This is an objective basis for the formation of an enlarged national united front against the landgrabbing imperialists and their countryselling lackeys. At present the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen—the reactionary bourgeois compradors and feudalist landlords in South Viet-Nam represented by Nguyen Van Thieu—through a very fierce and atrocious war against our people have aroused a nationalist spirit among all strata of people, including a number of employees of the puppet administration who have relations with the masses and who, possessing a bit of conscience, want to remain as citizens of an independent country.

In its deadlocked situation the U.S.-Thieu clique is writhing more frenziedly and has thus created more possibilities for widening the ranks of the United National Front and for unifying the widespread activities of all social forces, political parties, groups and individuals that have sustained many or few contradictions with the aggressive U.S. imperialists and their henchmen.

To turn these possibilities into realities and to insure a broad gathering of all social classes and all strata of people into the National United Front, leadership by the working class must be based on the worker-peasant alliance. This leadership is an objective necessity of the revolution in our country and many other states in the present era. It is not by chance or because of a subjective desire that the history of Viet-Nam's revolution has entrusted our working class with the mission of leading the national democratic people's revolution. As we know, problems regarding democracy and the nation are substantially related to the present classes of people. Any class that can represent the national and democratic interest of the masses can lead the national democratic people's revolution and the democratic National United Front.

As shown by history, when the bourgeoisie remains as a progressive class in a feudalist society it represents the national democratic interests of the masses. For this reason the bourgeoisie was the only class that could lead the revolution to overthrow the feudalist regime, to achieve national unification and bourgeois democracy and to head the anti-feudalist front embracing all classes and strata of people.
The bourgeois democratic revolution in France at the end of the 18th Century properly reflected this fact. However, in the imperialist period, and especially after the Soviet October Revolution, which opened a new era in mankind's history, the era of transition from capitalism to socialism in the world, the situation is quite different. The working class has become the class standing in the middle of the new era. It fully represents national and democratic interests and is the only class that can lead the national democratic revolution to complete victory. For this reason only the working class can head the National United Front Against U.S. Imperialism And Its Henchmen.

Previously the victory of the bourgeois democratic revolution was the prevalence of capitalism over the feudalist regime and of bourgeois nationalism and democracy. In the present era the victory of the people's national democratic revolution led by the working class is not only the prevalence of nationalism over imperialism and the victory of the people over the feudalist regime but also the initial victory of the working class over capitalism. Moreover, it is the basis of the socialist revolution and of the formation of socialist nationalism and socialist democracy.

In the present era, only by advancing toward socialism can we really and fully solve the problems of national independence and democracy for the people. At present national independence and popular democracy cannot be separated from socialism.

The people's democratic national revolution is a premise for and a transitional step toward socialist revolution. Therefore in the period of people's democratic national revolution the United National Front had to be led by the working class.

The working class, through its Party, leads the Front. The working class' Party stands in the Front on a same footing as other friendly parties. Its right to leadership is voluntarily recognized by components of the Front. President Ho said: "The Party may not require the Front to recognize its right to leadership, but rather must prove itself to be a most loyal, most active and most sincere component. Only through struggle and daily work performance and only when the masses recognize the Party's correct policies and ability to exert leadership can
the Party acquire a position of leadership"—Report to the Communist International, July 1939, signed by Nguyen Ai Quoc.

In the people's democratic national revolution in our country the United National Front performs the dual strategic task of fighting against imperialism and feudalism. This front must necessarily rely on the worker-peasant alliance because workers and peasants form an absolute majority among the people and because under the old regime the working class and the peasantry were oppressed and exploited most ruthlessly and had the most intense revolutionary enthusiasm.

Without the worker-peasant alliance other strata of the people cannot be brought together in order to form a broad United National Front. Because it succeeded in forming the worker-peasant alliance the working class firmly grasped leadership over the Front. Because of its failure to solve the peasant problem—the essence of the national problem—and the land problem—the basic content of democratic revolution—the Vietnamese national bourgeoisie could not achieve unity with the peasantry, which represents 90 percent of the population, could not form the United National Front and could not lead the democratic national revolution.

Conversely, the working class correctly solved the peasant problem and held aloft the "National Independence" and "Land to the Tiller" banner in the people's democratic national revolution and, as a result, succeeded in bringing together broad masses of peasants, forming the worker-peasant alliance and thereby acquiring a basis for forming the all-people's great solidarity bloc in the United National Front.

The process of development and consolidation of the United National Front is essentially a process of unceasing strengthening of the worker-peasant alliance under the working class' leadership. Emphasis on the need to strengthen the worker-peasant alliance does not contradict the need to unceasingly broaden the Front. Conversely, the Front can only be broadened and consolidated when it firmly relies on the worker-peasant alliance. Furthermore, emphasis on the need to broaden the Front does not contradict consolidation of the worker-peasant alliance because the more the Front is broadened the firmer and stronger the worker-peasant alliance becomes.
Dear comrades and friends, profound social changes have taken place in the northern part of our country in the past ten years and more. What is the most typical feature of these changes? It is the new economy, the new political system and new men being gradually built and developed. This is a combined outcome of the three revolutions carried out simultaneously under the people's democratic dictatorship performing the historic mission of the proletarian dictatorship. The revolution in production relations, the technical revolution and the ideological and cultural revolution—of which the technical revolution plays a key role—are aimed at leading the North to socialism, developing the North's economic and military potentials and creating conditions for completely defeating the U.S. aggressors and their lackeys.

These changes have inevitably exerted an impact on and created new factors for the United National Front. First of all, the Front's foundation and composition have basically changed. Formerly the Front's foundation was the alliance bloc between the working class and the peasantry as individual entities. Today the Front's foundation is the alliance between the working class that is gaining growing strength and is leading the socialist state and the collective peasantry organized at agricultural production cooperatives. Formerly intellectuals formed a minority in the Front and were left over by the old society. Today intellectuals in the Front are a numerous contingent of new, socialist intellectuals emerging from the working class and the peasantry. Their ranks have increasingly developed and rapidly matured.

Formerly the Front also encompassed the exploiting class. Today the exploiting class has been eliminated. Members of the exploiting class are being reformed. In fact many of them have directly participated in labor. Because of the shortcomings in our economic management, enforcement of socialist laws and political and ideological education, a number of people in the northern rural and urban areas are engaged in exploitation in certain forms, yet to a limited degree. Their total number is not large.

Formerly, soon after the emergence of the United National Front the majority and minority nationalities were united in the struggle against imperialism. However, the feudal landlord class still existed and unceasingly colluded with the imperialists in
stirring animosities and prejudices among various nationalities. Today the imperialists and feudal landlords have been toppled and the people of various nationalities have promoted mutual love, jointly eliminated national animosities and sided with one another in the VFF in order to fight the Americans and build a new life.

As a result of these changes the VFF has in essence become a manual and intellectual worker front. Along with the revolution's leaps forward, the Front's nature has also changed. Formerly the United National Front was an anti-imperialist and anti-feudalist front of patriots and of those standing for democracy. Since the North entered the period of transition to socialism our United National Front has become a patriotic and socialism-loving front. This love embodies love for socialist production relations, socialist democracy and socialist labor and ethics. Patriotism and love for socialism have become the noble ideology and profound feelings of all VFF components.

In the resistance against the French colonialists the Front's combined nature was manifested by mutual consultations aimed at reconciling the different interests of VFF components on the basis of the fundamental interests—achievement of national independence and popular democracy. Today the Front's combined nature is reflected by the VFF components' discussions and mutual consultations aimed not only at regaining and defending the country with modern agriculture, modern industry and advanced culture and science on the basis of public ownership of the main means of production and on the basis of socialist production relations that eliminated the system of exploitation of man by man.

Because the Front's nature has changed, the contents of Front activities have also changed. In the period of people's democratic national revolution in our country Front policies were reflected mainly by the following objectives: Seizure of power and building of a democratic republic, resistance against foreign aggression and achievement of land reform.

In the present revolutionary phase Front policies are reflected not only by guidelines for consolidating the administration of the people's democratic dictatorship, performing the historic mission of the proletarian dictatorship and for waging the anti-U.S. national salvation resistance, but also by policies of improvement of
production relations, technical revolution, ideological and cultural revolution, formation and improvement of new, socialist men and so forth.

Without thorough understanding of these policies the Front's tasks— from uniting various strata of the people, nationalities and religious groups and achieving unity between religious and non-religious people to helping members of the old exploiting class to continuously transform themselves into laborers and from selecting and nominating worthy candidates to run for election to the national assembly and to the people's councils at all levels to motivating the masses to engage in patriotic emulation to fulfill state plans—will be unable to meet revolutionary requirements in the present period.

The United National Front is an organization with a combined class nature and mass character. The Front is composed of many political parties, mass organizations, classes, social strata and notables. Unanimity of views is a basic factor in the relations among Front components. At certain times and places, however, conflicting views inevitably arise regarding specific problems of the revolution.

To solve the problem of lack of unanimity of views within the United National Front, our Front's working methods are based on the following five principles: Mutual consultations, democracy, unification of action, mutual respect and sincere cooperation and mutual assistance in jointly making progress.

When facing problems related to national survival and to national welfare and the people's livelihood, the Front members have plainly expressed their views, freely engaged in discussions, straightforwardly carried out criticism and self-criticism, helped each other distinguish right from wrong, singlemindedly approved the [resolutions] set forth and voluntarily unified their action in accordance with the spirit of the general program. All Front members absolutely should not take coercive and compulsory measures.

In recent years, due to deep changes in the Front's composition, nature and tasks, the unity and mass nature of the Front have been studded with new characteristics. Singlemindedness has been
increasingly developed in the Front. Although the Front’s work methods continue to basically follow the five set principles, the latter’s spirit and contents must be developed and complemented to conform with the new situation. Only when this is accomplished can the effect of these five principles be fully developed, thus positively contributing toward consolidating, strengthening and developing the Front.

I recommend that following this VFF Congress we must analyze and study the new changes in the VFF and through this make conclusions for the Front’s practical tasks. If this is accomplished, the Front’s action trends will be clearcut, concrete and more realistic.

Dear comrades and friends: In recent years, after the socialist construction undertaking scored great achievements and after the political and spiritual singlemindedness has become a basic factor for the North Vietnamese society certain people think that the VFF’s scope of action will be reduced and that the role of the Front will be lessened. Others even maintain that the Front itself is no longer a necessity. This is wrong, Lenin said: Proletarian dictatorship is a special form of the class alliance between the proletariat—the vanguard forces of the laborers—and masses of nonproletarian laborers, bourgeois, small landlords, peasants and intellectuals. With the majority of these strata, the alliance aims at completely toppling the capitalists, at completely eliminating the bourgeoisie’s resistance and at smashing all its schemes to restore its position and establishing and consolidating socialism forever [words indistinct].

The more socialism advances, the more the Front will be developed and consolidated. For socialism, a number of [words indistinct] localities have scored more and more glorious achievements, have more and more deeply influenced mankind’s thoughts and sentiments, have exerted an increasingly greater attraction on the people, have conquered the hearts and minds of millions of people and have increasingly enlarged the ranks of the people who have linked themselves with socialism and the Front.

Moreover, the socialism that we are building in the North is not a single action of an individual faction, but the creative and self-conscious undertaking of tens of millions of laborers. In order
to acquire this creativeness and self-consciousness and to mobilize the inexhaustible forces of the laboring people to turn toward the lofty undertaking of successfully building socialism, we must pay great attention to the masses' motivation task and the Front's task.

Our Party has been deeply imbued with Lenin's teaching on the danger that may face a party, which, after taking over—if it does not train itself—may gradually become bureaucratic, detached from the masses, arbitrary, (self-complacent), subjective and self-indulging and may run counter to the masses' interests. Our Party has frequently condemned and combatted bureaucracy and compulsion and has mainly struggled against the tendency to belittle the masses' motivation task, the (troop proselyting) task and the Front's task.

In the present northern society, there no longer are exploiting classes, but there still are various different classes and laboring strata—the working class, the collective peasantry and various strata of socialist intelligentsia. Between the working class and the collective peasantry, as well as between the manual laborers and the intellectual laborers, there still are differences. It will take a long time for our society to become one with no distinctions among classes, a communist society.

Although the socialist reform of agriculture, handicrafts and capitalist industry and commerce scored many decisive achievements, there still is a need to continue to help the former exploiters become real socialist workers and small producers become collective workers with a high sense of discipline and good technique. We need to advance our small, scattered production toward socialism by by-passing the phase of capitalist development. The material and technical bases of socialism in our country are still not firm. The northern social classes still bear the influences of the old society.

It is necessary that the Front continue to educate, persuade and motivate people of different social classes to strictly implement all laws, policies and lines set forth by the VWP and the DRV government. It is necessary that the Front encourage them to participate in the emulation movement to boost production, to practice thrift and to positively contribute toward overfulfilling the state plans.
The VFF is a necessary link between people of different social classes and all walks of life who work closely together to build a new society. The struggle between socialism and capitalism to decide once and for all who is the winner is continuing. It is necessary that the Front and its members continue to assume a positive role in this struggle. Only by so doing can we achieve the socialist revolutionary undertaking in the northern part of our country—revolution that because it is the most thorough and profound undertaking is the most difficult and complicated task. Along with endeavoring to carry out the socialist revolution and socialist construction it is necessary that our northern people side with our southern compatriots in the anti-U.S. resistance to liberate the South, protect the North and proceed toward the peaceful reunification of the Fatherland.

It is necessary that the VFF continue to assume a positive role in uniting the entire people and mobilizing their forces to assist the heroic great front line, to carry out the all-people’s national defense, to satisfactorily fulfill the combat and combat support missions and to strictly implement the rear’s policies and policies toward troop dependents and families of fallen heroes and sick and wounded combatants. The role of the Viet-Nam United National Front Against U.S. Imperialism and of the Indochina People’s United Front Against the Aggressive U.S. Imperialists is more important than ever. More than 20 million northern compatriots in the VFF are standing united with 17 million southern compatriots in the NFLSV and the VANDPF. The Lao people in the LPF, the Khmer people in the NUFK and our compatriots all over the nation are carrying out the sacred resistance against their common enemies: The aggressive U.S. imperialists and their lackeys.

It is necessary that we highly develop all our potential, closely coordinate the efforts of our compatriots in both parts of the country, promote mutual support and unity with the fraternal Lao and Cambodian peoples and strive to gain the sympathy and support of the socialist camp and the world’s peoples. That is a factor that insures final victory for our people’s anti-U.S. national salvation resistance. The Front’s indispensable role is also dictated by another important task: The coexistence and long-lasting cooperation between the VWP and other friendly parties—the
Viet-Nam Democratic Party and the Viet-Nam Socialist Party— in order to fulfill the revolutionary mission of our people all over the country.

The above-mentioned points not only prove the indispensable role of the Front but also demonstrate the necessity of strengthening and broadening its organization in accordance with the present conditions of our revolution.

PART III

Dear comrades and friends: We fully agree with the representatives on the immediate tasks set forth in the political report of the VFF Central Committee—the report that was presented by Comrade Hoang Quoc Viet, Member of the VFF Presidium, to the Congress. Regarding the common tasks of the Viet-Nam Fatherland Front, the report pointed out:

On the basis of the present revolutionary requirements and tasks and the platform of the VFF, the forthcoming tasks of our Front are: Under the leadership of the VWP and on the basis of the worker-peasant alliance endeavor to strengthen the unity of all the people, the various democratic political parties, mass organizations, the people of various nationalities, religious followers and patriotic personalities; constantly consolidate and broaden the all-people's unity bloc; hold high our people's revolutionary spirit; vigorously develop our people's right to collective ownership and revolutionary enthusiasm: mobilize the entire people to emulate in loving their country; resolutely and completely defeat the U.S. aggressors and their lackeys; successfully build socialism; liberate the South; protect the North; proceed toward peaceful reunification of the country; and build a peaceful, united, independent, democratic, rich and powerful Viet-Nam.

The report also set forth the following concrete tasks of the Viet-Nam Fatherland Front:

1—Strengthen unity among the entire people and motivate them to develop their revolutionary heroism and determination to fight and win and to persist in and accelerate the anti-U.S. national salvation resistance toward complete victory.
2. Motivate all strata of people to strenuously engage in productive labor to continue to bring drastic changes to the people's economy and to advance the socialism-building undertaking by a new step.

3. Motivate and educate the people to actively participate in building and consolidating the administration, in developing the socialist democracy and in strengthening the people's democratic dictatorship.

4. Actively participate in building a new culture and a new man.

5. Strengthen the solidarity and friendship between our people and other peoples in the world.

Our Party pledges to stand shoulder to shoulder with friendly parties, mass organizations and notables in the VFF to endeavor to achieve these tasks.

Now I wish to stress a number of immediate tasks for the Viet-Nam Fatherland Front and to raise a few opinions of ours on the Front's tasks and the civilian proselyting work. Our people's most serious and most glorious task for the time being is to continue our anti-U.S. resistance until complete victory and to successfully build socialism. The anti-U.S. national salvation resistance war is the most fierce self-defense war in our people's anti-aggression history. At present, to struggle against the Americans for national salvation is the foremost duty of our people. The 19th Plenum of the VWP Central Committee pointed out that is is necessary to muster the utmost efforts of the entire Party, armed forces and people in both parts of our country to carry out President Ho's sacred testament—to persist in and step up the resistance war, to heighten the determination to fight and win and to advance toward complete victory in order to liberate the South, defend and build the socialist North and proceed toward the peaceful reunification of the country while at the same time fulfilling our international obligations.

The anti-U.S. national salvation mission is serious, yet very glorious. To fulfill this mission at a time when the U.S. aggressors and their lackeys are repeatedly sustaining defeats on all battlefields,
we should further our determination and turn it into the determina-

tion of all our armed forces and people. VFF committees at

various levels and VFF members should coordinate their activities

with those of the administration to make the people fully under-

stand the policy and line of stalwartly opposing the Americans for

national salvation until complete victory, properly understand their

responsibility, heighten their vigilance, develop revolutionary

heroism, be ready to fight and fight well to smash all military

adventures of the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys and be
determined to fulfill the tasks of the rear people toward the vast

front line.

To fight the Americans is the duty of all the people. VFF

committees and VFF members should make our people fully

understand this so everybody can satisfactorily perform his duty

and motivate draft-age people to eagerly take part in the people's

armed forces and motivate the youths to eagerly enlist in the

army to annihilate the landgrabbers and countrysellers in order
to avenge our compatriots.

President Ho said in his appeal on 28 July 1965 that nothing

is more valuable than independence and freedom. Our people have
two strategic duties: Resist the Americans and build socialism.
If we do not fight and defeat the Americans they will not let us
peacefully and successfully build socialism. Conversely, if we
do not strive to restore and develop the economy and culture,
satisfactorily maintain order and security, consolidate the North
in all respects, closely coordinate the economic building with
the consolidation of national defense and step up socialist
construction--as called for in the 19th Central Committee Plenum
Resolution--we cannot insure all-round aid to the front line.

The struggles on the military and production fronts are closely
related. To satisfactorily carry out the recruiting task, we must
properly implement the law concerning military service and all
polices and guidelines relating to this task. We must mobilize
our human and material resources for the front line. If the rear
is steady and aids the front line promptly and sufficiently, the
front line will be strong and will fight enthusiastically and win great
victories.
Moreover, we must satisfactorily carry out the promulgated rear line's policies toward the families of servicemen, fallen heroes, wounded and sick combatants and others. The VFF echelons and the VFF's member organizations must participate in implementing and helping administrative organs implement the policies and must reveal irregularities in order to propose a revision or correction. Proper implementation of the rear's policies and satisfactory achievement of mutual assistance will exert a very great influence on the recruiting task and on the fighting morale of our people's armed forces.

The socialist revolution is the most far-reaching and thorough revolution in the history of mankind. It aims at not only establishing socialist production relations—which are entirely new production relations—but on the basis of these new production relations it is achieving a scientific and technical revolution in order to develop the production forces and achieve unprecedentedly high productivity. It also carries out the cultural and ideological revolution and builds a new man who loves the country and socialism, who is heroic and brave in labor, who is disciplined and works according to organizational and technical norms and who endeavors to protect public property.

To that end it is necessary to strengthen the people's democratic dictatorship and build a socialist legal system in order to protect socialism, to prevent and punish counterrevolutionary acts and at the same time to develop the people's right to collective ownership and to encourage the people to promote a creative labor spirit.

To strengthen the political and spiritual unanimity in northern society we must continue to perseveringly improve persons who belonged to the old exploiting class so they can become true workers, improve tens of millions of small producers who have had unorganized and undisciplined habits so they can become collective socialist workers and improve the intellectuals of the old society so they can become new intellectuals who are thoroughly imbued with Marxism-Leninism and who work amid the workers and the peasants. At the same time we must train new intellectuals coming from the worker and the peasant class and must absolutely be loyal to socialism.
In short, we must reform the non-proletarian classes according to the proletariat's socialist ideology. Naturally in the process of reforming these classes the proletariat must reform itself and rid itself of the bad habits of a society that had a system of private ownership and an exploitative system; bad habits that have long been rooted in the proletariat.

In reforming and developing the national economy and in building a new political regime and new man, the VFF plays a very important role. In order to develop their positive role in socialist construction, the VFF committee echelons and the VFF's member organizations must motivate the masses to strive to engage in the patriotic emulation movement, to implement the state plan, to increase labor output and to produce much material wealth for society in order to adequately fulfill the obligation to the state and contribute to the socialist accumulation [of capital] for expanded production and for the gradual improvement of the people's living conditions.

At the same time it is necessary to motivate the people to participate in economic management and to develop their right to collective ownership.

How should we satisfactorily carry out the VFF's missions and tasks? I propose that after this VFF Congress, all provinces and cities hold their own VFF congresses—those that have held such a congress recently can instead convene a plenary VFF committee conference—to disseminate the contents and results of this VFF Congress and on the basis of the application of this VFF Congress' resolution to their local conditions, set forth missions and tasks for their local VFF organizations. The main documents from this VFF Congress must be printed and broadly disseminated among the VFF's component organizations and even among the unorganized masses. It is necessary to take advantage of the meetings within wards, city quarters and city blocks to give briefings on the results of the VFF's national and local congresses and to motivate the unorganized masses and the VFF's collective and individual components to actively contribute toward achieving its missions and tasks.

Regarding the tasks that need to be and can be implemented through a coordination of actions among the VFF's components—such as the launching of patriotic emulation movements, the
fulfilment of state plans, troop recruitment, the implementation of the policy toward the rear, the introduction of candidates for election to the National Assembly and the People's Councils at various levels, maintenance of order and security, the assurance that the State's laws be enforced, the campaign for the protection of health and prevention of diseases and the sealing of the sworn brotherhood between the North and the South--VFF committees at central and local levels must take the initiative in holding meetings of the VFF's components to discuss plans to organize unified action to insure that such missions and tasks are carried out with great attention and good success.

The tasks that can be included in the work plan of each VFF component and that must be carried out regularly should be done without waiting for a meeting of the VFF committee. In their regular meetings, VFF committees at all echelons should review the implementation of the resolutions of the VFF's national and local congresses then decide on the necessary measures to be taken to step up their tasks or to correct the deviations spotted.

Dear comrades and friends: Now there is a problem to be solved. After hearing the VWP Central Committee's letter greeting the Front Congress and after discussing the VFF Central Committee's political report, many of our comrade delegates said that a number of Party echelons and cadres had failed to concentrate on the Front tasks in accordance with the spirit of the Central Committee's resolution. The tasks mentioned in the political report are correct and serious. How can these tasks be carried out properly and successfully? The local Party echelons in general have often failed to concentrate on and closely guide the tasks of the Central Committee and VFF and have disregarded the VFF and its tasks. This is a well-founded concern and constructive criticism.

Noting that the revolution is an undertaking of the popular masses under the Party's leadership, the VWP has applied Marxism-Leninism to the present situation in Viet-Nam and set forth proper lines and policies for the masses. This is a very important task to insure the success of the revolution. The revolution can be successful only when the masses participate in it voluntarily and enthusiastically. After determining the proper lines and policies, it is necessary to disseminate them among the masses, to give explanations, and to persuade, organize and lead the masses to implement them.
During the execution of the lines and policies, the Party must listen to public opinion, learn from the creative experience of the masses and review its lines, policies and slogans in order to correct its shortcomings and errors and to develop and heighten the scientific nature of its line and policy.

We do not hold that our Party's lines and policies set forth for the first time are perfect and proper. Life keeps developing and the revolutionary movement changes constantly. Moreover, even the most experienced revolutionary party cannot be completely immune from subjective views at any given time. For this reason, it is necessary through the masses' actions to learn from and recapitulate the masses' ample experiences in order to improve one's lines and policies. According to Marxism-Leninism, the Party and its members must always pay attention to the masses' interests and seek to understand their view and desires. In this way, the Party can properly reflect the popular masses' interests in its lines and policies and advance proper slogans to motivate and lead the masses to the Party's combat positions and to help the masses, through their own experience, realize that the Party's lines and policies are correct so they can be more confident in the Party and enthusiastically participate in the revolution under Party leadership and strive to implement the Party's lines and policies.

Right after its founding, the Indochinese Communist Party, or the VWP at present, held that its members must penetrate the masses, especially the peasants and workers and that in cities and industrial centers, a number of cadres must be proletarianized and must work in the industrial enterprises in order to motivate the proletarian masses. These cadres at that time were duty-bound to investigate and seek to understand the masses' interests and aspirations, detect good persons, propagandize the Party's lines and policies among them, organize them into underground, clandestine and overt groups and lead the masses in the struggle for their daily interests and in varied forms and through various periods of struggle advance toward the armed general uprising aimed at regaining power throughout the country.

In this motivation of the masses, the people's organizations such as the trade unions, peasants' association, youth union and women's union emerged and developed. A few patriotic and
democratic political parties were founded. All these organizations
and the Party stand within the National United Front led by the
Party. After regaining power, the Party must entertain close
relations with the popular masses, investigate and consider their
desires and abilities, lead the masses instead of tailing after
them and concentrate on learning from the experiences of the
masses inside and outside the Party in order to improve their
knowledge and experiences.

The Party's cadres must wholeheartedly serve the people
and accept their control. We must not think that because we have
the State organization and laws we need only to give orders to the
masses and everything will be all right. This is a bureaucratic
and commandistic behavior. Any stand and policy, including the
constitution, laws, regulations and rules, remain pure words if
they are not publicized and patiently explained to the masses and if
the masses are not educated and convinced to voluntarily implement them.

The people's revolutionary administration can use two
measures: persuasion and constraint, but generally speaking
persuasion must be the main measure. How do you persuade the
masses to implement the stands and policies of the Party and
State? Because the Party has taken hold of the administration the
stands and policies related to the entire people's urgent interests
must be turned into the State's regulations to be carried out by
the entire people. The Party leads but does not work in place
of the administration. However, in order to avoid bureaucracy
and commandism, the administration must rely on the Front and
its members, using these organizations to make propaganda among
the masses and thoroughly educate and persuade them to actively
implement the stands and policies of the Party and State.

Each organizational member of the VFF must strive to
motivate each stratum of the people of its responsibility—trade
unions motivate workers, agricultural production cooperatives
motivate peasants, the Ho Chi Minh Working Youth Union motivates
youths and the Viet-Nam Women's Association motivates women.
Certain tasks must be carried out within particular circles but
many tasks must be carried out in close coordination with each
other in various organizations and circles in order to have great
results.
Because of the reasons above, the Front task is also the civilian proselyting task. The placing of little importance in the VFF task means placing little importance in the civilian proselyting task, not trusting the masses and underestimating the masses' role in the revolutionary undertaking and the people's right to collective mastership.

President Ho said: The VFF's policy is a very important policy. The VFF's task is a very important task in the overall revolutionary task—Ho Chi Minh's talk at the training course for the VFF's cadres in August 1962. The Resolution of the 19th Plenum of the Party Central Executive Committee points out: The VFF, our people's bloc of political and spiritual unity, is the force that unites the actions of political parties and members of the VFF and that is upholding the heroism of our people who stalwartly oppose the Americans for national salvation and thriftily build socialism.

Under our Party's leadership, the VFF has not ceased to struggle for the great unity of all people and for a peaceful, united, independent, democratic and prosperous Viet-Nam. The Political Bureau's Resolution on the movement to heighten the Party members' quality and to revolutionize the Party members of the Ho Chi Minh Class on 6 March 1970 has clearly pointed out: Respect and develop the collective mastership right of the people in the management of the State, the management of the economy and the management of the people's life in accordance with the policies and regulations as specified. Properly carry out the mass motivating task and constantly organize the masses so they can (develop) democracy in order to fight red tape, commandism, arrogance and abuses of power and other acts infringing on the laws of the State and the mastership right of the people.

Based on the aforementioned analysis and instructions, from now on the various committees and echelons of the VFF, the Party and Working Youth Union and the various organizations of the masses must be improved and stabilized. They should realize their responsibility toward the Party Central Committee and various Party echelons, mobilize and muster the masses around the Party, organize the masses, and achieve unity of action among the various members of the Front in carrying out the lines and policies of the Party and the State. The Front's committees elected by the
Front's Congress must have a representative character and must be able to achieve a broad unity and unanimity of views and actions among the various members of the Front.

The various echelons of the Party and administration should attach greater consideration to the VFF's tasks and civilian proselyting tasks, should supply the organizations in charge of these tasks with cadres and means so that they may fulfill their tasks and listen to their tasks and listen to their reports or give them instructions so that they may develop their effect.

As for cadres in charge of carrying out the VFF's task, it is necessary that they overcome the inferiority complex, heighten the sense of responsibility before the Party and people and strive to overcome difficulties and actively and creatively fulfill their missions. We sincerely hope that the VFF Congress this time makes new progress in carrying out the Front task and the civilian proselyting task.

Dear comrades and friends: Our people are very heroic and are endowed with the long-standing tradition of unity in the struggle for independence and freedom. The VWP--a Party that is responsible for guiding the Vietnamese Revolution--is a Marxist-Leninist Party that possesses correct policies and lines for achieving independence and national sovereignty. Our worker-peasant alliance is strong. Our United National Front is a steel-like wall that protects the nation. Our People's Armed Forces are courageous, resourceful and well equipped and carry out the people's war well. We have the just cause.

Our people are participating in the anti-U.S. resistance while endeavoring to build socialism. To oppose the U.S. imperialists we fight them on three fronts: military, political and diplomatic. We keep a firm hold on the "protracted war" guideline and heighten the spirit of self-sufficiency. At the same time we are sympathized and wholeheartedly supported and assisted by the fraternal socialist countries and world's peoples. Therefore we will completely defeat the U.S. aggressors and their lackeys and succeed in liberating the South, defending and building the socialist North, proceeding toward the peaceful reunification of the Fatherland and turning our nation into a peaceful, unified, independent, democratic and prosperous country.
Let us strive to stand united with ourselves and with the Indochinese and world peoples. Greater and more glorious achievements are waiting for us. May the Third Congress of the VFF be crowned with success. I would like to wish our comrades and friends splendid health and greater successes in carrying out their missions.
Early this year the Party Central Committee convened the 20th Plenum. The Plenum heard reports and discussed and approved a Resolution on the anti-U.S. national salvation tasks and the economic tasks for 1972. The following are some main tasks set forth in the Resolution, which each Party chapter and Party member should study and implement:

1. Concentrate overall strength on leading the anti-U.S. national salvation resistance struggle to total victory.

2. Lead agriculture from small-scale production to large-scale socialist production step by step.


4. Improve economic management.

5. Strengthen Party leadership, develop the state's authority and accelerate the masses' revolutionary movement.

I. Persevere In And Accelerate The Resistance.

1. The enemy has suffered heavy defeats, whereas we have won great victories.

The Central [Committee] Plenum acknowledged the great victories of our troops and people since the Mau Than Tet [1968], especially the important victories in the Route 9-Southern Laos area and on other fronts in 1971.
On the military front, remarkable victories were won in the Spring of 1971 during which time our troops and people, in coordination with the Lao troops and people, smashed the largest operation ever launched by the U.S.-puppets in the Route 9-Southern Laos area within the scope of the "Vietnamization" strategy. Later, the Western Highland troops and people fought outstanding annihilating battles; the Tri Thien troops and people foiled many enemy operations and attacked a series of enemy bases, positions and storage facilities; the Central Trung Bo troops and people attacked many airfields, bases and strategic storage facilities; and the Nam Bo troops and people defeated the enemy operation aimed at nibbling at the U Minh area.

The Cambodian liberation troops defeated an operation involving some 20,000 mobile troops of the Saigon puppets and attacked the enemy at Pochentong airfield and on strategic communications lines, especially Route 4.

These victories and the resounding subsequent victories, especially in Snoul, on Route 6 in Cambodia and in the Plain of Jars in Laos, marked a new step in the maturity of the revolutionary armed forces, especially the main forces, in the three Indochinese countries and opened the real possibility of defeating the U.S. "Vietnamization" policy and "Nixon Doctrine" in Indochina.

On the front against the "pacification" program, our compatriots in the southern rural and urban areas have heroically struggled against the U.S.-puppet policy of ruthless repression, terrorism and control, have protected revolutionary bases and have won the mastership right in many forms. In 1971 the enemy's "pacification" plan was checked and driven one step backward. The popular movement against the "pacification" plan made progress and our people's political and armed forces were developed everywhere.

On the diplomatic front, we took the initiative in attacking the enemy and coordinated the diplomatic struggle with the military and political struggle. Our Seven-Point Peace Initiative evoked a great echo in the world. We have won the sympathy, support and ever greater assistance of the fraternal socialist countries and of the world's people, including U.S. progressive people.
The Central [Committee] Plenum noted that these victories bankrupted to a great extent the U.S. imperialists' "Vietnamization" policy and the "Nixon Doctrine" in Indochina. In 1971, when the enemy made great efforts but suffered heavy defeats, our troops and people as well as the Lao and Cambodian troops and people fought strongly and won great victories.

2. Our Position Is A Victorious And Ascending Position.

After his setbacks in 1971, the enemy was on the defensive on all battlefields. The Americans were forced to continue to withdraw troops.

The enemy's military forces decreased both quantitatively and qualitatively. The morale of his troops deteriorated with every passing day. The puppet Saigon troops were forced to be on the defensive and were scattered everywhere. The puppet administration became increasingly isolated and weak.

On our side, the overall forces of the revolution grew ever stronger, both quantitatively and qualitatively. The military and political struggle developed incessantly, widely and broadly. The militant solidarity among the three Indochinese people was constantly consolidated.

The Central [Committee] Plenum acknowledged: the characteristics of the situation are that we are in the victorious, active, favorable and ascending position, whereas the enemy is in the defeated, passive, difficult and descending position.

The recent victories all the more prove that the Central [Committee] Plenum's views were very correct.

3. Determination To Fight And Defeat The U.S. Aggressors.

We have favorable conditions for making the resistance struggle a total victory.

The urgent tasks of our entire Party, army and people are to implement President Ho's sacred testament, to mobilize all our strength, to make tremendous efforts, to heroically advance, to
persevere in and accelerate the anti-U.S. national salvation resistance until total victory, to unite and coordinate closely with the brother Lao and Cambodian troops and peoples in defeating the U.S. "Vietnamization" policy and "Nixon Doctrine" and to fulfill the national and international obligations. This is the great determination of our Party and our people. No matter how hard and difficult our struggle may be, we are determined to fulfill these sacred tasks. Fighting U.S. aggression for national salvation is the greatest resistance struggle in our people's history of struggle against foreign aggression. The success of this struggle will be of decisive significance for the future of the Vietnamese people and at the same time will greatly contribute to the revolutionary struggle of the peoples in Indochina and the world.

4. The Duty Of The Socialist North.

The North is the firm and strong rear of the revolution of our entire country and of the Indochinese revolution. The Central Committee Plenum stressed: Our northern armed forces and people, while striving to build socialism and consolidate the North in all aspects, must thoroughly understand that to fight the Americans for national salvation is a primary task, must uphold their "determined to fight and win" spirit and persevere in and step up the resistance. All our people and units must do their utmost to consolidate the North and to aid the South.

The important tasks of the North are:

A. To mobilize human and material resources to provide adequate, timely aid for the frontline to conduct strong, large-scale, protracted offensives with the "everything for the frontline and everything for victory" spirit.

B. To insure uninterrupted communications and transportation under all circumstances and to transport all necessary supplies to the battlefields in sufficient quantities and in time.

C. To satisfactorily fulfill the troop recruitment task, to build the regular and regional military forces and to insure that our combatants have good spirit and thoughts, a fair technical and tactical knowledge and good health.
D. To heighten our vigilance and our "ready to fight and fight well" spirit and to resolutely smash all adventurous military schemes and acts of the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys, to strengthen the leadership of the Party committees over the local military task, to build a militarized, combat way of life, to positively build firm and strong militia and self-defense forces and to satisfactorily fulfill the people's air defense tasks and the evacuation and dispersion task in important areas.

E. To step up production along with achieving combat readiness. All of us must fulfill the labor duty, struggle to heighten our labor efficiency, improve the quality of our products and reduce production costs, practice economy, improve our management and to attach importance to economic efficiency. Under all circumstances, we must firmly maintain production and combat laxity in management, manifestations of "liberalism" [relaxation of regard for regulations] and a lack of discipline, waste and corruption.

II. To Gradually Lead Agriculture Toward Large-Scale Production.

1. The Need to Lead Agriculture Toward Large-Scale Production.

Our Party lines on socialist construction urge us to primarily concentrate on rationally developing heavy industry on the basis of developing our agriculture and light industry. Our agricultural production has progressed, but generally speaking it has not yet met the requirements of the anti-U.S. national salvation undertaking and socialist industrialization. Grain and food products are still in insufficient quantities for the people's consumption. Agricultural products are still in insufficient quantities for industry and export. One of the main causes of this situation is due to the fact that our agricultural production is still carried out on a small scale and in a dispersed manner. Socialism can only be successful on the basis of a large-scale production. Only if agriculture is carried out on a large-scale production will it be able to have conditions to provide sufficient grain and food products for all our people, raw materials for industry and agricultural products and goods for export. Then we will be able to free rural manpower and gradually shift it to the industrial production sector and most advantageously use land.
2. What Is A Socialist Large-Scale Production Agriculture?

In line with socialist production relations, a large-scale agriculture must:

A. Have high labor efficiency and great quantities of agricultural products and goods.

B. Have progressive production methods and techniques.

C. Have a large production scale.

D. Consider crop cultivation and animal husbandry to be main production branches.

E. Develop comprehensively in the deltas, midlands and mountain areas.

3. What Is To Be Done To Lead Agriculture Toward Large-Scale Production?

A. Determine concentrated production areas.

B. Industry must effectively serve agriculture, supply agriculture with up-to-date equipment and machinery. Industries processing agricultural products must be developed.

C. Apply advanced science and techniques and step up intensive cultivation. Pay attention to the existing agricultural acreage and developing new economic areas.

D. Use exports and imports to exploit the strong position of tropical agriculture, make full use of agricultural manpower and increase its value and reequip agriculture.

E. Consolidate and strengthen the socialist production relationships in the rural areas.

The Central Committee asserted that to lead agriculture toward large-scale socialist production is a radical and difficult revolution. All Party members and Party chapters in the rural areas must be the vanguard forces of the worker class, work for
large-scale production, possess high revolutionary enlightenment, thoroughly understand the Party lines and lead the peasantry and agriculture toward large-scale socialist production.

III. Implementation Of The 1972 State Plan.

The Plenum asserted that these achievements were scored in the implementation of the 1971 State Plan: the national economy was restored and developed, the conditions for stabilizing production and life increased, the managerial task in a number of aspects was improved and the economic situation is moving in a good direction. However, there are still many difficulties in the economic situation and numerous shortcomings and weaknesses in the economic management task. The Plenum stressed the need to satisfactorily carry out the 1972 State Plan, to make proper preparations for the 1973 plan and plans for the following years, to insure success in restoring and developing the national economy and to gradually advance toward socialist large-scale production.

Following are the guiding thoughts and tasks for 1972.

1. The common mission is to restore and develop a further step the national economy with a view to aiding the frontline in the most satisfactory way, to continue building the material and technical bases for socialism and to basically insure a social consumption fund and good living conditions for the people. Along with reestablishing output norms, it is necessary to concentrate on restoring norms on the quality of goods and to achieve economic efficiency in production.

2. Exploit all available and latent capabilities concerning manpower, material supplies, land, equipment and capital, practice economy and insure that these are sufficient for consumption as well as available in reserve accumulation.

3. Improve the economic management task a further step, stabilize production and create conditions for its development.

4. Create necessary premises for building a large-scale economy after the resistance war ends successfully.

5. Work out a long-term plan to step up socialist construction.
IV. **Improve Economic Management.**

To successfully carry out the economic tasks, it is necessary to improve the economic management which is an urgent and important task of our Party and state and which is a primary duty for all branches, echelons and basic units in the state-operated economy as well as in the collective economy.

Following are the aim, requirements and content of the economic management task:

1. **Stabilize and normalize production.**

It is necessary to abolish the situation in which workers work only four or five hours a day, only 40 to 50 percent of the equipment and machine capacity are utilized, the production schedules, regulations, standards and systems are not respected and cooperative members work the number of hours they like. It is necessary to systematize production, determine the responsibilities of each person, each element and each unit, exploit all capabilities and create favorable conditions for our economy to develop and advance.

2. **Shift from methods of management according to the administrative and supply procedures to methods of socialist enterprise management, eliminate methods of organizing management patterned after the management of handicraft and small-scale production and adopt methods of organizing management patterned after the management of large-scale industry with a view to accelerating the advance of the national economy from small-scale production to large-scale production.**

Management must be carried out in accordance with economic rules and on the basis of coordinating ideological measures with economic measures and of seriously applying the accounting system.

3. **Advance in setting up a management system that is consistent with the practical conditions of our country and that consists of the following:**

   --A planning system: planning is the main instrument in economic management. It should be done in a scientific manner and should be practical, well balanced and highly efficient. Planning
for technical progress should be closely linked with economic planning. Planning for material supplies should be linked to financial planning. It is necessary to insure that the province is a level where comprehensive planning is achieved.

--In building and implementing plans, it is necessary to fully reckon the economic effects in order to further step up production and insure that increasingly greater profits will be obtained for the benefit of the national economy.

--A system of economic leverage: prices, wages, finance, banking, new production relations and the masses' awareness.

--A scientific and technical management system.

--A management apparatus.

--Education, training and development of a contingent of cadres and skilled workers and satisfactory utilization of these cadres and workers.


Economic management must be consistent with the principle of democratic centralism. It is necessary to coordinate branch management with echelon management [management in the horizontal and vertical chain of command--Ed.]

It is necessary to uphold the centralized and unified leadership of the central authority, uphold the ministries' and general departments' managerial competence in their respective branches and, at the same time, heighten the responsibilities and authority of the local administrations. The Central [Committee] Plenum emphasized the need to streamline and strengthen the organization of the provincial administration and to clearly define the districts' important role in providing guidance for developing agriculture and handicraft and for cooperative management and in leading the three revolutions in the rural areas. The production and enterprise establishments play important roles because they form the frontline
on the economic front. Therefore various branches and echelons must concentrate on satisfactorily improving management of the base level organizations which include all establishments, both state-run and collective, in the branches of production, communications and services.

V. Strengthen Party Leadership, Develop The State's Authority And Provoke The Masses' Seething Revolutionary Movement.

The Party Central Committee Plenum stressed the decisive significance of these three factors: the Party, the administration and the masses' movement.

1. Party Leadership Over Economy.

Socialist building is a great but very difficult revolutionary undertaking. It is necessary that Party organizations at all echelons and in all branches and basic units clearly understand the Party Central Committee's resolutions, firmly grasp the task of exerting leadership over the economy and of discussing and deciding the policies and measures for realizing and supervising the implementation and recapitulation of experiences gained in the performance of tasks.

It is necessary that Party members possess a high sense of collective mastership, be loyal to the interests of their class and people, firmly grasp the Party's lines and resolutions and have good revolutionary qualities and work abilities. It is necessary that the task of building Party chapters, increasing the quality of Party members and improving the activities of the Party organizations be carried out on the basis of the movement to build socialism and to guide the masses in implementing the Party's resolutions.

2. Uphold The State's Authority.

Under the Party's leadership, the state administration has the task to build a new society. The state administration is an instrument for implementing the Party's leadership right and the people's right of mastership.
The Party Central Committee Plenum stressed the necessity to consolidate the administrative machinery at all levels and to vigorously improve the work systems and work methods of the state machinery with a view to strengthening economic management and the socialist legal system.

3. Initiate The Masses' Movement.

The revolution is the masses' undertaking. In socialist building it is necessary to constantly strengthen the Party leadership, develop the state's authority and the right of collective mastership of workers, peasants and intellectuals in each organization and agency, insure the implementation of the socialist democratic system and heighten the masses on revolutionary zeal as well as develop their intelligence and strength.

On the basis of firmly grasping the objective to successfully fulfill all economic missions and the state plan and on the basis of combining the ideological, economic and administrative measures, it is necessary to initiate a realistic, seething revolutionary emulation drive among the masses to engage in production, to economize, to stand ready for combat, to increase labor productivity, to increase the quality of products and lower their cost price, to heighten economic effect and to struggle against laziness, waste and corruption.

It is necessary that the state organs and managerial branches set forth proper economic and technical tasks, insure sufficient materials and other necessary conditions for production and have a reward and punishment policy in order to insure constant development for the masses' emulation drive. This will create a motive to accelerate the successful fulfillment of the State Plan.

The labor unions' congresses and the peasants and cooperative members' congresses have the important mission of initiating a strong revolutionary movement among manual and office workers and collective peasants in order to successfully fulfill all concrete economic and political missions.

The 20th Plenum of the Party Central Committee stressed that it is necessary that all Party organizations and Party members firmly grasp and make the masses firmly grasp the above situation
and missions, achieve unity and single-mindedness and concentrate all efforts on completely defeating the U.S. aggressors and their henchmen while firmly maintaining and accelerating the economic tasks and making the socialist North steadfast and powerful in all aspects so it can fulfill its mission toward the great frontline and its international duty.

Our undertaking of socialist building encounters many difficulties. However it enjoys many favorable conditions and has recorded great successes. Let our entire Party, armed forces and people heroically advance and make every effort to successfully fulfill the Party Central Committee's Resolution and the State Plan for 1972 with a determination to completely defeat the U.S. aggressors and to successfully build socialism.
"WE ARE DETERMINED TO DEFEAT THE U.S. AGGRESSORS ON THE ECONOMIC FRONT"

After having sustained heavy defeats in South Viet-Nam, the Nixon clique has frantically attacked North Viet-Nam. A fierce war is prevailing throughout our country. The economic and other activities in North Viet-Nam must be adapted to and developed in accordance with the new situation. Implementing the Party and government policy, in the past two months we achieved initial results in changing the trend of economic development. These results reflect the determination to fight and win, the offensive revolutionary spirit and the strong will of all our Party members, troops and people.

Changing the trend of economic development and stepping up economic activities are aimed at mobilizing all our existing and potential forces to satisfy, to the highest degree, the needs of the anti-U.S. national salvation undertaking in accordance with this spirit: "Everything for the frontline and everything for defeating the U.S. aggressors." Changing the trend of economic development and stepping up economic activities are aimed at pursuing socialist construction in war time. Changing the trend of economic development and stepping up economic activities are aimed at maintaining and developing production in war time, regulating the distribution and use of all production potentialities--including manpower, equipment, material supplies and capital--and regulating the distribution and use of goods produced and the national income in order to satisfy in time the requirements of combat, production and the people's livelihood. The frantic and savage actions of the Nixon clique cannot stop North Viet-Nam in its advance toward socialism and in fulfilling the duty of the great rear toward the great frontline. These actions cannot save the U.S. aggressors from defeat in South Viet-Nam. To maintain and develop our victorious and offensive position, we must satisfactorily carry out the task of changing the trend of economic development and stepping up economic activities, thoroughly understand the Party's economic development policy and satisfactorily implement the resolutions of the 19th and 20th Party Central Committee Conferences in accordance with war time conditions.

In changing the trend of economic development, the task of protecting and insuring communications and transportation is a central and extraordinary one. It is necessary to focus all energies on the
tasks of strengthening the force on the communications and transportation front, quickly repairing roads and bridges, quickly transporting goods, quickly loading and unloading goods, keeping secrets and insuring safety to the highest degree in order to defeat the Nixon clique on each road section and each bridge—especially in strategic areas and along main roads.

Due to the urgent requirements of the war and the fundamental requirements of socialist construction, the fundamental role and strategic significance of agriculture have become more prominent under present circumstances. First of all it is necessary to develop the production of grains and foodstuffs in the delta, the middle region and the mountain region. It is necessary to urgently complete the preparation for the struggle against floods and the calamities caused by nature or the enemy during the coming rainy season. Along with producing grains, we must continue to develop animal husbandry and maintain and develop the cultivation of industrial crops in accordance with the new situation and in conformity with the directives set forth in the resolutions of the 19th and 20th Party Central Committee Conferences. We must cause the patterns of cultivation and animal husbandry to undergo revolutionary changes, undertake step by step the zoning of agricultural areas and most efficiently exploit the existing cultivated acreage. Simultaneously we must create a number of new economic areas, consolidate and reinforce the cooperatives, reorganize the organizations at the district level and improve the organization of the agricultural management system from top to bottom.

In war it is necessary to maintain and develop industrial production in a way consistent with the new situation by evacuating factories and protecting them against air attacks. We are determined to maintain production in a number of the main branches of heavy industry and have these branches to serve the urgent requirements of combat and of the task of changing the trend of economic development—especially the trend of developing agriculture. At the same time we must endeavor to strongly develop local industry, small industry and handicraft industry with efficient help from industry at the central level and in harmonious association with the development of agriculture. Strongly developing local industry, small industry and handicraft industry is consistent with war time conditions. Moreover, this is an inevitable step to be undertaken during the process of constructing socialism in North Viet-Nam.
It is necessary to satisfactorily solve the problem of cooperation between central level industry and local industry and between state-run factories and small industry and handicraft cooperatives.

To fulfill this task it is necessary to thoroughly understand the Party and government policy of boldly encouraging and at the same time closely managing local industry, small industry and handicraft industry. The industrial branches at the central level must send an appropriate number of managerial cadres, technical cadres, workers, equipment, machines and material supplies to help local industry.

To insure the success of the task of changing the production trend, it is necessary to actively mobilize the masses to strictly practice economy. Good production, good mobilization and economy must be closely related. It is necessary to mobilize to a high degree all of the national resources. First of all it is necessary to mobilize the labor force throughout the country as well as in each branch, each locality or each unit. Each citizen is a combatant who must kill the enemy to save the country. Each worker must assume a definite responsibility, work hard, respect disciplinary measures and apply the right techniques in a society where labor is rationally and closely organized. It is necessary to mobilize to the highest degree all the natural resources and talents of the country—including the state-run economy, the collective economy and even those who work individually—to fulfill the war time duties. After achieving this mobilization, it is necessary to distribute and use this manpower and these natural resources thriftily in order to satisfy the urgent needs of combat, production and people's livelihood.

In wartime it is necessary to closely manage manpower, material supplies, finance, currency and prices. It is necessary to resolutely combat the tendency to manage loosely.

Developing the initial achievements in the task of improving economic management in the past few years, the various branches must perseveringly pursue the task of improving economic management, which can be and must be carried out immediately in wartime. Also it is necessary to promulgate and strictly implement the regulations concerning economic management in wartime. These
regulations must aim at satisfactorily carrying out the task of satisfying the necessary needs through strictly controlling manpower, material supplies and finance and through properly associating the use of good-currency relationship and the relationship among markets in order to urge everyone and every unit to satisfactorily organize productive labor, the circulation of goods and a thrifty consumption of goods. These regulations must insure the constant and close relationship of ideological, administrative and economic measures and must aim at solving the relationship among these measures in a way consistent with wartime conditions. We must do our best to enlighten the masses and create a seething revolutionary spirit and a determination to endure all hardships and ordeals for the sake of saving the country. We must praise the state power and emphasize the necessity for all citizens and organizations to apply wartime disciplinary measures strictly. At the same time, we must apply economic measures—although in a restricted way—in order to encourage the masses to increase production and labor output.

Along with changing the economic trend and strengthening management over the wartime economy, we must actively make preparations for strongly developing the socialist economy in the future, such as: the study and drawing up of plans for long-range economic development, the study of plans for scientific and technical development, the study and drawing up of a management system consistent with the situation in our country, the conducting of investigations and the training of cadres and workers.

As in other revolutionary tasks, the conditions determining the success of the task of changing the economic trend are strengthening Party leadership, developing state power, respecting the workers' mastership right and launching a deep and widespread revolutionary movement among the masses. The main condition consists of strengthening leadership over our Party's lines, ideology, policies and organization, strengthening the leading role of Party basic organizations and strengthening the vanguard and exemplary role of Party members.

In changing the economic trend we have an opportunity to train our Party organizations and Party members and to test them. We must take advantage of this opportunity to streamline our Party organization, educate Party members, assess cadres and Party members through their activities, promote those who are talented and virtuous and enjoy the masses' confidence and eliminate from the Party those who are unworthy of being Party members.
We must keep a firm hold over our Party's line and standpoint on an independent and self-supporting economy and praise the offensive revolutionary spirit on the economic front. We must combat the tendency to work hesitatingly, occasionally, slowly and sluggishly. We must combat conservative views and the tendency not to resolutely maintain and develop production and not to pursue socialist construction during fierce enemy attacks. Simultaneously we must take precautionary measures against subjectivism and against loss of enlightenment. We must combat the tendency to rely on foreign countries, on higher authorities and on other branches or other people. We must combat regionalism, sectarianism and individualism and the tendency to worry only about the interests of one's region or unit or one's own interests. We must combat the tendency to worry about livelihood and neglect the duty to mobilize everything for the war of resistance. Simultaneously we must take precautionary measures against the tendency to worry only about mobilization and to neglect the task of improving the people's health.

We must combat the tendency to adopt an irresponsible attitude, we must combat waste and embezzlement, we must struggle against the administrative methods of managing supplies", these are bad tendencies that have caused damage to the state and people. Simultaneously we must take precautionary measures against the tendency to achieve self-sufficiency through applying small production methods as well as the tendency to practice unproductive thriftiness, these tendencies have created obstacles to combat and production. Concerning economic and financial management, it is necessary to resolutely combat all manifestations leading to loose management. It is necessary to combat all manifestations of slackness, hesitation and opportunism, it is necessary to combat the tendency to violate the law and disciplinary measures. At the same time it is necessary to take precautionary measures against the tendency to carry out tasks mechanically or to force workers to strictly follow orders of superior authorities--a tendency that has created difficulties to or hindered the settlement of pressing wartime problems.

To satisfactorily carry out the task of ideological leadership, it is necessary to cause the task of organizing and leading the carrying out of various tasks in the state's management organs and economic management organs to undergo a strong change, thus enabling these organs to fulfill the task of changing the economic
development trend. It is necessary to strengthen the concentrated and uniform leadership of the leading organs at the central level, thus enabling these organs to understand the core of each problem as well as all the aspects of this problem, see the immediate as well as the future interests and solve all their problems in time, correctly and efficiently. At the same time it is necessary to clearly determine and properly expand responsibility of the heads of various branches, echelons and basic units, thus encouraging them to develop their initiative.

It is necessary to reorganize and redeploy—if required—the body of cadres and public servants in accordance with wartime needs and send a number of cadres now working for central level organs to help various localities and bases. Basing ourselves on wartime needs, we must resolutely replace the leaders who lack a revolutionary spirit, a sense of responsibility or leadership ability with those who are virtuous and talented and enjoy the masses' confidence.

It is necessary to intensify the permanent control of higher authorities over lower authorities and set up teams of comptrollers in charge of controlling production, manpower, material supplies, trade, finance and so forth in order to guide and supervise the task of changing the trend of economic development in each locality and base.

It is necessary to praise the laws promulgated in wartime governing economic management, production management, the people-mobilizing task, circulation and distribution of goods and so forth. Waste, embezzlement and irresponsible acts must be severely punished. Speculators and smugglers must also be severely punished.

The regulations concerning wartime work must be strictly enforced: strict control must be exercised; reports must be correct and accurate; decisions must be taken quickly and definitely; wartime discipline measures must be strictly enforced and secrets must be strictly preserved.

Now the war situation is evolving quickly in a way favorable to us. The offensive and uprising movement of our southern troops and people has won great victories and is being actively developed. The world people's movement to support and help the Vietnamese
people in the struggle against the U.S. aggressors is developing widely, deeply and more strongly than ever. The Nixon clique is encountering many difficulties. The more frantically it squirms, the heavier defeats it will sustain. We are carrying out the task of changing the economic development trend and intensifying the carrying out of economic activities to protect and strengthen the rear, and perseveringly step up the anti-U.S. national salvation struggle toward total victory. Guided by our Party and implementing President Ho's sacred testament, our people will surely defeat the Nixon clique on the economic front, thus enabling the North as the great rear to fulfill its duty toward the great frontline in the struggle to completely defeat the U.S. aggressors.
Appendix

SECONDARY LEADERSHIP IN THE DRV

[Editor's Note: The names of Party Central Committee members, military leaders, heads of government agencies holding ministerial rank, and of the National Assembly Standing Committee were reproduced in Viet-Nam Documents and Research Notes No. 103 "The Structure of Power in the DRV." A complete list of National Assembly members provided in Part II of Document No. 95 "The DRV Elects Its Fourth National Assembly."]

VIET-NAM WORKERS' PARTY BOARD CHAIRMEN

Agricultural Board
(Vice Chairman)

Lê Thành
Trần Quốc Mạnh
Nguyễn Lương Bằng

Control Board

Communications and Transportation Board

Emulation Board

Phan Trọng Tudev

Foreign Relations Board
(Vice Chairmen)

Lê Thanh Nghi
Doan Hoang Ky

Xuân Thúy
Cao Hồng Lãnh
Nguyễn Song Tùng
Trần Chí Hiền

Finance and Trade Board

To Duy

Flood and Typhoon Control Board

Hà Kế Tấn

Industrial Board

Trương Chinh

Nguyễn Hữu Mai

Military Affairs Board
Secretary
Deputy Secretaries

Minority Affairs Board

(See Document 103)

Lê Quang Ba
VIET-NAM WORKERS' PARTY BOARD CHAIRMEN (con't)

Organization Board

Propaganda and Education Board

Deputy Members

Reunification Board

Resettlement Board

Rural Work Board

LÊ ĐỨC THỌ

TÔ HỮU

ĐÃO DUY TUNG

NGUYỄN VINH

NGUYỄN VINH (Maj. Gen)

HOÀNG ANH

NGUYỄN HỮU KHIẾU

LAO DONG PARTY PROVINCIAL SECRETARIES

Autonomous Regions

Tay Bac

Viet Bac

Hoàng Văn Kiều

Chu Văn Tân (Col. Gen)

Municipalities

Ha Noi

Hai Phong

Nguyễn Văn Trần

Trần Kiên

Provinces

Bac Thai (VBAR)

Caо Bang (VBAR)

Ha Bac

Ha Giang (VBAR)

Ha Tay

Ha Tinh

Hai Hung

Hoa Binh

Lai Chau (TBAR)

Lang Son (VBAR)

Lao Cai

Nam Ha

LÊ HOÀNG

VŨ NGỌC LINH

LÊ QUANG TUÂN

NGUYỄN XUÂN TRƯỜNG

NGUYỄN XUÂN LINH

LÊ QUÝ QUYNH

BÙI VĂN KÍN

NGUYỄN VĂN ĐỨC

TRƯỞNG MINH

PHAN ĐIỆN
LAO DONG PARTY PROVINCIAL SECRETARIES
(con't)

Provinces

Nghe An
Nghia Lo (TBAR)
Ninh Binh
Quang Binh
Quang Ninh
Son La (TBAR)
Thai Binh
Thanh Hoa
Tuyen Quang (VBAR)
Vinh Phu
Yen Bai

Vô Thúc Đông*
Vương Văn Giáp
(Deputy Secretary)
Nguyễn Xuân Việt
Nguyễn Thanh
Nguyễn Tứ Thoan
Nguyễn Đức Tam
Hoàng No
Ngô Duy Đồng
Vô Nguyễn Lương
Trần Hoài Quang
Kim Ngọc
Nguyễn Ngọc Cú

Special Zone

Vinh Linh Special Zone

Trần Đông

*Ambassador to Moscow
### DRV Civil Government Leaders

Ministries are listed here as they were in the communique of the First Session of the Fourth National Assembly, June 1971. Since it may reflect the ministries' prestige, Ministers' names were reported in that communique. Names of Vice Ministers derive from references in North Vietnamese media. Seniority among them is not known, except that it is assumed that a Vice-Minister who is also a Party leader outranks one who is not. It is possible that some Vice Ministers no longer occupy the positions shown.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Government Premier:</th>
<th>Phạm Văn Đặng (1)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vice-Premiers:</td>
<td>Võ Nguyên Giáp (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nguyễn Duy Trinh (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lê Thanh Nghị (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Phan Kế Toại</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nguyễn Công (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hoàng Anh (1)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Defense Minister: Võ Nguyên Giáp (1)

(For Defense Ministry listing see Appendix B, Document 103)

Foreign Affairs Minister: Nguyễn Duy Trinh (1)

Vice-Ministers:
- Hoàng Văn Lợi
- Nguyễn Văn Tiến
- Nguyễn Cơ Thạch

Public Security Minister: Trần Quốc Hoàn (1)

Vice-Ministers:
- Lê Quốc Thân (2)
- Phạm Kiệt (Maj., Gen.)
- Trần Quyết
- Nguyễn Quang Việt
- Ngô Ngọc Du

Minister Without Portfolio: Xuân Thụy (1)

---

(1) VWP Politburo and Secretariat members
(2) Full members VWP Central Committee
Minister of the Interior: Dương Quốc Chính (2)

Chief of the Ethnic Minority Committee: Lê Quảng Ba (2)

Chief of the State Planning Committee: Nguyễn Công (1)

Minister, Asst. Chief of the State Planning Committee: Nguyễn Lâm (2)

Minister, Asst. Chief of the State Planning Committee: Nguyễn Văn Sang

Vice-Chairmen of the State Planning Committee: Nguyễn Văn Kha, Đặng Thị, Nguyễn Văn Phương, Hồ Việt Thăng, Lê Khắc, Nguyễn Văn Đạo

Finance Minister: Đặng Việt Châu

Vice-Ministers: Trịnh Văn Bình, Nguyễn Văn Triệu

General Director of State Banks: Tất Hoàng Cơ

Chief of the State Committee for Price Control: Nguyễn Lâm (2)

Chief of the State Reconstructions (or Capital Construction) Committee: Đỗ Mười (2)

Chief of the Central Agricultural Committee: Hoàng Anh (1)

Minister, Asst. Chief of the Central Agricultural Committee: Nguyễn Văn Lộc (2)

Minister, Asst. Chief of the Central Agricultural Committee: Nguyễn Xuân Lâm

(1) VWP Politburo and Secretariat members
(2) Full members VWP Central Committee
Water Resources Minister: Hà Kế Tân (3)  
Vice-Ministers:  
Phan Mỹ  
Trần Mạnh Quy  
Nguyễn Như Quy  
Power and Coal Minister: Nguyễn Hữu Mai (3)  
Vice-Ministers:  
Vũ Anh  
Bùi Đình Đồng  
Nguyễn Xuân Lâm  
Nguyễn Chân  
Hoàng Hữu Nhân  
Nguyễn Văn Phương  
Nguyễn Văn Hùng  
Engineering Minister: Đinh Đức Thiên (3)  
Vice-Ministers:  
Nguyễn Duy Thái (Col.)  
Trần Điệp  
Light Industry Minister: Kha Vang Cẩn  
Vice-Ministers:  
Trần Hữu Dũng  
Phan Văn Hữu  
Nguyễn Đức Tam  
Ho Thị Chi  
Nguyễn Lắm (2)  
Provisions and Foods Minister: Ngô Minh Loan (3)  
Vice-Minister: Đặng Gia  
Construction Minister: Bùi Quang Tạo (2)  
Vũ Quý  
Nguyễn Cao Luyện  
Vũ Nhất  
(2) Full members VWP Central Committee  
(3) Alternate members VWP Central Committee
Communication and Transportation Minister:

Vice-Ministers:

Phan Trọng Tuellement (Maj. Gen) (2)

Duong Bach Liên
Nguyễn Trường Lan
Hồng Xích Tam
Trịnh Ngọc Diệt
Hoàng Quốc Tấn
Vũ Quang (4)

Labor Minister:

Vice-Ministers:

Nguyễn Hữu Khiêu (3)

Nguyễn Đăng
Lê Chân Phương
Bui Quy

Private Property Administration Minister:
(also referred to as Materials Minister)

Trần Danh Tuyên (3)

Home Trade Minister:

Vice-Ministers:

Hoàng Quốc Thịnh

Bùi Bảo Văn
Lê Đông
Lê Thị Diệu Muội
Vũ Tuấn
Hà Uyên

Foreign Trade Minister:

Vice-Ministers:

Phan Anh

Ly Bản (3)
Nguyễn Chanh
Nguyễn Bá Đức

Culture Minister:

Vice-Ministers:

Hoàng Minh Giám

Hà Huy Giáp (2)
Nguyễn Đức Quy
Hà Xuân Trường
Cù Huy Cân

(2) Full members VWP Central Committee
(3) Alternate members VWP Central Committee
(4) Member Secretariat Ho Chi Minh Working Youth Union
Education Minister: Nguyễn Văn Huyễn
Vice-Ministers:

Universities and Vocational Secondary Schools Minister: Türkçe Quang Büü
Vice-Ministers:

Public Health Minister: Nguyễn Văn Hương
Vice-Ministers:

Chief of the State Sciences and Technique Committee: Trần Đại Nghĩa (Brig. Gen.)

Chief of the Government Inspection Committee: Nguyễn Thanh Bình (3)

Premier's Palace Minister: Trần Hữu Đức (2)

Minister, Coordinator of Culture and Education: Trần Quang Huy (3)

(2) Full members VWP Central Committee
(3) Alternate members VWP Central Committee
(4) Member Secretariat Ho Chi Minh Working Youth Union
Provincial Administrative Committee Chairmen

Autonomous Regions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Chairman</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tay Bac (TBAR)</td>
<td>Lò Văn Hạc (1)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Viet Bac (VBAR)</td>
<td>Hoàng Bác Dũng</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Municipalities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>City</th>
<th>Chairman</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ha Noi</td>
<td>Trần Duy Hưng (Dr) (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hải Phòng</td>
<td>Lê Đức Thịnh (1)</td>
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</table>

Provinces

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>Chairman</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bắc Thái (VBAR)</td>
<td>Đỗ Anh (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cao Bằng (VBAR)</td>
<td>Phan Mạnh Cự **</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hà Bạc</td>
<td>Phượng Nam Ngoại</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hà Giang (VBAR)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hải Tây</td>
<td>Nguyễn Hữu Thư (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hà Tĩnh</td>
<td>Trần Quang Đại (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hải Hưng</td>
<td>Nguyễn Hoài Bắc (1)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hoa Bình</td>
<td>Nguyễn Văn Hải (1)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lai Châu (TBAR)</td>
<td>Lâm Sùng (1)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lạng Sơn (VBAR)</td>
<td>Bế Chánh Hưng</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lào Cai</td>
<td>Cutsche Van</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nậm Hà</td>
<td>Vũ Tiến</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nghe An</td>
<td>Võ Vương Văn Giáp*</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nghi Lộc (TBAR)</td>
<td>Cam Ngoan (1)</td>
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<td>Ninh Bình</td>
<td>Ta Quang (1)</td>
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<td>Quảng Bình</td>
<td>Cô Kim Thành (1)</td>
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<td>Quảng Ninh</td>
<td>Hoàng Chính</td>
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<td>Sơn La (TBAR)</td>
<td>Cam Liên (1)</td>
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<td>Thái Bình</td>
<td>Nguyễn Ngọc Triệu (1)</td>
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<td>Thanh Hóa</td>
<td>Võ Nguyên Lương</td>
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<td>Tuyên Quang (VBAR)</td>
<td>Nguyễn Thành Đô</td>
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<td>Vinh Phúc</td>
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<td>Yên Bái</td>
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Special Zone

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Zone</th>
<th>Chairman</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vinh Linh Special Zone</td>
<td>Lê Thanh Liêm</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Also Deputy Party Secretary
** Also Consul General, Nanning
(1) Also members of Fourth Legislature, National Assembly
VIET-NAM FATHERLAND FRONT (VFF)

Central Committee Presidium

Chairman:

(1) Tôn Đức Thắng

Presidium Members:

(1) (2) Chu Văn Tấn

(2) Hoàng Minh Giâm

(1) (2) Hoàng Quốc Việt

(2) Nghiêm Xuân Yêm

Nguyễn Công Phuong

(1) (2) Nguyễn Thị Thạp (Mrs.)

(2) Nguyễn Văn Hường (Dr.)

(2) Nguyễn Xiển

Phan Kế Toại

(2) Thiện Trí Đức

(2) Trần Đăng Khoa

(President, DRV)

(Col. Gen., Member National Defense Council, VWP Secretary Viet-Bac Autonomous Region)

(Minister of Culture, DRV, Deputy Secretary, Socialist Party)

(President Viet-Nam Federation of Trade Unions, Director People's Supreme Organ of Control)

(Vice Chairman Central Agricultural Commission, Secretary General Democratic Party)

(President Viet-Nam Women's Union)

(non-party, Minister of Public Health)

(Vice Chairman National Assembly Standing Committee, Secretary General Socialist Party)

(non party, Vice Premier DRV)

(President Unified Buddhist Association, Member National Assembly Standing Committee)

(Deputy Secretary Democratic Party, Vice Chairman National Assembly Standing Committee)
Central Committee Presidium (con't)

Presidium Members (con't):

(1) (2) Trương Chinh

(2) Vũ Xuân Kỳ (Rev.)

(1) (2) Xuân Thùy

(2) Y Wang

Trần Hữu Duyệt

(2) Nguyễn Thị Lựu

Secretariat Members:

Đỗ Xuân Luật

(2) Đỗ Xuân Sang

Nguyễn Xuân Trâm

Phan Tu Nghĩa

Central Committee Members:

Nguyểń An Ninh (Mrs.)

(2) Hồ Đắc Di (Prof.)

(Member VWP Politburo, Chairman National Assembly Standing Committee)

(Chairman, Patriotic and Peace Loving Catholics, died Sept. 1972)

(Minister w/o Portfolio, Chief DRV Paris Peace Talks Delegation)

(Secretary General, VFF)

(Deputy Secretary General, Chairman National Assembly Reunification Committee)

(Deputy Secretary Lawyers Assoc.)

(Deputy Secretary Viet-Nam Peace Committee)

(Director of a kindergarten for children of southern regroupes)

(Member National Assembly Standing Committee, President Medical Science Association)
Central Committee Members (cont):

(2) Nguyễn Tấn Gi Trồng(Dr.) (Member National Assembly Standing Committee)

Phạm Huy Thông(Prof.) (President Hanoi Teachers College, President Viet-Nam Youth Federation)

Nguyễn Xuân Yêm (See above)

(2) Phan Anh (non-party Minister of Foreign Trade, DRV, President Viet-Nam Lawyers Association)

Phan Văn Chung (Vice Chairman Viet-Nam Peace Committee)

(2) Tôn Quang Phét (Secretary General National Assembly Standing Committee)

Tú Mỡ

Trinh Xuân Bái

(1) Members of VWP Central Committee

(2) Members of National Assembly.