war developed, the more favourable conditions it created for the outbreak and spreading of insurrections. The period of general offensive and concerted uprisings which began on Tet of the year Mau Than (spring 1968) was the natural upshot of the revolutionary process in South Viet Nam and the peak of combined military and political struggle.

One problem of strategic significance in the South Viet Nam revolution is the correct assessment of the strategic position of the three areas: hill-forest, plain, and urban. On the basis of that assessment, military struggle should be coupled with political struggle, and combat actions with mass uprisings in varying degrees in accordance with the specific features of each area and each stage of development of the revolution. The guideline: “Attack the enemy in all three strategic areas” is an original trait of the methods used by the revolution in the South; it stems from the summing up of, and improvement upon, the long experience gained by the Vietnamese revolution. Looking back over its whole process of development, one sees that the Vietnamese revolution constantly relies on the workers and peasants as its main forces, pays great attention to the revolutionary movement in both town and countryside, and, while building firm bases in the hill-forest and plain areas, prepares footholds in the cities, and stages insurrections in both the rural and urban regions.

In brief, to stage partial insurrections, combine military with political struggle, attack the enemy with three prongs — military operations, political action, and agitation and propaganda work among his troops—, co-ordinate mass uprisings with revolutionary warfare, and strike the enemy in
all three strategic areas—such are the most salient features of revolutionary methods in South Viet Nam. These are not hard-and-fast, unconnected formulæ, but forms and ways of struggle which are extremely flexible, vivid, and organically linked together. It is precisely these revolutionary methods which have developed to the full the strength, intelligence, and creative power of the millions of people of the popular masses, who always know how to act on the offensive, preserve and build up their forces, carry on a protracted struggle while exerting every effort to create favourable opportunities, win ever greater successes, and eventually inflict total defeat on the enemy.

Like our previous war of resistance against the French colonialists, the present war of resistance against American aggression, for national salvation, is a people's war developed to a very high level.

In the North, we carried out a war of self-defence against an air and naval war of destruction of unprecedented scope unleashed by the American aggressors. After four years of extremely valiant fighting, our armed forces and people completely defeated it. This was a new, meaningful stride of the people's war fought by our nation.

This victory assumed a very great significance. It firmly preserved the socialist North, the great rear base of the revolution in the whole country, broke up an important component of the savage war of aggression of the American imperialists in Viet Nam, and dealt a hard blow at their aggressive will.
It proved the complete soundness of the line put forward by our Party: war of resistance fought by the entire people, national defence shouldered by the entire people, and a readjustment of the economy.

It brought out the strong vitality of our fine socialist regime, the inexhaustible strength of the people's democratic power in the North, the unshakable resolve of our armed forces and people to resist American aggression and save the country, and their magnificent revolutionary heroism.

As President Ho Chi Minh pointed out: "This is the victory of our Party's correct revolutionary line, the victory of our people's ardent patriotism, strong unity and resolve to fight and win, the victory of our fine socialist regime. It is the common success of the armed forces and people in both zones, North and South, of our country. It is also the joint achievement of the people of the fraternal and friendly countries on the five continents." 1

The people's war in the South is a revolutionary war, a liberation war fought against a typical "special war" and the largest and most barbarous "limited war" ever kindled by the American imperialists.

The line followed by the people's war being waged at present in the South under the sound leadership of the National Front for Liberation arises from the just character of the war for national liberation and the profoundly popular nature of the revolution in South Viet Nam. It rests upon the fervent patriotism and thoroughly revolutionary spirit of the people in the South, who are determined to stand up to

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1. President Ho Chi Minh's Appeal of Nov. 3, 1968.
defend and exercise their sacred national rights trampled upon by the American imperialists and their valets. It has absorbed the military science of Marxism-Leninism and the precious experience gained by the brother socialist countries, which it applies to the conditions of our country in an imaginative way. It inherits and has elevated to a very high level the extremely rich experience of the Vietnamese revolution in nationwide insurrection and people's war, together with our nation's glorious tradition of resistance to foreign aggression and the military skill of our forefathers.

The people's war in the South is a war "for the people and by the people, an all-sided war waged by the entire people and raised to a very high level on the strength of the general laws governing revolutionary methods in the South. It is a war which comprises both military combat and political action and stems from an insurrectional movement of the masses. It is consistently inspired by an offensive strategic thought, which has directed the revolution in South Viet Nam ever since it switched to an offensive posture through the upsurge of "concerted uprisings" in the years 1959-1960. The offensive posture of the revolutionary war in the South in the period of fighting against the "special war" rested upon the absolute political and moral superiority and overwhelming strength of the revolutionary masses resolved to stand up and engage in a life-and-death struggle with the aggressors and traitors to win back their right to live. Firmly preserved, it was raised to ever higher forms and evolved from a local to a total character, thanks to the ever more powerful blows dealt by the two fists, the military and the political. In the confrontation with the "limited war", this offensive
posture relies on the deployment of our military and political forces in all strategic areas of the battlefield, which provides the armed forces and people of the South with strong combat positions and ample power to maintain their initiative and continue their attacks after defeating the American imperialists' "special war". The general evolution of the revolutionary war displays the constant application of an offensive strategy, it shows a chain of grim, repeated and ever fiercer assaults which assume higher and higher forms, alternating gradual steps with leaps. In some places and at some times this process may take on a defensive character, but this is only a temporary tactical move aimed at clearing the way for a continuation of the offensive. With this offensive strategy, the armed forces and people of the South have foiled the neo-colonialist policy of the American imperialists, overthrown the fascist dictatorship of Ngo Dinh Diem, defeated the Americans in their "special war", and are now worsting them in their "limited war" on the highest rung of their escalation.

The offensive strategy of the people's war in the South advocates a war of resistance fought by the entire people on the strength of both military and political forces and through both military and political struggle. It prescribes that one should attack the enemy in all three strategic areas, couple combat actions by all three categories of armed forces with uprisings by the revolutionary masses, and strike at the enemy while striving to win sovereignty, the latter effort facilitating the destruction of enemy forces, which, in turn, consolidates popular sovereignty. This strategy demands that one should constantly maintain the initiative over the enemy,
attacks him all over the battlefield, and drive him into a passive position in which the only thing he can do is to try his best to cope with whatever way of fighting we choose to use, his troops being stretched thin, surrounded, cut up and subjected to unrelenting pressure.

The offensive potential of the people's war in South Viet Nam is tied up with a correct appraisal of the peculiar features and trend of development of the relation of forces between the Southern armed forces and people on the one hand, and the American imperialists and their agents on the other. Although strong in numbers and technical means, the enemy suffers from basic weaknesses which are beyond retrieval, whereas in spite of their shortcomings the Southern armed forces and people possess very fundamental strong points. Because they know how to bring the latter to bear upon the enemy's weaknesses, they have won the initiative and increased their striking power severalfold.

In order to apply an offensive strategy, one must successfully solve a whole series of problems on military art, tactics and combat methods. In this connexion, the armed forces and people of the South have devised many appropriate fighting methods, highly original, varied, flexible, and effective, and inflicted bitter losses on the enemy while keeping ours to a minimum: to combine guerilla operations by regional troops, people's militia, and self-defence corps with concentrated attacks by main-force units; to associate small, medium, and big-sized actions so as to raise the level of wholesale destruction of enemy forces while ceaselessly consolidating and expanding the people's sovereignty in all three strategic areas; to overcome the enemy's numbers by the high
quality of the revolutionary armed forces, creating a posture of strength from which they can defeat large enemy units with only small detachments and successfully pit scant means against important ones; to strike hard blows, bold, clever, secret and sudden, now using only one kind of troops, now co-ordinating the actions of several, hitting at the enemy's vital organs, his "brain" and his "throat," thus achieving devastating combat efficiency; to attack resolutely and with bold initiative, imposing our own way of fighting on the enemy and preventing him from utilizing his strong points, so as to render his tactics passive and patchy and deprive his reactions and defences of all effectiveness; to co-ordinate several methods and forms of annihilation attacks, fully use all forces, weapons and war means available, turn to full account terrain and weather, set on the enemy in all kinds of situations, whether he is advancing or retreating, and strike him in all kinds of places and circumstances, whether he is weak and off his guard or strong and prepared.

All those tactics and combat methods rest upon the dynamism, intelligence and inventiveness of the cadres and fighters of the Liberation Army and of the people of the heroic South. They are men and women inspired by ardent patriotism and profound national and class consciousness, who not only dare to fight and are determined to fight but also know how to fight and win in the most advantageous way.

The strategic guideline of the people's war in South Viet Nam is to fight a protracted war, gaining strength as one fights. This is the law which has governed our people's war for national liberation and the defence of the fatherland over the past quarter century. In the present liberation war, the
armed forces and people of the South are facing American imperialism, the truculent imperialist chieftain with a large army and modern equipment, and a military and economic potential many times our own. That is why we need time to gradually destroy the enemy's forces and weaken him, limit his strengths and aggravate his weaknesses, foster and develop our armed and political forces, tip the scale more and more in our favour with every passing day, drain the enemy of his force and make our own grow as we fight on and gain bigger and bigger successes. To wage a protracted fight means to attack the enemy starting with small actions and proceeding to ever bigger ones, push him back step by step, foil his successive strategic schemes, and ultimately bear him down completely. In such a long-drawn struggle, if we know how to exert ourselves to the utmost while taking full advantage of every favourable objective condition, if we know how to cause the enemy to develop weaknesses and skilfully exploit them, if we give our forces accurate and effective strategic guidance, follow the right orientation, pick the right target and opportune moment, strike hard, crippling blows and win substantial military successes, if at the same time we know how to couple military struggle with political action and armed assaults with popular uprisings, then we can make very important leaps apt to change the relation of forces and the face of the war.

Such leaps in fact happened in the liberation war in South Viet Nam with the Binh Gia campaign in winter 1964-spring

1. Near the 17th parallel. (Tr).
1965, the opening of the Tri-Thien front in 1967, the general offensive and concerted uprisings in Tet of the year Mau Than (1968). Such strides forward prove that the armed forces and people of the South have followed the right direction, cleverly combined small, medium and big-sized engagements, and coupled continuous and protracted fighting with hard, lightning blows of great audacity and suddenness. On the basis of a persevering drawn-out struggle, they have exerted every effort to create favourable opportunities and have taken timely advantage of them in order to achieve ever bigger successes.

Another important guideline in the conduct of the war in the South is to combine the destruction of enemy vital forces, with winning and maintaining sovereignty for the people; the people’s control makes it possible to wipe out enemy forces, and this latter action in turn facilitates the ceaseless expansion and consolidation of popular sovereignty.

Assuredly, in any war, victory implies the destruction of enemy armed forces. But there are many ways leading to this result. The choice of combat methods stems from the strategic thought and is connected with the character of the war, the targets of one’s combat actions, the size of the battlefield, and other factors.

The people’s war in South Viet Nam is a revolutionary war growing out of a mass insurrectional movement aimed at toppling the rule of the American imperialists and their lackeys. While the war goes on, there take place not only combat actions by the armed forces but also a movement of political struggle waged by the masses in various forms, the highest being the continuous uprisings staged by the broad
masses in order to win sovereignty in varying degrees, depending on the concrete conditions prevailing in any given place in the three strategic areas. These insurrections have erupted over large areas, often repeatedly, with the aim of knocking down the puppet basic administration step by step and doing away with all forms of control and oppression. They are very important spearheads of attack launched in coordination with military actions and create favourable conditions for our armed forces to intensify their destruction of enemy strength. Conversely, the combat activities of the revolutionary armed forces aim not only at wiping out the enemy's military forces but also at boosting the political struggle, and in particular at helping the insurrectionary masses break up all forms of enemy control and oppression, win sovereignty, and set up revolutionary power in one form or another.

To combine the destruction of enemy forces with the winning and maintenance of sovereignty for the people—there lies the secret of every success of armed insurrection and revolutionary warfare in the South. It is not only a matter of combining armed actions with popular insurrections aimed at a gradual conquest of power, but also of establishing the strategic posture of the people's war. Militarily speaking, the Southern battlefield is very small in size, and the density of enemy troops very great. On the other hand, the armed forces and people of the South are fighting on their own soil and carrying out a revolutionary war relying on nationwide resistance and the combination of armed with political struggle. That is why they must build a strategic posture that is advantageous to our side and disadvantageous to the enemy.
The best way to attain this end is to win sovereignty in order to destroy enemy forces, and conversely, to destroy enemy strength in order to win sovereignty.

For the people and their semi-military forces, to win sovereignty means to stand up resolutely to topple the rule of the Americans and their puppets and fight the enemy right in our fields and orchards, villages and hamlets, forest clearings and streets. It means to cling to and be masters of the land, to control the administration in varying degrees, to be masters of the situation. Each village, each hamlet, is to be turned into a fortress, each citizen to become a fighter, who seeks every way to fight the enemy, devises all kinds of methods, engages in military and political action and agitation work among enemy troops, and uses all weapons and all means available.

For the revolutionary armed forces, to win sovereignty means to deploy all three categories of troops everywhere and in a rational way all over the key regions in the three strategic areas — in the liberated zones, in places constantly subjected to enemy raids and "pacification" actions, and also in the very fringes of enemy bases. It means to rely on the sovereignty exercised by the people and the unceasing growth of the political forces of the masses to turn the South into a pre-arranged battlefield, where the forces in presence are arrayed in a way that is advantageous to us and disadvantageous to the enemy, and where the liberation troops can attack with great mobility and flexibility and reduce the enemy to a posture in which he is surrounded and subjected to unrelenting military and political onslaughts.
Such is the battle array of a people's war combining military with political attacks, combat actions with mass uprisings, guerilla with regular warfare, and fought in all three strategic areas. Such is the battle array of a war with no definite frontline and where the battlefield is indeed everywhere. The more than one million American and puppet troops are stretched thin, surrounded, cut up, and attacked on every side. They suffer from all kinds of flaws and weaknesses: should they try to dig themselves in, their defences would be full of loopholes; should they attempt an attack, they would rush headlong into a place where our forces are waiting for them. Drowned in the raging sea of the people's war, the enemy forces are scattered and sapped in spite of their numbers and modern war equipment and are unable to use the combat methods in which they excel. On the other hand, the armed forces and people of the South can always surround them, stage uninterrupted attacks and uprisings, maintain the initiative, and strike at them both in front and from the rear, in whatever place and at whatever time we choose.

The most outstanding achievement of our strategy in South Viet Nam is to have forced the enemy into a defensive posture in which he must face attacks on every front by the revolutionary armed forces and ways of fighting of the latter's own choosing, a posture in which he is driven into political passivity and dire strategic straits. He is unable to make up his mind whether he should scatter his forces or concentrate them, engage in "pacification" or in "search-and-destroy" operations, withdraw to a defensive position or try to attack.
For this reason, the huge numbers of his army of aggression turn out to be inadequate and his strength becomes weakness; in spite of their modern weapons and high mobility, his troops show poor combat efficiency, and their huge potential cannot be brought into full play. On the other hand, thanks to their rational organization, high combat efficiency, appropriate combat methods — both flexible and skilful — and advantageous strategic posture, the people’s armed forces of the South constantly attack the enemy from a position of strength. As they fight on, they grow ever stronger, attain ever higher combat efficiency, wage fruitful campaigns and achieve great strategic effectiveness.

Those successes are the results of the invincible line of the people’s war, of the application of an offensive strategy, of a military art which defeats big forces with small ones, overcomes large units with small detachments and matches high quality against large numbers. We know how to curb the enemy’s strength on the battlefield while developing our own military and political power to the full, how always to strike at the enemy from a position of initiative and offensive, and to create postures of strength from which to hit hard at the enemy and wear him down in a protracted war.

The present people’s war in South Viet Nam is a great and immensely vivid illustration of Engels’s prediction: “A people who want to win independence cannot confine themselves to ordinary methods of warfare. Mass insurrections, revolutionary warfare, guerilla detachments everywhere —
such is the only way in which a small nation can vanquish a big country, and a small army oppose a more powerful one."  

Our people’s resistance to American aggression, for national salvation, has entered its tenth year. Since Tet of the year Mau Than (1968) it has shifted to a new stage marked by extremely valiant struggle and tremendous successes, and is advancing to complete victory.

The American imperialists have suffered heavy failure throughout our country and are running into many difficulties both in the United States itself and in the world. Yet, due to their obdurate and perfidious nature, they persist in their war of aggression.

President Ho Chi Minh told us: “The war of resistance against US aggression may drag on. Our people may have to face new sacrifices of life and property. Whatever happens, we must keep firm our resolve to fight the US aggressors till total victory.”

Acting upon his Testament, we are determined to wage a protracted war and compel the enemy to give up his aggressive design, withdraw all his troops, and respect our sovereignty and territorial integrity. The whole Party, the entire people and all the armed forces should exert the greatest efforts, display revolutionary heroism, overcome all difficulties and hardships. We must persevere in and push forward the war of resistance against American aggression, for national

salvation, until total victory. We must liberate the South, defend the North, and advance to the peaceful reunification of the country.

To fight and defeat the American aggressors — such is the urgent requirement of the Vietnamese revolution and the world revolution, for our present life and the future happiness of all generations to come. This is the honour and pride of our Party and people and their duty to the fatherland and the revolutionary people of the world. Whatever sacrifices and hardships we may have to face, and however long and hard the war, we are resolved to fulfil this glorious mission entrusted to us by history.

We firmly believe that, under the leadership of the National Front for Liberation and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam, thanks to the invincible line of the people’s war, the valour, intelligence, military skill, and great militant unity of our more than 30 million fellow-countrymen in the whole of our land, and with the immense help of our brothers and friends all over the world, the people and fighters of the South will certainly win complete victory.

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Making an assessment of the glorious revolutionary struggle carried out by our people under the experienced leadership of the Party, President Ho Chi Minh said: “Our people is a heroic people. We have toppled the Japanese fascists and defeated the French colonialists, and are resolutely fighting
and worsting the American imperialist aggressors.”¹ Our present war of resistance against American aggression, for national salvation, is the greatest war of resistance in our people’s glorious history of struggle against foreign aggression, and at the same time one of the finest pages in the history of the fight waged by the revolutionary people of the world against imperialism in the present era.

With the rich experience it has gained, the people’s national democratic revolution in our country has contributed to the development of the revolutionary theory of the peoples of colonial and dependent countries battling against colonialism, old and new.

Enlightened by the precious lessons of the Vietnamese revolution, our people will march forward with ever firmer steps, bring the war of resistance against American aggression, for national salvation, to total victory and complete the people’s national democratic revolution in the whole country, thus making a valuable contribution to the common struggle going on all over the world for peace, national independence, democracy, and socialism.

¹ President Ho Chi Minh’s Appeal of July 20, 1965.
PART TWO

THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION IN NORTH VIET NAM

Fifteen years have elapsed since the war of resistance against the French colonialists ended in victory, and the North, entirely liberated, entered upon the stage of the socialist revolution. During this short period, North Viet Nam has gone through many social reforms, done away with colonial and feudal vestiges, and become the socialist North, the base area of the revolution in the whole country. In spite of its still backward economy and American imperialist aggression, it has displayed tremendous vitality. It has brilliantly fulfilled its duties as the great rear area, smashed the war of destruction of the American aggressors, and uninterruptedly gone from one success to another in the socialist revolution.

It goes without saying that those achievements are only initial steps. In order to turn a backward agricultural country, in which small production plays the essential role, into a socialist one with a modern industry and agriculture and advanced culture and science, and ensure a rich material and cultural life to our people, we must exert the greatest efforts for the next twenty to thirty years.
CHAPTER FOUR

THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT
AND THE TRIPLE REVOLUTION

In the light of Marxism-Leninism, the Third Congress of the Party and subsequent Central Committee meetings accurately appraised the situation in the North in all fields and pointed out that "the greatest characteristic of our country in the transition period is its direct advance from agricultural backwardness to socialism without passing through the stage of capitalist development." On this basis, the Congress and the Central Committee laid down a general line for the socialist revolution and gave the orientation for the development of the various branches of the national economy. The course charted by the Congress and the resolutions of the Central Committee faithfully reflect the law which governs the advance to socialism of a backward agricultural country like ours and conform to the characteristics and content of the new times.

In the present era, when capitalism is decaying and disintegrating more and more, and when socialism has become a reality, and a world system and the decisive factor in the evolution of human society, the problem of progressing to

socialism has become a historical necessity not only for the advanced capitalist countries but also for those economically-backward countries which have regained national independence.

With the great victory of the Soviet Union over the German, Italian and Japanese fascists, the weakening of many imperialist countries and the birth of a whole series of socialist countries after the Second World War, a national liberation movement flared up in almost all colonial and semi-colonial countries, forming a powerful spearhead against imperialism. In many of them, power with a national and democratic character has been set up, this character varying in degree according to the strength of the workers and peasants and the relation of class forces in each country. In countries where the workers and peasants play the decisive role and where the vanguard of the working class has assumed leadership of the revolution, the success of the national democratic revolution is not only a victory of the people over imperialism and feudalism but also a political triumph of the proletariat over the native bourgeoisie, the triumph of a new-type State. Hence, the *victorious completion of the national democratic revolution also means the opening of the socialist revolution*. The worker-peasant revolutionary power led by the working class immediately sets about discharging the historical duties of the dictatorship of the proletariat: to carry out a socialist revolution and build socialism. Thus, in our times, the national democratic revolution led by the working class is of necessity bound up with the socialist revolution.
As soon as it came into being, our Party, in its first political theses, made it clear that the Vietnamese revolution must necessarily go through two stages: the national democratic and the socialist. This judicious course is in full harmony with the great tenets of Marxism-Leninism, the trend of our times, and the aspirations of our people. Revolutionary practice over the past forty years has proved it to be wholly correct.

All bourgeois revolutions in history have led to the dictatorship of one exploiting class being supplanted by that of another: they all maintained the rule of a minority over the majority, this being possible only through resort to violence. Hence bourgeois dictatorships by their very nature involve violence and repression. Liberty, equality, fraternity, human rights, democracy... — all this fine rhetoric in fact aims at keeping the bourgeoisie firmly in the saddle, and serving its free enterprise and free exploitation. There can never be genuine democracy, democracy for the majority, so long as the basic means of production and the reins of the State are held by a minority. Being a historical necessity sprung from the trend of the times, the birth of the dictatorship of the proletariat generates a tremendous social upheaval which brings democratic rights to the toiling people, who make up the great majority of society, and elevates them to mastery over society, economy, culture, and their own destiny. Henceforward they are the real makers of history. The dictatorship of the proletariat is the power of the toiling people, the majority, pitted against the exploiters, the minority. Its nature is not essentially violence and repression but construction and organization. For this reason, it is the
highest and fullest form of democracy, “a million times more democratic” than bourgeois democracy.

In our country, the dictatorship of the proletariat came into being at a time when the forces of production were extremely backward and the material premises for the building of socialism still very weak. The social system of production stood at a crossroads: either to advance to socialism, develop into capitalism, or linger for a time in the stage of small production. In order to build socialism, we must build up right from the beginning both new productive forces and new production relations, both a new economic foundation and a new superstructure. In these conditions, the initiative of the dictatorship of the proletariat, its constructive and organizational role and the political consciousness of the masses in creating the new society assume all the more importance.

The dictatorship of the proletariat in any country has to solve this question: “Which wins? — capitalism or socialism?” In developed capitalist countries the bourgeoisie is a big foe; capitalism consists of a system of production relations covering all fields of the national economy and a colossal superstructure at the service of that regime of oppression and exploitation. That is why after the seizure of power and the setting up of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the class struggle against the bourgeoisie and other reactionary forces continues with unabated fierceness in various forms, “bloody and bloodless, violent and peaceful, military and economic, educational and administrative”¹, in order to build socialism.

However, even in those conditions—as Lenin pointed out—the dictatorship of the proletariat “is not only the use of force against the exploiters, and not even mainly the use of force. The economic foundation of this use of revolutionary force, the guarantee of its effectiveness and success is the fact that the proletariat represents and creates a higher type of social organization of labour compared with capitalism. This is what is important, this is the source of the strength and the guarantee that the final triumph of Communism is inevitable.”

In countries advancing to socialism without passing through the stage of capitalist development, one has to abolish the capitalist economic sector and all other forms of exploitation, stem the trend of small production towards spontaneous capitalist development, smash all attempts by hostile elements to raise their heads, ensure order and security and strengthen the national defence potential. All this assuredly constitutes a protracted and complex class struggle and one of the most important tasks of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Determination to see this struggle through to complete victory is one of the important signs that distinguish the revolutionary stand of the proletariat from bourgeois and petty bourgeois reformism. However, class struggle is not confined to these tasks. To gain a radical victory over the bourgeoisie and other reactionary forces, to build socialism and communism successfully, it is not enough to repress the exploiting classes and other counter-revolutionary forces. It is not enough to do away with the capitalist economic sector and all other forms of exploitation. In the North of our

country in particular, where small production was predominant and the capitalist economic sector insignificant, the expropriation of the exploiting classes cannot by itself create a material and technical basis for socialism, nor can the suppression of counter-revolutionary forces in itself ensure success for socialism. The basic problem here is to convert small individual production into large-scale socialist production and build almost from scratch the whole material and technical basis, the economic foundation, and the superstructure of a socialist country by simultaneously carrying out a triple revolution: revolution in production relations, technical revolution, and ideological and cultural revolution. Only in this way, essentially in this way, can we prevent small production from spontaneously developing into capitalism, extirpate the socio-economic conditions which beget and restore capitalism and the bourgeoisie, and ensure total and complete victory for socialism.

The struggle between the two ways—the capitalist and the socialist—in the North of our country consists essentially in a struggle to raise small production to large-scale socialist production. To hold firm to the dictatorship of the proletariat in order to carry out simultaneously those three revolutions, the keystone being the technical revolution—such is the basic content of class struggle in the period of transition to socialism in the North of our country.

To relax vigilance vis-à-vis the exploiting classes and other counter-revolutionary forces, especially at present when our country is waging a bitter national and class struggle against American imperialism, the most truculent imperialism in the world, and when an unrelenting battle is unfolding on a
world scale between the capitalist and the socialist systems, would be a dangerous rightist blunder and a crime against the revolution. But in the present socialist revolution in the North, if we overestimated the strength of the exploiting classes and other counter-revolutionary forces, if we kept our eyes glued on our repressive duty and failed to realize that our main task is to organize and build and carry out the three revolutions, we would also be committing a serious mistake.

The revolution in production relations, the technical revolution, and the ideological and cultural revolution are the three organic parts of the socialist revolution. They are intertwined, exert influence upon each other, and impel each other forward. The new society, the new man, the new production relations and new productive forces are not the results of any single revolution but the common products of all three. Assuredly, in that dialectical relationship, each revolution maintains its specific position and function so as to solve specific problems in the process of the socialist revolution.

To advance to socialism without passing through the stage of capitalist development means, in the first place, that we do not possess a big industry and a highly-developed material and technical basis. One cannot accomplish socialist industrialization on the basis of a backward and dispersed agriculture while maintaining in existence a capitalist economic sector and an individual economy which spawns capitalism every hour of the day. For this reason, the revolution in production relations is a sine qua non step which paves the way for the development of the productive forces, quickens the pace of the technical revolution, and builds up the collective
masterhood of the toiling people in the economic field. As a result of this revolution, the worker-peasant alliance is consolidated, the dictatorship of the proletariat is strengthened, and the ideological and cultural revolution benefits by socioeconomic conditions from which spring the new thoughts and feelings of the new man.

The revolution in production relations consists first and foremost in eradicating the capitalist economic sector and the attendant exploitation of man by man, transforming the individual economy of the peasants and craftsmen into a collective socialist economy, and instituting the collective socialist ownership of the means of production in two forms: ownership by the people as a whole and ownership by the various collectives. However, this tremendous change in social life is by no means the whole content of the revolution in production relations, for in the economic field, collective masterhood comprises three aspects: masterhood over the means of production, over economic management, and over the distribution of the products of labour. Hence, after the establishment of the toiling people's collective masterhood over the means of production, we must solve a whole series of important questions: How to manage collective labour and property so as to impart the fastest pace to enlarged reproduction, carry out the technical revolution at the quickest tempo, achieve the most rational re-division of social labour and the highest labour productivity; how to organize the system of social production so as to ensure both unified central leadership and the exercise of the right of the various branches and regions and of all the working people as collective masters; how to effect distribution so as to secure
adequate accumulation for enlarged reproduction while improving the people's living standards; how to encourage industriousness while fully displaying the social spirit of socialism; how to see to the material welfare of the people while developing culture, education, science and technique; what economic and administrative measures to apply in order to consolidate and improve the various socialist economic organizations while expanding the field of action of socialism, drawing individual producers into co-operatives, tightening market control, fighting speculation, redressing all defects in the management of land and labour, etc. Those are urgent, arduous, and complex problems raised by the revolution in production relations on a national scale as well as in each region and each production unit. These problems we must solve in order to construct and perfect the collective master-hood of the working people in economic management and in the distribution of the products of labour, and to complete the task of socialist transformation.

In order to advance direct from small production to socialism, we must effect—parallel to the revolution in production relations—a technical revolution aimed at turning handicraft labour into mechanized labour, and building the new material and technical basis of socialist society. At present in the North of our country, after many social reforms, the regime of oppression and exploitation has been abolished. All working people are equal and free and the masters of the land. But this equality, freedom and master-hood cannot be considered sufficient, for our toiling people's material and cultural life still rests upon a weak material and technical basis. "Communism is Soviet power plus electrification of
the whole country.” — Lenin’s famous formula helps us get a fuller grasp of the problem. Soviet power means dictatorship of the proletariat, the right of the toiling people to be the masters. Electrification means large-scale industry based on electrification; it lays down the material and technical basis of the new society. Wanting either of these two factors, there cannot be socialism and communism. As we start from small production, what we badly need is that which Lenin called “electrification”. Only on the basis of electrification can we consolidate the socialist economic regime, the worker-peasant alliance and the dictatorship of the proletariat, eradicate small-producer mentality and habits, strengthen and develop socialist ideology, bring the toiling people material welfare and a civilized life, and make them masters not only of society but also of nature. It is due to these extremely important implications that our Party asserts the position of the technical revolution as a “keystone”.

The technical revolution is closely bound to the revolution in production relations, and the two exert reciprocal influence in a dialectical way. The latter paves the way for the former and creates socio-economic premises for pushing it forward; conversely, the former consolidates the fruits of the latter and creates material-technical premises for ceaselessly perfecting socialist production relations. A sound economic course should first of all impel both of them forward simultaneously and bring into play their dialectical interaction. On the one hand, we must fully utilize the positive part played by socialist production relations to operate a rapid re-division of social labour, expand production, improve the people’s living standards and quicken the tempo of
accumulation for socialist industrialization. On the other hand we must, in keeping with the level of development of the productive forces, actively and ceaselessly perfect the new production relations and cause them, especially the new regime of economic management, to constantly play their role as "trail blazer" and "booster" in the development of productive forces.

At present in our own camp as in many other countries of the world a new scientific and technical revolution is bringing about many important changes both in the conquest of nature by mankind and in social relationships. That is why the productive forces of our country must and can at the same time develop gradually, according to the law of change from small to large scale production, and by leaps, direct to mechanization and automation, first of all to mechanization. On the one hand, we must turn to account all possibilities of handicraft production and proceed step by step to semi-mechanization and mechanization, strive to expand regional industry in co-ordination with agriculture with a view to a re-division of social labour, thus creating conditions for the birth of large-scale industry. On the other hand, we must, on the strength of the supremacy inherent in the socialist economic system and the active help of the brother socialist countries, as well as international exchanges, bend all our energies towards building a big industry with modern technology, make economic and technical leaps, and through these leaps advance towards the modernization of the whole of our national economy. This is the best way to carry out the technical revolution successfully and quickly build up a modern large-scale socialist production system in our country.
To build socialism means not only building a new economy and a new society but also forming new, socialist men, investing them with true value and realizing conditions for them to develop all-sidedly and become the conscious makers of history. To change social existence is the basic condition for remoulding social consciousness. The new man will only come into being in the process of building the new society, through practical activities, through the revolutionary movements of the masses. But the transformation of man, his ideological remoulding, is not and cannot be a spontaneous process. Besides, "to build socialism there must first of all be socialist men."\(^1\) And so, together with economic revolutions, one must of necessity accomplish an ideological and cultural revolution aimed at bringing about radical changes in the ideological, spiritual and cultural life of the whole of society, of the broad popular masses. For our country in particular, the passage to socialism without going through the stage of capitalist development is a new road forward which requires a high creative spirit and political consciousness. However, the ideas and habits of our society still bear the stamp of small production, and our people's cultural, scientific, and technical level is still low. Hence the particular importance of the ideological and cultural revolution.

The socialist man possesses noble virtues which reflect his communist view of life. He is boundlessly loyal to the cause of the working class and the nation, and in his life and work displays a sense of collective masterhood: "All for each, and

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each for all.” The spirit of collective masterhood we are striving to foster rests on the stand of the working class. It not only opposes the spirit of individual masterhood of the capitalists and the small producers but also the “collective” spirit of the guild type, which divorces one’s small collective from the unified leadership of the proletarian State and pits the interests of one collective against those of others. In each man the spirit of collective masterhood must be displayed first and foremost in his respect for labour, production, and public property: this is the most correct class stand after the proletariat has seized power and become the master of society. It is totally alien to the hireling mentality and the “functionary” style; it is opposed to all manifestations of indiscipline and irresponsibility in work and in everyday life; it flays the speculators, liars, bouchers, parasites; it castigates all manifestations of bureaucratism and of divorce from reality and production. One must be fully aware that only work of the highest standard can make one a full-fledged master and that only on the basis of high labour productivity can one attain to a rich material and cultural life and achieve socialism.

It is not enough to be conscious of being the master, one must also be possessed of scientific knowledge. Only then can one become the master of society and nature, complete socialist transformation and build communism. Without revolutionary fervour there can be no revolutionary action; but revolutionary fervour by itself can at best destroy the old but cannot build the new. To build socialism means to combine all scientific knowledge—social sciences, natural sciences, techniques—with a view to scaling the peak of civiliza-
tion. Hence the socialist man must be one with an advanced cultural, scientific and technical standards, one who can understand and apply the laws of society and nature, inherit and develop in a creative way all cultural and scientific achievements accumulated by mankind through the energy and strength of thousands of generations.

The socialist man is one with ardent patriotism, profound love for his fellow-countrymen and comrades, unflinching courage and an indomitable spirit, deep attachment to independence and freedom. He would "rather endure any sacrifice than lose his country and be a slave." He is filled with revolutionary heroism not only in the defence of his fatherland but also in the creative work of building the new society. At the same time he is deeply imbued with proletarian internationalism. He knows how to harmonize in a judicious way the legitimate interests of his nation with the common good of the international workers' movement, and opposes all tendencies towards narrow nationalism and great-power chauvinism.

The socialist men of our country must not only be able to assimilate the newest achievements of modern civilization, but also to inherit and develop the fine qualities that are representative of the Vietnamese mind and soul forged during four thousand years of history.

To educate and train such men constitute the task and content of the ideological and cultural revolution. The more results it attains, and the quicker its pace, the more strongly it will impel the revolution in production relations and the technical revolution. Conversely, these two revolutions will
build up economic and technical bases on which to expand the ideological and cultural revolution and consolidate its gains.

The completion of those three revolutions will result in successfully building socialism in our country, turning it into a prosperous socialist country with modern industry and agriculture and advanced culture and science, ensuring to our people material welfare and a rich spiritual life, and strengthening our economic and national defence potential. Therefore, we must strive to reinforce the dictatorship of the proletariat and develop to the utmost the leading role of the Party, the organizational and managerial role of the State and the spirit of collective masterhood of the toiling masses with a view to successfully carrying out the three revolutions, the most important being the technical revolution. This is the fundamental orientation, one with the character of a law, of socialist revolution in our country. This is the necessary content of the latter’s transition to socialism without going through the stage of capitalist development. We must keep this orientation in mind and follow it in an imaginative way, on a national scale as well as in each branch and at each level. We must take as our concrete objectives the gradual, steady and balanced building of a system of large-scale production and the progressive improvement of the people’s living conditions. These are the most important tasks of our Party, our State and our people in the socialist revolution.
CHAPTER FIVE

THE COURSE OF INITIAL ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

To build a large-scale socialist production system in our country does not merely mean to build a certain number of large enterprises for one branch or another of the national economy but to transform the whole of the social system of production, to change radically the whole of the national economic structure. We must combine the conversion of small production with the building of great production bases, relying on the results of the former undertaking to carry out the latter, and, conversely, using the strength of the large bases built to quicken the pace of conversion of small production and raise it to large-scale production. Viewed generally, the process of building a large-scale socialist production system in our country is one of transforming production relations coupled with effecting a technical revolution and turning handicraft labour into mechanized labour. It includes a re-division of social labour, the development of new branches and new trades on a large scale, and the combination of intensified specialization with increased co-operation. The building of a national and independent economy goes hand in hand with the expansion of economic relations with foreign countries, mainly those in the socialist system.
In order to build a large-scale system of production, one must have a sufficient amount of means of production and labour. Formerly, in order to quickly amass a huge capital in the period of primitive accumulation, capitalism resorted to ruthless violence to rob the toiling people in both the “mother countries” and the colonies, turning them into hired slaves. To construct a large-scale production system, socialism certainly cannot accumulate capital through robbery and exploitation but essentially by developing production and increasing labour productivity. It cannot just go on accumulating capital but must also look after the welfare of all strata of the people and effect distribution in accordance with socialist principles.

In conditions prevailing in our country, in order to fulfil those fundamental economic tasks of the initial period (capital accumulation for industrialization, improvement of the people’s living conditions), we must know how to build a rational economic structure and carry out a re-division of labour on the basis of the collective masterhood of the toiling people with a view to giving a strong boost to production and rapidly increasing labour productivity. In order to build a rational economic structure, one must first of all ascertain the positions and tempos of, and the relationships between, agriculture and industry, the centrally-run economy and the various regional economies, and production and distribution.

In the initial stage of the transition period, the national economy still remains at the stage of small production and agricultural labour with a very low output still occupies a great proportion of total social labour. The first step with a cardinal significance is then to rapidly turn the agriculture
based on individual holdings and monoculture into a collective and many-sided one, and, on the basis of increased labour productivity, proceed to a re-division of social labour in accordance with the new orientation in production, transfer part of the agricultural labour force to industrial development, gradually diminish necessary labour and increase surplus labour, the only source of accumulation. To this end, right from the beginning, industry must be made to act on agriculture and agriculture must be closely co-ordinated with industry, both central and regional. This relationship between industry and agriculture can only be established through the building of a centrally-run economy and the various regional economies.

This is the ground for the birth and growth of a large-scale socialist system of production in our country.

That is why the Third Congress of our Party stressed that we must give priority to the rational development of heavy industry, strive to push forward agriculture and light industry, regard industry as the leading force and agriculture as the basis for industrial development, and co-ordinate the regional economics with the centrally-run economy. The course charted by the Congress has been and will remain our fundamental orientation. The process of implementing that line and the living realities of the past fifteen years allow us to state our course of initial economic development concretely as follows: to give priority to the rational development of heavy industry based on the growth of agriculture and light industry: to build a centrally-run economy while developing various regional economies.
A. PRIORITY TO THE RATIONAL DEVELOPMENT OF HEAVY INDUSTRY

"The only possible economic foundation of socialism is large-scale machine industry. Whoever forgets this is no Communist."¹ These forcible words of Lenin point out the extremely important role played by heavy industry in the socialist economic system. The attitude towards heavy industry is regarded as one of the basic criteria distinguishing scientific socialism from the other kinds of "socialism." We set great store by heavy industry for it is the lever raising small production to large-scale production. It equips labour with new tools, increases man's power over nature, liberates labour from the backward state of handicrafts, and increases the productivity of labour for the building of a new society and a new economy. With the immense strength supplied by heavy industry, man is in a position to exploit nature's resources more fully and produce more commodities.

Because heavy industry plays such a decisive role, and given the conditions prevailing in our country, our Party considers socialist industrialization, of which the keystone is the building of a modern heavy industry, to be "the central task all through the period of transition to socialism." However, in order to build a heavy industry, there must be pre-requisites to be created by agriculture and light industry. These are the labour force, consumer goods, primitive accumulation and the market. Formerly, under capitalism, heavy industry came into being only after a long period of development of light industry, and took nearly a century to become a complete

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system. At present in our country, the socialist production relations make it possible for us to carry out at a faster pace a concentration of capital and a re-division of labour. Right from the beginning, we can appropriate a part of the national income and the labour force for the building of a heavy industry. Thanks to our own resources, the help of the socialist countries, and international co-operation, we can speed up primitive accumulation and solve complex problems of science and technique more quickly. Even though our agriculture and light industry are still at a low level, we benefit from a number of conditions, which capitalism could not have had at its disposal, for developing heavy industry. If we do not boldly tackle the task of building a heavy industry, of establishing immediately certain necessary bases for heavy industry, then we are not fully aware of the favourable conditions for economic building in our country. We shall prove incapable of turning to account existing advantages to give an early impulse to our national economy and impart a faster pace to our agriculture and light industry, progressing not only by gradual steps but also by leaps. However, we must be fully conscious that heavy industry can only vigorously advance when agriculture and light industry have become its firm bases. If we take no account of the present poor level of our agriculture and light industry, if we fail to see the necessary link between agriculture and light industry on the one hand and heavy industry on the other, if we promote heavy industry without aiming at pushing forward agriculture and light industry, we shall, in practice, not only fail to develop heavy industry but also worsen the existing economic imbalance, create more difficulties and
check the advance of our national economy as a whole. For this reason, from the outset, we must strive to promote the growth of agriculture and light industry, and promptly make the first leap forward in these fields. Each advance of heavy industry must aim at furthering agriculture and light industry, for without the action of the former there can be no progress of the latter two. Besides, as heavy industry serves agriculture and light industry and helps them to advance, it is creating conditions for its own priority development.

At present, the most important task of heavy industry is to make it possible to equip every branch of production, primarily agriculture and light industry, with tools of various kinds and various technical levels, both rudimentary and modern, fitted for each branch and each category of work, so as to quickly raise labour productivity at least two or threefold. In the present economic situation, the raising of labour productivity calls for a whole series of important measures, such as a rational and scientific organization of work, strict utilization of the labour force, improvement of the workers' skill; a correct orientation in production and in the distribution of manpower; greater efficiency in economic management, strengthening of ideological work and better organization of daily life so as to ensure that everybody works zealously, observes good work discipline, and makes full use of his eight working hours. However, the improvement of work tools remains the most fundamental measure. To this end, we must urgently build mechanical engineering into an important branch and boldly invest capital and labour so as to develop it at a faster rate. There are other burning questions: while building new engineering shops, we must
pay great attention to the management of existing engineering enterprises, fully investigate and grasp the actual potential of each branch and each factory, integrate all the engineering factories into a system with distribution of tasks and close co-operation, give a correct orientation in production to each factory on the basis of the overall plan for the whole network. Technical cadres in each engineering branch should get down to the bases, first of all in agriculture, small industry and handicrafts. They should carry out conclusive surveys on how to improve each category of tools so that within a short time a whole series of more appropriate implements could be turned out.

To fulfil its tasks, the engineering branch in our country should develop into a system extending from the central to the regional level, in which manufacture is judiciously combined with repair and specialized engineering with general engineering. While the central administration sees to the building and management of engineering factories with a high technical standard turning out modern machinery and equipment for agriculture, light industry, capital construction, transport and communications, etc., the main task of the regional engineering system is to serve agricultural production and turn out current consumer goods.

With a view to gradually modernizing our economy and meeting the present requirements of production work and daily life, another important task of heavy industry is to strive to create sources of energy, materials and equipment to serve as a basis for an independent economy.

Electrical power production should be vigorously developed and should of necessity stay one step ahead of the other
branches. Thermo-power stations should be built along with hydropower stations, and large-size plants coupled with medium-size plants, all to be directly managed by the central administration; at the same time we must build small hydropower stations wherever possible, especially in the highlands. In order to rapidly create a source of electrical power for economic expansion, in the years ahead we must rely on domestic coal supplies and build large thermo-power stations. Active preparations must be made for the building of hydropower stations on the strength of existing possibilities. For the production of electrical energy, cement, bricks and tiles, for use as fuel and for export, we must quickly increase our production of coal. For this we must dig new mines while going on with the exploitation of old ones, streamline management and reinforce its machinery. We must determine the precise tasks of each unit at the base, consolidate the various labour organizations, and bring about a balanced and rational relationship between labour and equipment, and between the various links in the chain of coal production.

The production of building materials (cement, wood, bricks, tiles, lime, etc.) should be considered an important task of our State and be disposed into a nation wide network, with a clear-cut distribution of responsibilities between the central and regional administrations, and a close combination of handicrafts with modern industry. We must make the building materials industry keep pace with the construction of new material and technical bases, especially after the years of savage war of destruction by the American imperialists.

In the building of the metallurgical branch we must pay attention to the various economic and technical problems and
endeavour to secure the highest economic efficiency in building and production. We must attach due importance to the metallurgy of ferrous metals while reserving for that of non-ferrous metals an appropriate position conformable to the state of our natural resources. Right from now, we must intensify geological surveys and the training of cadres and skilled workers capable of shouldering the various tasks in research, planning, and production.

The chemical branch should rapidly grow equal to the great role it is playing in modern industry. For the immediate future, we must concentrate our efforts on building a number of major enterprises having a direct bearing on the completion of the fundamental economic tasks of the initial period, namely plants producing fertilizers, insecticides, synthetic plastics, etc. At the same time we must actively map out a long-term economic-technical plan with concrete targets set for each period so that each economic plan will definitely help our national production advance on the road of chemicalization.

The orientation laid down above for the development of the various branches of heavy industry in the immediate future conforms both to the role of the latter as a "lever" for lifting small production to large-scale production, and to its own long-term advance.

B. A STRONG IMPULSE TO LIGHT INDUSTRY

The development of heavy industry requires a balanced expansion of light industry, which produces necessaries for the people and goods for export during the period of
primitive accumulation and is an important outlet for heavy
industry.

What with an under-developed economy and many years
of war, our people's standard of living is still low and
many urgent problems have to be solved. At present, we are
not yet able to improve radically the living conditions of
our entire society. However, we must ensure a minimum
standard of living indispensable during the early stage of
industrialization. To this end, we must develop light indus­
try, rapidly increase the production of consumer goods and
put an end to unnecessary shortages.

On the other hand, with our abundant and skilful labour
force and our available natural resources, especially our rich
tropical agriculture, we can give a strong boost to light indus­
dustry and quickly turn out a great variety of consumer
goods both for home consumption and, partly, for export.

To play its important role in the people's life and in ex·
port, our system of light industry must develop all-sidedly
and include the food, weaving, household utensils, wood­
processing, paper, and cultural commodities industries. Such
a light industry should be built both at central and regional
level according to the economic and technical characteristics
of each branch and each enterprise. At the beginning it could
combine rudimentary with modern techniques, but should
gradually become wholly mechanized and modernized. It
should comprise not only State-owned enterprises but also a
large number of collective enterprises run by workers in
handicrafts and small industry. To look down upon the latter
two is to show a poor understanding of our present econo­
mic situation and an inadequate grasp of the law of advance
from small to large-scale production. We must unceasingly consolidate and perfect the socialist production relations in handicrafts and small industry, reinforce leadership and management by the State, bring about true equality among the members of the co-operatives and proper relationships between the latter and the State. At the same time, we must actively seek technical improvements, boost production, widen the variety of commodities produced, and turn handicrafts and small industry into an efficient part of light industry.

In short, while carrying out socialist industrialization, we must get a firm hold on the key branches: mechanical engineering, electrical power, fuel, metallurgy, chemical engineering, building materials, foodstuffs, weaving and household utensils, wood processing, paper and cultural articles. To pay full attention to those key branches and develop them in a balanced and rational way not only helps meet the need for better living conditions and enlarged reproduction, but also contributes with agriculture to the creation of an adequate basis for an independent national economy.

C. AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT

Being a basic branch of the economy supplying society with such vital products as cereals and other foodstuffs, and an important base on which to expand industry, our agriculture must of necessity develop according to a double orientation: to rapidly increase total output, which should include a great variety of products, and at the same time quickly raise labour productivity. Only by so doing can we promote an all-sided growth of agriculture, build a modern industry, convert one part of social labour hitherto serving
home needs to the manufacture of goods for export and, through foreign trade, use one part of agricultural labour to produce equipment and machinery for the technical revolution. This is the correct way to improve the people's standard of living, expand the rural market, and at the same time create accumulation for socialist industrialization.

In this initial stage, the task of agriculture is extremely heavy. Agricultural production should make vigorous progress so as to meet the needs of the entire people, first of all in food, and ensure to them a better diet. It must supply raw materials to light industry and goods for export with a view to serving the technical revolution. It must satisfy the requirements of national defence on all fronts. In the whole country as well as in each region, only by determining our requirements in an accurate and concrete way and relying on the existing possibilities of our agriculture can we work out the best orientation in production, carry out regional specialization and rational planning of production, give a strong impulse to the technical revolution, and put a new face on agriculture in the whole country.

Our agriculture is a tropical one with temperate streaks and is practised over three clearly-delimited areas: plains, midlands, and highlands, each with its own advantages. Forestry, livestock breeding and perennial industrial crops constitute the strong point of the highlands, whereas cereals and other food crops and short-term industrial crops constitute that of the plains. In the midlands one can grow rice, subsidiary food crops, leguminous plants, and industrial crops, and also practise large-scale animal husbandry. In the course of agricultural development, the regional administrations should
turn to account their respective strong points, while the various branches of the central administration should concentrate equipment and capital in appropriate sectors so as to promote agricultural production in all three areas. These last few years, agriculture in the plains has made much progress and recorded remarkable achievements in several respects. However, if within a short time there are no leaps forward in the output of rice, subsidiary food crops and other plants, and especially in labour productivity so as to make possible a new division of labour, there cannot be substantial changes in our economy and our people’s life. The midlands and highlands have made little headway in the past few years, by no means commensurate with their great potentialities. On the basis of our achievements, it is high time we brought about a deep change in orientation regarding agricultural development. We should boldly set up in the midlands and highlands agricultural zones producing a high proportion of marketable commodities. Only by closely combining agricultural production in the plains with that in the midlands and highlands can we bring into existence an all-sided and rich agriculture, capable of fully playing its role as a “basis” for industrial expansion. Agriculture in the plains should display vigorous growth and serve as a firm “springboard” for agricultural development in the highlands. Conversely, the latter should develop its own potentialities in order to support the former.

Besides the three above-mentioned areas, the sea assumes particular importance as an abundant source of marine products and a convenient means of communications and transport. In the course of socialist industrialization, while
working out an orientation for our production and effecting a new division of labour, we must pay adequate attention to the exploitation of the immense possibilities of the sea, so that it could contribute effectively to improving the people's standard of living and enriching the country.

For the immediate future, the strategic task of agriculture comprises these three targets: "5 tons of paddy, one farmer, two pigs." "Five tons of paddy per cultivated hectare" does not only provide enough food for the rice-growers but also for our whole society. It does not mean that the food question will be solved solely with rice. We must also grow subsidiary food crops, vegetables and other foodstuffs in appropriate proportions according to the peculiarities of each region.

"One farmer per cultivated hectare" is a measure not solely aimed at providing adequate manpower for intensive cultivation but also at a new division of labour which will make it possible to develop agriculture and industry while reserving part of the labour force for turning out export goods.

"Two pigs per cultivated hectare" will supply not only meat for home consumption but also manure for intensive cultivation. Part of the meat will be reserved for export. To bend every effort towards these three targets is to strive to turn monoculture into a multi-sided agriculture, bring the regional economies into full play and redistribute regional labour as a basis for a new, nationwide, division of labour.

In order to fulfil those strategic tasks, we must be fully aware of the orientation in the building and development of large-scale socialist agriculture in our country, and of the relationship between industry and agriculture in the stage...
ahead. We must boldly perfect both our general and operational guidance of agriculture and adopt a new style of work, practical and thoroughgoing. Leading cadres should visit every co-operative and every locality in order to assess the situation there and recommend bold and practical measures likely to supply radical solutions to their economic and technical problems. One should be able to draw general conclusions with a scientific character from typical individual successes and should not be content with mere empiricism. However, when seeking to “multiply” these successes, one should take the fullest account of concrete conditions and adapt the experience acquired to each category of soil, plants and animals. Democracy should be broadened and innovations encouraged. At the same time one should enforce strict economic and technical discipline both in production and in distribution, in keeping with the peculiarities of each locality and each co-operative. One should combat waywardness and dill AREA...
its machinery from central to basic level, we should actively build a new material and technical basis for agriculture. We should complete the hydraulic networks to ensure enough water for intensive cultivation; increase the supply of fertilizers, especially manure and green compost; eliminate bad seeds; equip the labour force with appropriate tools, etc.

And so in order to fulfil the two fundamental economic tasks of the initial stage—capital accumulation for industrialization and satisfaction of the people’s needs—our still backward agriculture must go through a process of deep and many-sided revolutionary transformation. This includes the transformation of production relations coupled with technical improvement; all-sided agricultural development combined with regional specialization; and intensive cultivation and crop rotation coupled with extension of cultivated acreage. Such a revolutionary transformation of agriculture cannot be the work of the peasantry alone, but must be the common concern of the working class, the whole socialist State, all branches and all levels. Like industry, agriculture is a basic branch of the national economy, rests upon a regime of socialist collective ownership (though to a lesser degree) and contributes to enlarged social reproduction. Hence it should not be made light of in our work of giving guidance—either general or operational—to our economy, for a slow and unbalanced development of agriculture will certainly have a bad effect on the whole cycle of social production, particularly in the initial stage when we regard agriculture as the basis for priority development of heavy industry. Therefore, our State organs, both at central and at regional
level, and particularly in the industrial, financial and commercial branches, should serve it better and act on it more vigorously so as rapidly to bring about fundamental changes which foreshadow other changes in the whole of our national economy.

D. SIMULTANEOUS BUILDING OF THE CENTRAL AND REGIONAL ECONOMIES

To ensure its close and harmonious co-ordination with a diversified agriculture that is undergoing deep transformation, our industry should include two sectors: one run by the central administration, the other by the various regional administrations. This co-ordination takes place not only on a national level but also in each region. Agriculture is to supply industry—both central and regional—with food, labour, raw materials and a market. Means of production and consumer goods for the rural areas are to be provided not only by regional but also central industry. This double relationship (between agriculture and either industrial sector) constantly evolves according to the technical level and the scope of production reached in each branch in each period. For the immediate future, while a new division of labour is being carried into effect in agriculture and centrally-run industry is still young, the co-ordination between agriculture and industry at regional level assumes particular importance. Hence, in order to achieve an optimum balance between industry and agriculture, one must transfer responsibilities in economic management to the various regional echelons, provide stronger assistance from the central administration and
rapidly bring into existence prosperous regional economies while building up the different branches of the centrally-run economy.

To build regional economies together with a centrally-run economy is to set up a national economic structure aimed not only at establishing the best possible relationship between industry and agriculture but also at supplying rational solutions to a whole series of other major problems and relationships in our economy, which is progressing from small production to large-scale socialist production. Indeed, the objective development of our economy is raising problems on both national and regional scales and questions of balanced proportion both for the whole country and for each region. Besides economic branches and enterprises which can only prosper under central management, our socialist economy also includes others that can only do so under regional management. To overlook this objective reality of our economic life and to make no distinction between national and regional problems will hamper the action of economic laws and the expansion of our economy, which has not known the stage of capitalist development. Large-scale mechanized production can only spring from a judicious combination of concentrated and unified leadership by the central administration with the right of the various regional administrations to collective masterhood. It can only come from the building of big enterprises coupled with the conversion of small production and a re-division of labour at regional level. We should know how to bring into full play the great potentialities not only of the entire country but