capitalist trade and industry, we direct our attention to the building of the material and technical basis of socialism.

Inspired by the ever-consolidating new relations of production, our working class and co-operative peasantry have been bringing into full play their creativeness and fortitude in labour, overcoming every difficulty, zealously emulating each other in raising production, practising thrift, fearless of all privations and hardships caused by the U.S. war of aggression. The superiority of socialism and our growing political and moral unity account for the achievements of our people in the North over the past few years. However, aside from our successes and good points which are predominant, there have been shortcomings and defects in one respect or another. For example, since the North began to cope with the U.S. war of destruction, economic management and control of the market have been somewhat relaxed and this state of things has made possible the small producers' spontaneous growth. In co-operative farms, the members have not been able fully to exercise their right as masters of the organization, and embezzlement and lack of democracy, rather widespread in production and distribution, has damped the zeal of peasants. The management of collective land and the application of the “three fixed norms” policy\(^1\) have not been free from shortcomings and faults.

A similar situation has also been prevailing in handicraft co-operatives. A few members of the former exploiting classes and profiteers, taking advantage of the war conditions, have

\(^1\) This policy consists in assigning to each co-op production team fixed norms in output, work points and production costs for a crop or for a whole year. It does not apply to the co-op members' households. (Pub.)
relapsed into exploitation of labour in altered forms. On the other hand, hooligans and speculators joining hands with a few degenerates from state offices or factories have been stealing raw materials, materials and goods from State warehouses and selling them on the free market at exorbitant prices, causing disturbances to some extent. The struggle between the two paths is going on in new and rather complex forms. Consequently, we must attach due importance to consolidating the socialist economic sector (State-run and collective economies), strengthening economic and financial management, bringing into full play the economic impact of State enterprises in production and distribution, and combating corruption, waste and bureaucracy. We must improve the distribution of goods in a fairer, more rational and more democratic way, with due regard to both the work done and the basic needs of the people, and with a view to better serving production, the fighting and the people's living. Meanwhile, socialist transformation must be completed to clear the way for the steady advance of socialist economy.

In the countryside, it is necessary to stimulate and guide the co-operatives in the democratic elaboration of their statutes, internal regulations and various regimes and the expansion of the work for further democratization of the co-operatives so as to assert their members' right as collective masters, and to ensure respect for their political, economic and social rights; to combat embezzlement, waste and bureaucracy; to check all attempts to appropriate collective land and property; to correct the mistakes committed in the application of the “three fixed norms” policy. These tasks will help consolidate agricultural co-operatives, and encourage
everyone to vie with one another to boost production. In the meantime, the strengthening of supply and marketing co-operatives and credit co-operatives should not be neglected, for it helps tighten the control of the market and improve the granting of credits to co-operative members and eliminate usury which is still practised secretly here and there in our countryside. As regards the co-operative members’ family economy, it is advisable to provide it with sound guidance toward a wholesome development so as to help them increase their income, while ensuring that it will not interfere with the co-operatives’ management of labour and with the continuous strengthening of the collective economy.

In cities, and provincial and district towns handicraft co-operatives must be reinforced politically, ideologically, organizationally and professionally. The small producers’ negative practices in the spontaneous expansion of their businesses must be ended, and a new orientation in line with the Party’s and Government’s policies must be given to these co-operatives’ operations. As for the small traders, we must resolutely educate them and help them shift to production or organize them into “service groups,” thus giving them employment to earn honest incomes.

Regarding bourgeois who have been admitted into joint State-private enterprises, we must continue raising their political and ideological standards, give them and their dependents jobs with decent wages to make it possible for them to go on with their reformation and become genuine labourers of a socialist country.

Those who steal State or collective property, or engage in speculation and disturb the market must be made to realize
their mistakes and mend their ways. If the offences are serious enough, they should be duly punished according to the law.

To accomplish those tasks is to apply correctly the revolutionary socialist line of Marxism-Leninism, to continue implementing the Revolution of the Party's Third National Congress and pave the way for the North's steady advance toward socialism and for the reinforcement of the great rear base of our resistance against U.S. aggression, for national salvation.

3. TOGETHER WITH THE WORLD'S PEOPLES, TO STRUGGLE FOR PEACE, NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE, DEMOCRACY AND SOCIALISM

Since Marx's and Engels's *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, the history of mankind has followed the trend they mapped out.

The Great October Socialist Revolution ushered in the epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism on a worldwide scale. Its triumph and the founding of the Soviet Union, the first socialist state, converted Marx's scientific socialism from a fine dream of progressive humanity into a tangible reality.

In the Second World War, the victory of the Soviet Union over fascist Germany, Italy and Japan saved mankind from fascism, and created extremely favourable conditions for the peoples under fascist rule — the Vietnamese people included — to gain independence and freedom. National democratic
revolution and socialist revolution triumphed in a series of countries in the Eastern and Western hemispheres. Most remarkably, the Chinese revolution, which was successful in a vast country with nearly one-fourth of the earth's population, has been a source of powerful inspiration and stimulus for the revolutionary movement of the world's working class and oppressed peoples. The socialist system has established itself and has been expanding. Under the impact of staggering blows from the national liberation movement, the colonial system of imperialism has collapsed by big chunks.

The victory of socialism in one-fourth of the world, the powerful growth of the national liberation movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America, the expansion of the workers' movement and the struggle for peace and democracy in the capitalist and many other countries are weakening the position of world capitalism.

After the Second World War, the market of world capitalism has shrunk, and its inner contradictions have sharpened: its general crisis has been worsening. Monopoly capitalism has all the more rapidly switched to state-monopoly capitalism. Relying on the power of the bourgeois state to regulate the economy, and turning to account the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution to renew their equipment and step up rationalization of production, the state-monopoly capitalists have intensified the exploitation of labour and caused the physical and mental exhaustion of the workers.

In their desperate attempt to cope with socialism which has secured increasing success in the world, with the
growing struggle of the working class and people at home, and with that of the colonial peoples, the state-monopoly capitalists are resorting to their usual tricks, i.e. terror and deception; the scope and form of these have changed and their insidiousness has increased. Concurrently with fascist repressive and terroristic measures, they stage the "people's capitalism" farce designed to create in the workers' illusions about "class co-operation" and "common enjoyment of profit" and to tie them to the capitalist way of life. As regards the colonial peoples, under the rising pressure of the national liberation movement they have had to operate a change-over from old-type colonialism to new-type colonialism, substituting the fetters of the latter for the chains of the former. In some places the neo-colonialism of one imperialism just supersedes the colonialism of another. In others, neo-colonialism gains a foothold through economic, military, cultural and technical aid. In others still, it simply resorts to violence: coups d'état and war.

Along with so-called "people's capitalism" and innovations of neo-colonialism, the state-monopoly capitalists also aid, abet and utilize modern revisionism and reformist socialism to drive a wedge into the international communist and workers' movement, sow the seeds of reformism and compromise, weaken the revolutionary struggle of the working class, the labouring people and the oppressed nations.

Concerning the socialist countries, they are doing their best to utilize and widen the divergences in opinion among some fraternal countries. Through the agency of revisionists and intellectuals who resist reformation, they are seeking
the gradual realization of their "peaceful evolution" plot under the "freedom", "democracy", "nation", etc.; signboards (for instance in Czechoslovakia). They are infiltrating spies and commando-saboteurs into, or staging military aggression to various extent against, such countries as the People's Democratic Republic of Korea years ago and the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam at present.

The most bellicose imperialists have gone so far as brazenly to start "special war" or "limited war" in an attempt to stamp out the national liberation movement in some colonial and dependent countries and change these into neo-colonies and strategic bases to serve the imperialists' search for more extensive markets and preparations for a new world war.

The aggressive war in Viet Nam is an important part of the global strategy of US imperialism, the leading and most bellicose imperialism. What is in fact the real purpose of its Viet Nam war? Clearly, it is seeking by all means the permanent partition of Viet Nam, the establishment of neo-colonialism in South Viet Nam, the transformation of the latter into a US neo-colony and military base, the checking of the impact of socialism from China and North Viet Nam on Southeast Asia, the use of Viet Nam as a testing ground for US strategies, tactics and new weapons to be utilized in the suppression of revolutionary movements in different countries and in preparation for a world conflagration.

But the present international situation no longer permits imperialism to rule the roost. The relation of forces has been altered in favour of socialism, national independence, democracy and peace. World imperialism headed by the USA
and its reactionary vassals are weakening and declining irresistibly. The universal drive for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism is gaining momentum and magnitude and has achieved substantial successes. The world revolutionary forces are rising and on the offensive. Applying an offensive strategy, the forces of socialism, national liberation, democracy and peace are in a position to crush every war policy and eventually all the war plans of imperialism step by step and smash the capitalist system piece by piece in order to wipe it off the earth.

The Vietnamese people's present resistance against US aggression, for national salvation, is an important part and the culmination of the world peoples' movement against imperialism headed by the United States. It shows that the US brand of imperialism is merely neo-fascism at its most wicked, and also that it is actually not strong. In today's historical conditions, a people, even a small one, if closely united and firmly resolved to liberate themselves by following a sound political and military line, are perfectly in a position to defeat the imperialist aggressors, even such wealthy and well-armed ones as the United States imperialists. It is for their country's independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity and for universal peace, national independence, democracy and socialism that the Vietnamese are fighting US imperialism. They take boundless pride in discharging their duty as vanguard fighters in the forefront of the world peoples' revolutionary struggle against their most fiendish foe, US imperialism, the international gendarme. If the latter is using the Vietnamese battlefield as a testing ground for its "special war", "limited war", and
up-to-date armoury, the Vietnamese people and, through their agency, the world peoples are also drawing lessons from the matchless strategy and tactics of people's war, its fighting techniques, and the wide range of its weapons, from the most primitive to the most sophisticated ones (the most powerful being morale). These lessons will help us defeat the imperialists and their henchmen.

To cope with the vicious scheme and overbearing behaviour of the bellicose imperialists led by the United States, we are for the establishment of a world peoples' united front against US aggressor imperialism, for national independence and peace. This front takes for its foundations the socialist countries, the international workers' movement and the national liberation movement. It includes the governments and peoples of the socialist countries, the newly-independent countries which really oppose American imperialism, international democratic bodies and organizations which are at present engaged in armed struggle against imperialism and its underlings for national independence, democracy and world peace.

We are gratified to see that in the process of supporting the Vietnamese people's resistance against US aggression, such a front has in fact been taking shape, and is isolating US imperialism to an ever-higher degree.

We express our sincere thanks to the peoples of the fraternal socialist countries and of the world, and also to progressive American people for their warm support for our struggle against US aggression. We pledge ourselves to make

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1. Excluding naturally fake peace and democratic organizations dominated by US imperialism and the reactionary circle of its flunkeys.
the greatest exertion to defeat the US aggressors and their agents, in fulfilment of our noble national and international duties, and to prove worthy of the trust put in us by our brothers and friends around the world.

We stand for the restoration and reinforcement of solidarity in the socialist camp and in the international communist and workers’ movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. We see this as a step to further strengthen our force directed against the imperialists and their henchmen and to keep in check all their military schemes and actions or their “peaceful evolution” plot against the socialist countries, to foil their repression and undermining of the international communist and workers’ movement and the national-liberation movement, to thwart the plan for the preparation of a new world conflict by the bellicose imperialists, and to bring about increasing success for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

4. TO MAKE ALL-OUT EFFORTS IN THE STUDY OF MARXISM-LENINISM

Only a party armed with a vanguard revolutionary doctrine can lead the revolution to victory. In order to strengthen the leadership of our Party — the main guarantee of the success of our revolution — every cadre and every Party member must strive his hardest to grasp Marxism-Leninism and apply it with imagination to Viet Nam’s conditions.

Does a good grasp of Marxism-Leninism mean knowing by heart the propositions and principles put forward in its
classics? No, for it is “not a dogma but a guide to action”. To grasp it means to understand its substance and essence, to link theory to practice, to apply its doctrine creatively to the concrete situation of our country in the search for sound solutions to problems of our revolution at each stage of its development and in the differing contexts of class struggle and national struggle.

The union of theory and practice can only be achieved by the Marxist-Leninist scientific method of investigation and analysis of the international and home situation. This will show us the way to apply Marx's and Lenin's tenets to the concrete conditions of our country and work out correct lines, guiding principles and policies capable of ensuring the victory of the Vietnamese revolution.

Such an exertion can only be brought to fruition by a spirit of independence and sovereignty in the application of Marxism-Leninism and in the elaboration of the Party's programme and policies. The lessons drawn from the fraternal parties' experience must be learned selectively, and critically, and neither automatic copying nor servile imitation is the right course of action.

The understanding of Marxism-Leninism means a steady grasp of its universal truth coupled with the ability to enrich it with fresh experiences drawn from our own and the world revolutionary movements, to increase its theoretical stock with bold new propositions and conclusions, and to contribute to its vigorous growth in every aspect. Lenin said:

“We do not regard Marx's theory as something complete and inviolable. On the contrary, we are convinced that it
has only laid the foundation stone of the science which socialists must develop in all directions if they wish to keep pace with life."  

Why does the present world conjuncture require such a development of Marxism-Leninism?

The socialist system has been established, and is expanding and becoming the decisive factor for the development of human society. The ever richer experiences of its socialist revolution and construction must be summed up and improved.

On the other hand, the colonial system of imperialism is disintegrating. The experiences drawn from the national liberation revolution and the path of development followed by the countries newly freed from the imperialist yoke are raising momentous topical questions.

Imperialism in the form of state-monopoly capitalism, its new policies and tricks to coax, split and suppress mass movements at home and revolutionary movements in the colonies, and concurrently to grapple with the socialist camp and the international communist and workers' movement, the global strategy of U.S. imperialism and its allies — these are problems which should be carefully and penetratingly scrutinized to find effective ways of coping with them.

The revolutionary movement of the world working class and peoples is on the offensive. The forms of extensive and bitter struggle of the world working class and the multifarious strategic and tactical lessons supplied by this struggle must also be summed up to improve guidance of the movement.

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1. V.I. Lenin, Our Programme, Collected Works.
Moreover, the scientific and technological revolution now going on in the world has brought about achievements of tremendous importance for humanity. Discoveries of great consequence in the use of nuclear energy, in the conquest of the cosmos, in cybernetics, in biology, etc., are elucidating a host of philosophical problems and opening up new vistas for man to tame nature.

The practical situation described above spells out the necessity for Marxist-Leninists to direct their energies towards reviewing the experiences acquired in class struggle, in the man-versus-nature contest, in the achievement and preservation of revolutionary power and in the construction of a new society. It is also necessary to generalize them and reach theoretical conclusions, so as to prove that Marxist-Leninist principles remain valid while contributing to the development of Marxism-Leninism with new propositions.

It is a tough job of great magnitude and merit, in which every Marxist-Leninist party must zealously take part.

Though the 1957 Moscow Declaration and the revolutionary principles of the 1960 Moscow Statement have recapitulated the experiences gained by the international working class in its revolutionary struggle after the Second World War into valuable propositions, these are undoubtedly inadequate to the needs of the rapidly-rising revolutionary tide of the world working class and people.

Our Party must sum up the experiences supplied by the Vietnamese revolution and arrive at theoretical conclusions to enrich Marxism-Leninism as regards, among other problems, colonialism and neo-colonialism, people's national democratic revolution in a colonial and semi-feudal
country, socialist revolution in a backward agricultural country which progresses toward socialism without going through the stage of capitalist development, people's war and armed insurrection of the masses, people's democratic dictatorship, strategy and tactics of the revolutionary struggle of the working class, Party building, the Front, the Army, State power, and so on.

Our Party must play its part in the fight to preserve the purity of Marxism-Leninism against revisionism which is at present the main threat, and dogmatism and sectarianism as well. It must make a clear-cut distinction between the imaginative application of Marxism-Leninism to the specific conditions of a given country and the world on the one hand, and the trick of modern revisionism of different complexions seeking to garble Marxism-Leninism, wreck its principles and weaken the revolutionary struggle of the world working class and people, on the other.

This fight must be directed against two targets: on the one hand, against every brand of rightist and “leftist” opportunism, modern revisionism, dogmatism, etc., in the international communist and workers' movement. On the other, against all distortions and misrepresentations of Marxism by theoreticians in the pay of the capitalists, against bourgeois doctrines which clash with ours or which claim to “complement” it: neo-Thomism, existentialism, bourgeois nationalism, the “convergence” theory, “neo-Marxism”, and so forth.

Naturally, our Party has to make an effective contribution to this long-term and complex struggle. To this end, we must pay attention to the study of Western reactionary
philosophies now gaining currency in South Viet Nam and serving the purposes of the aggressive policy and neo-colonialism of imperialism, particularly U.S. imperialism, in order to fight them in an appropriate and efficient manner.

Our battle in the ideological and theoretical fields must be fought with patience, endurance, continuity and the incisiveness of militant Marxism. We Communists cannot be absent from these battlefields, not even for a short while. Regrettably, for one reason or another, there have been many shortcomings in our ideological and theoretical work. Unquestionably, a strenuous effort is required to set them right.

As our Party's line and policies are the result of the union between Marxist-Leninist theory and the realities of the Vietnamese revolution, it is necessary to couple the study of Marxist-Leninist tenets with the study of the Party's line and policies. This measure will bring home to our cadres and Party members the originality and scientific soundness of the Party's line and policies and make them grasp Viet Nam's realities, and, consequently, strengthen their confidence in the leadership of the Central Committee and President Ho Chi Minh. Experience has taught us that when our cadres and Party members study the classical works of Marxism-Leninism in combination with the Party's line and policies, and work among the masses, they understand these line and policies better and their theoretical and political standards rise rapidly and steadily.

The following immediate tasks are to be fulfilled, as a strong stimulus to the study of Marxism-Leninism and an endeavour to grasp it:
a) To keep up the systematic teaching of our doctrine to cadres and Party members, which must go by the following guiding principles: co-ordination between theory and practice, between the study of Marxism-Leninism and the Party's line and policies on the one hand, and the cultivation of their revolutionary qualities and virtues and the improvement of their cultural, technical and professional standards, on the other; concurrently, to arrange for them to take part in mass campaigns for the implementation of decisions and policies of the Party and Government.

b) To step up the Party's theoretical work, direct it to important subjects relating to the Vietnamese revolution and the international communist and workers' movement. To develop independent thinking in accordance with the Marxist-Leninist viewpoint, to guard against the influence of revisionism and dogmatism in theoretical work.

c) To press on with the summing up of the experiences of the Vietnamese revolution accumulated during nearly forty years by our working class and our people, under the leadership of our Party, the architect of their successive victories.

"The summing up of experiences is a method of coupling theory with practice, using theory to analyse practice and drawing theory from the analysis of practice. It is a good method for the raising of the theoretical level of Party cadres and members. It is also a good method for combating all tendencies to dogmatism and empiricism, for enhancing ideological unity within the Party".

Dear comrades,

As we commemorate Karl Marx's 150th birthday, we are glad to realize that Marxism-Leninism is an exceptionally sharp weapon for the working class in its struggle to overthrow capitalism and establish a communist, classless society, free from the exploitation of man by man, from the oppression of one person by another, a society in which labour is an honour for everyone, and mankind will enjoy genuine peace, freedom and happiness. We are glad to realize that our Party, headed by President Ho Chi Minh, has been creatively applying Marxism-Leninism to the specific conditions of our country to formulate correct lines and policies for the Vietnamese revolution and lead the Vietnamese working class and people from one victory to another.

We are glad to fight under the banner of Marxism-Leninism, the banner of the Viet Nam Workers’ Party and President Ho Chi Minh, the great leader of our Party and people, and an eminent disciple of Karl Marx in Viet Nam.

Enthusiastic and confident, let us close our ranks, resolutely uphold our Party's line and policies and valiantly march forward to defeat the American aggressors and their henchmen, liberate the South, defend the North, proceed toward the peaceful reunification of our fatherland, thereby bringing about a peaceful, reunified, independent, democratic and prosperous Viet Nam.
Enthusiastic and confident, let us, shoulder to shoulder with Marxism-Leninism the world over, resolutely fight to safeguard the purity of Marxism-Leninism and for the defence of the socialist camp, and make our contribution to the world peoples' struggle against imperialism led by U.S. imperialism, for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

Let us pledge undying gratitude to Karl Marx and march along the path he charted!

All for victory over the U.S. aggressors!

Let us do our best to build socialism in the North!

Long live peaceful, reunified, independent, democratic and prosperous Viet Nam!

Long live invincible Marxism-Leninism!

Long live the Viet Nam Workers' Party!

Long live President Ho Chi Minh!