misunderstanding of the democratic regime. There are some who do not clearly realize the meaning of revolutionary order and democratic discipline ; they think that a democratic regime can tolerate disorder, confusion and heedlessness of order and security. From this, anarchy and indiscipline will emerge : parochialism, sectionalism, militarism and bureaucratism.

We must : Root out the tendencies to isolation and narrow-mindedness which are seen in the way certain people are treated and certain events viewed, and also in the carrying out of various party policies, especially that of national unity. This harmful tendency betrays a lack of confidence in the masses and in oneself ; at the same time it shows a dogmatic, mechanical interpretation of Marxist-Leninist theories.

Eliminate subjectivism and "left" deviations which lead to undertaking things when conditions are not yet ripe for them ; to believing that one's personal desires are those of the masses ; "pressing on" without paying the least attention to the objective conditions and the real possibilities of the movement.

Eradicate conservative and rightist tendencies which lead us to cling to routine and old formulas, stick stubbornly to the old prejudices, and fail to recognize new changes early enough, when determination is the only spirit in conformity with our revolutionary era.

Eliminate the tendency to unprincipled compromise with either the reactionaries or with one's companions in struggle. This tendency demonstrates a lack of determination to keep firmly to one's position, an overestimation of the enemy and an underestimation of the strength of the masses, a failure to rely upon the masses or to use them as a strong backing. This tendency also demonstrates a wrong understanding of the policy of the Front, and the existence of the belief that because we are in the same national united front we must always excuse one another's mistakes and abstain from criticising each other.

Resist the tendency to complacency, being satisfied with one's success; this makes us smug and arrogant, weakens our spirit of criticism and self-criticism, hinders our progress and keeps us away from the masses.

Eliminate the tendency to pessimism and vacillation, which makes us grumble and lose heart when facing obstacles, doubt and lose our heads when suffering failures, and consequently give up the struggle and run away from our responsibility.

The above shortcomings and errors are manifestations of petty-bourgeois mentality. If we do not correct them promptly, we will not be able to unite the entire people in struggle for the country's independence, reunification, democracy and rebirth.

We have no illusions that those erroneous tendencies can be overcome within a short time and that the revolution will quickly wash away the bad habits and customs left by the old regime.

And we are firmly confident that the profound changes in the political, economic and cultural fields will allow us

to gradually overcome them. The point is that each communist militant, each citizen should realize that while seeking to transform society, they should try to remould themselves. Social transformation includes individual remoulding, which in turn contributes to the remaking of society.

TRAINING OF CADRES

After settling the question of the political line to be followed, the policies to implement, and the tasks to be fulfilled, the question of cadres is a very important one to be solved.

Who is it that applies the political line and carries out the tasks? Of course it is the whole people, but first of all it is the cadres, who are the vanguard elements devoting themselves actively to the work of propaganda and organization, of leading the masses to carry out the policies of the Government and the Party, and who serve as good examples to the people.

We must admit that one of the shortcomings of our present movement lies in the lack of cadres. Few cadres for much work, hence each person having too many irons in the fire. Many cadres either do not complete their tasks or botch them; or they work at random without any pre-established plan, or else let themselves be bogged down in details and do not look far ahead.

Therefore, a decisive task at the present time is to strive towards a greater number of cadres, and to have good cadres; to promote existing cadres in a rational and just way and to train new ones patiently and methodically. Every cadre must guide the novices who work alongside him so as

to create new cadres. There are so many active workers and peasants, so many honest youths fully devoted to the Revolution who are ready to accept every sacrifice! Have confidence in them, employ them boldly, guide them patiently, but do not forget to control them.

At present, we are overwhelmed with work. It is necessary to mobilize all our manpower, wealth and talent. No ability, no effort should be wasted. Affairs of State are not the monopoly of some special group of persons, some party or some revolutionary class, but they are the common business of the whole people. Naturally the choice of cadres must not be made at random or be prompted by personal feelings, but neither should we be too rigorous in recruiting them from the specialists and employees of the old regime.

There are not enough schools founded by the Government to ensure the training of new administrative, judicial, military, economic and technical cadres. In addition to these, the revolutionary organizations must frequently open political training courses for their cadres, hold classes to teach them the experience accumulated, and organize talks and lectures to which the public will be admitted on a wide scale.

Simultaneously with the extension of mass education and the struggle against illiteracy, there is a great need for development of higher, secondary, and general education, revision of the curriculum, and selection of students to be sent abroad.

At the present time the question of cadres contains a contradiction. The great majority of national salvation cadres, schooled by the revolutionary struggle, are loyal, eager and skilful elements with a good background, but most of them have a poor educational level. The fault is not theirs, for the

majority come from the labouring masses, and have remained illiterate or have not been able to complete their schooling. On the other hand, the technicians, specialists and intellectuals who have graduated from French universities have a certain cultural level but know little about politics. We cannot reproach them with this either, for throughout our eighty years of slavery, did the imperialists ever let the Vietnamese people study politics and engage in political activities? Their sole concern was the formation of a class of young Vietnamese intellectuals who would serve them as their tools only.

Therefore the remoulding of intellectuals as well as the training of new cadres at this present time must aim at removing this contradiction. National-salvation cadres must be given material conditions to raise their educational level and theoretical political knowledge. At the same time, we must encourage the intellectuals and technicians left by the old regime to join political groups and attend political training classes.

We must criticise the incorrect attitude of some Viet Minh cadres who make light of those intellectuals and technicians, are prejudiced against them, have no contact with them, do not employ them and are averse to learning from them. But at the same time we must condemn the point of view of some non-Viet Minh intellectuals who think that the Viet Minh and communist cadres who have had the merit of leading the revolution to the seizure of power have now fulfilled their task and must now "withdraw" from the political arena and relinquish the task of national reconstruction to people with degrees, to the technicians.

Those who nurture these thoughts fail to understand the necessity of the Communists and generally speaking the Viet Minh militants who marched in the vanguard during the period of underground struggle for the liberation of the Fatherland sticking to their vanguard role now more than ever, devoting their political knowledge and revolutionary spirit to the work of national defence and national reconstruction.

It is comforting for us to know that, from the August Revolution onwards, intellectuals have joined the Viet Minh League and the Lien Viet in ever greater numbers. Struggling in the people's ranks, they have shown an eager patriotism and respect for the State and Front discipline. They have gradually come close to the workers and the peasants and they are now developing into good revolutionary cadres, and the country can pin much hope on them.

CONCLUSION

August 1945.

August 1946.

One year has passed — worth several decades in the experiences gained. The Vietnamese people have broken the imperialist fetters by the August Revolution to march forward now with giant strides. Steeled through their millennia-old history of creative labour and glorious struggle the Vietnamese people are launched upon the conquest of a bright future with enthusiasm. They have always been a young, courageous people full of vitality whose indomitable spirit continues to develop to the astonishment of the whole world.

The Vietnamese people have covered quite a good distance on their path to liberation. However, they have to press forward and carry on pressing forward. Many obstacles have arisen on the road already travelled, but thanks to their unity and struggle the Vietnamese people have gained their first victories.

In these days, the resistance in Nam Bo (southern part of Viet Nam) southern Trung Bo (central part of Viet Nam) continues. This heroic struggle for self-defence develops the achievements of the August Revolution and further steels the traditional virtues of our people.

The French colonialists hoped to solve the Vietnamese problem according to their own desires by armed force. But the war of resistance waged by the Vietnamese people has shown them that they are mistaken. The Vietnamese people are ready to wage a long struggle, overcome all difficulties and obstacles and resolutely fight the brutal colonialists and wipe out all their stooges until Viet Nam is completely liberated and the Vietnamese nation has gained complete Independence, Liberty and Happiness.