develop the cooperation and mutual assistance relations with the fraternal socialist countries.

These four tasks of proletarian dictatorship form a system; we must not drop any one of them at will.

Proletarian dictatorship is the continuation of the class struggle under a new form and through new methods, when the working class has seized power. This is an objective necessity during the entire transitional period from capitalism to communism, that is, until there are no classes in the society.

Lenin said: "It is necessary to understand that dictatorship by a class is necessary not only for all societies with classes in general and for the proletariat after the overthrowing of the bourgeoisie, but also for the historic phase of transition from capitalism to a society without classes and to communism. Only through understanding this can one understand the main point of Marx's theory on state."

Proletarian dictatorship means that the power of the proletariat is achieved thoroughly and consolidated through basing itself on the firm alliance between the proletariat and the laboring masses especially the agricultural laborers.

During the transition from capitalism to communism, the proletarian dictatorial state changes its forms and work methods from time to time.

After overthrowing the ruling class and seizing power, depending on the degree and form of the resistance by the enemy of the class and his allies inside the country or abroad, the working class can apply adequate forms of struggle to force the exploiting classes to yield to its will.

During the phase of socialist transformation and socialist construction, the prominent task of the proletarian dictatorship is to socialistically transform the privately-operated capitalist economic elements and individual economic elements, build the socialist economy, and, when needs be, use violence to repress the opposition of the exploiting classes which have been overthrown.

After the successful construction of socialism and the
elimination of the exploiting classes, the socialist society is then composed of two fraternal classes: the working class and collective peasantry. Moreover, there are socialist intellectuals who come from the working class and peasantry. During this phase, proletarian dictatorship has not worn off its internal effects. It must pursue the struggle to eliminate the remnants of the exploiting classes as well as the habits of the erstwhile society. It must continue to organize labor for and inculcate communist virtues upon the laboring masses, build the material and technical bases of communism, gradually raise the system of collective ownership of means of production to the all-people ownership system, gradually eliminate the class differences between workers and collective peasants, and gradually eliminate the basic differences between urban and rural areas, between white-collar and blue-collar workers. During this phase, the spearheads of proletarian dictatorship are mainly directed at the imperialists abroad and their lackeys who remain in the country to engage in clandestine sabotaging activities.

Only when the society reaches a high level of communism and has no classes will proletarian dictatorship complete its mission and the proletarian state die out. As long as the proletariat needs the state, the class character of this state continues to exist, and this state continues to be the proletarian dictatorial state. There cannot be a state which has no class character or which stands above classes. Right its creation, the proletarian dictatorial state represents the interests of the working class and laboring people in general.

The party of the working class alone is able to lead the entire proletarian dictatorial system, fulfill the task of abolishing all classes and building a perfect communist society. As long as the proletarian dictatorial state exists, the communist party continues to be the party of the working class, and the class character of the party remains unchanged.

D. After many years of revolutionary struggle, the working class has seized power in one fourth of the globe. Socialist countries should thoroughly fulfill all the tasks of the socialist revolution and successfully construct socialism and communism. To do so, they should fully carry out the general rules of "the process of socialist revolution and socialist construction," as pointed out in the 1957 Moscow statement:

"These general rules are: the leadership of the working
class and its core --which is the Marxist-Leninist party-- over the laboring masses for carrying out the proletarian revolution under one form or another, while achieving proletarian dictatorship under one form or another; the alliance between the working class and the basic masses in the peasantry and other laboring strata; the destruction of the capitalist ownership system and the creation of the system of public ownership of basic means of production; the gradual transformation of agriculture along socialist line; the development of the national economy according to plans, aimed at constructing socialism and communism and at raising laboring people's standard of living; carrying out the socialist revolution in the ideological and cultural fields and training a large body of intellectuals who are loyal to the working class, the laboring people, and socialism; eliminating oppression and building equality and friendship among nations; protecting the achievements of socialism and opposing the sabotage by the enemy within and without; the solidarity between the working class in one country with the working class in other countries -- that is, proletarian internationalism."

Any country which wishes to advance to socialism should thoroughly carry out the above-mentioned general rules. Our Viet-Nam - a backward agricultural country - has skipped over the phase of capitalist development and advanced directly to socialism. That is why, along with carrying out these general rules, we must achieve socialist industrialization and regard it as another rule which is suitable to Viet-Nam.

Now, laying emphasis on the above-mentioned general rules is necessary because all the countries in our camp must take precautionary measures against the "peaceful evolution" plot of the imperialists and the sabotage of the achievements of the socialist revolution by the modern revisionists; must be constantly clearheaded to prevent the modern revisionists from driving the socialist countries astray from the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary path and creating conditions for capitalist restoration. Yugoslavia's degradation is a very painful experience.

Moreover, now there are a number of leaders of nationalist countries who are actually following the path of capitalist development by relying on the imperialists, but who hid themselves behind the "socialist" label to deceive their people. We must help the people distinguish genuine socialism from sham socialism.
To achieve firm victories in socialist and communist construction, each socialist country must mainly rely on its own force, stick fast to the self-sufficiency policy, and receive aid from fraternal countries. It must develop its self-sufficiency spirit in order to satisfactorily use this aid from fraternal countries.

The interests of the world revolution and of the socialist camp require that each socialist country endeavor to strengthen its own force in all fields, and, at the same time, cooperate in strengthening the force of the socialist camp in all fields, including the military field. Every socialist country should endeavor to build an independent and self-sufficient economy and, at the same time, contribute actively to the strengthening of cooperation and assistance in the socialist camp.

During the process of advancing to socialism and communism, the relations of cooperation and division of labor among socialist countries are built, consolidated, and developed. These relations are based on the principles: complete equality, voluntariness, mutual profit, mutual respect of independence and sovereignty; and mutual assistance based on comradeship. The consolidation and development of the relations of cooperation and labor division are fully consistent with the law on the development of socialism and communism, consistent with the interests of each socialist country and of our camp. However, due to the fact that socialist countries have different demographic and historic conditions and different economic, political, and cultural situations, cooperation and labor division inside the socialist camp must be carried out step by step in accordance with the development situation of each socialist country, so that each country becomes a highly-developed self-sufficient economic unit and, at the same time, economic union between the fraternal countries becomes increasingly close. Only in this way will the economy of the socialist camp develop in a rational, harmonious, abundant, and prosperous manner.

All countries following the path to socialism and communism must clearly realize the two stages of the communist society: the lower stage is socialist society whose principle is "work according to capacity, enjoy according to labor" and the higher stage is communist society whose principle is "work according to capacity, enjoy according
to needs." Between these two stages there is no partition.
Upon reaching a certain degree of perfection, socialism becomes
communism. However, one must not confuse these two stages.
Communism takes its roots in socialism.

To turn the socialist system into a decisive factor in
the development of human society, it is necessary to success­
fully construct socialism and communism there and, at the
same time, strengthen solidarity in the socialist camp. To
successfully construct socialism and communism in socialist
countries is to develop the superiority of the socialist system
over the capitalist system in all fields: economic, political,
cultural, moral, ideological, and so forth.

The revisionists usually lay emphasis on the exemplary
character of the socialist system in the domain of material
life and pay slight attention to its exemplary character in the
political, cultural, moral, ideological, and intellectual fields.
This is a great mistake. Socialism is winning the hearts
and minds of hundreds of millions of persons not only because
it brings an abundant and happy life to the laboring people,
but also because it brings genuine freedom to blue-collar
and white-collar workers, and because it builds new people
having communist ideology and virtues.

The foregoing are the problems of principles, which
are giving rise to a debate between a number of fraternal
parties. To defend the Marxist-Leninist views on these pro­
blems is to defend the Marxist-Leninist line of the interna­
tional communist movement and the purity of Marxism-Leninism,
to oppose modern revisionism and other opportunist tendencies,
to strengthen the solidarity and combativity of the socialist
camp and of the international communist movement, to insure
complete victory of the struggle of the working class and
world people for peace, national independence, democracy,
and socialism.
III. THE STRUGGLE FOR DEFENDING THE PURITY AND CLARITY OF MARXISM-LENINISM

To fulfill their glorious duties, the communist and workers parties should struggle hard to defend the purity of Marxism-Leninism, oppose revisionism and rightist opportunism—which are the main dangers to the international communist movement—and, at the same time, oppose dogmatism and sectarianism, keep a firm hold on the Marxist-Leninist principles, and insure creative application of Marxism-Leninism to the concrete conditions of the world and of each country.

Faced with the great victories of the socialist camp and of the national liberation movement in Asia, Africa, and Latin America and faced with the vigorous development of the struggle movement of the working class and laboring people in capitalist countries, the warlike imperialists—led by the U.S. imperialists—actively are preparing for a new world war to wage local war and "special war," hoping to wipe off the socialist camp, put out the revolutionary movement in various countries, amass more interests, and redistribute the world market. At the same time, they follow the policy of terror and threat in combination with the policy of flattery, bribery, and discord to repress the communist parties and destroy the revolutionary movements in their countries.

In the ideological field, the imperialists and their lackeys set forth reformist theories to bewitch the masses and detach them from the goals of the struggle for socialism. They support and encourage modern revisionism in its efforts to slander Marxism-Leninism, destroy the Marxist-Leninist line of the world revolution, destroy the socialist camp, sow discord inside the international communist and workers movement, and sow discord among the communist and workers parties.

Presently, there is developing inside the international communist movement a fierce struggle between the two lines: the Marxist-Leninist line and the modern revisionist line. This struggle between the two lines reflects the fierce class struggle aimed at solving the problem "who will win" on a world scale. The result of this struggle is closely connected with the future of the international communist movement, the future of the revolutionary struggle of the working class and world
people for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

Modern revisionism has betrayed Marxism-Leninism and stated that Marxism-Leninism is outdated. Under the pretext of developing Marxism-Leninism under new historic conditions, it has distorted and rejected the Marxist-Leninist principles. It has denied or blurred the aggressive and warlike nature of imperialism, replaced the Marxist-Leninist theories on class struggle, proletarian revolution, and proletarian dictatorship by the views on class agreement, peaceful evolution. It has refused to recognize the leading role of the proletarian party and the general principles of Marxism-Leninism about socialist revolution and socialist construction. The line of modern revisionism is peaceful coexistence, peaceful competition, and peaceful transition. In fact, this is the peace-between-classes line, common to all revisionisms, old and new.

Concerning the imperialists, revisionism has done its best to embellish the imperialist leaders and exaggerate the power of the U.S. imperialists' nuclear weapons with the aim of causing people in various countries to be afraid of the U.S. imperialists and dare not engage in revolutionary struggle. It has stood up for the aggressive and war-seeking policy of the imperialists and for the view that the origin of the danger of war and of the present tense international situation is the existence of opposing "blocs" in the world and not the aggressive and warlike nature of the imperialists. Due to their failure to realize this nature, to their overestimation of the enemy forces, and to their underestimation of the masses' forces, revisionists in a number of fraternal countries have committed serious mistakes in the field of revolutionary strategy and tactics and arrived at unprincipled concessions and agreements with the imperialists concerning a number of problems.

Towards the international communist movement, revisionism has criticized the communist and workers parties and the communists, resolutely standing for the Marxist-Leninist principles and called them "dogmatist" and "warlike." It has tried to force the communist and workers parties to adopt its
erroneous views and violate the principles on the relations between fraternal parties --principles which were stated in the 1960 Moscow statement. It has criticized and tried to isolate the fraternal parties which have been resolved to protect the purity of Marxism-Leninism. It is the revisionists who have sown ideological confusion and organizational disorder within the international communist movement.

Toward the socialist camp, revisionism has propagated for the so-called "Yugoslav-style socialist path" --that is, the path of sabotaging the achievements of the socialist revolution and restoring capitalism. It has sown discord among the socialist camp and helped the imperialists in carrying out their subversive and sabotaging plots in socialist countries. Now it is helping the imperialists to carry out their "peaceful evolution" plan in socialist countries in accordance with the "peaceful strategy" of the U.S. imperialists. In a number of socialist countries, revisionists have seriously jeopardized the solidarity and friendship between the fraternal countries, especially between the Soviet Union and China - hitting the main support of the solidarity of our camp. At the same time, they have weakened the cooperation and assistance among a number of fraternal countries, doing harm to the construction task of the socialist camp and restricting the development of the influence of the socialist system, "decisive factor in the development of human society."

Concerning the national liberation movement, revisionism does not support the revolutionary struggle against imperialism, for national independence by people in colonies and dependent countries. It advises the oppressed people against engaging in revolutionary activities, --using as pretext the great sacrifices these people will have to suffer-- and asks them to wait until the imperialists grant them independence through their "anticolonization" policy. In nationalist countries, revisionism propagandizes for the "policy of standing outside all blocs," with the aim of sabotaging the friendly relations between these countries and the socialist camp and driving them into the traps laid by neocolonialism. It urges the ruling bourgeoisie in nationalist countries to oppose the communist and workers parties and destroy the national united fronts in these countries.

In a number of fraternal parties, revisionists fail to realize the importance of the national liberation movement,
under-estimate the danger of neo-colonialism, and fail to actively support the struggle by the Asian, African, and Latin American people to restore and consolidate national independence. They do not warmly welcome and support the armed struggle of the people who are achieving independence and freedom, for fear that national liberation war may lead to world war. They exaggerate the role of the United Nations in the national liberation problem, causing the oppressed people to have illusion toward the United Nations as well as toward the imperialists. They acclaim the communist and workers parties in a number of nationalist countries, which are tailing after the ruling bourgeoisie, concerning the bourgeoisie in these countries, they fail to realize that it is being differentiated deeply. They lay emphasis only on its active aspect and do not struggle against its anti-communist policies.

Concerning the revolutionary movement in capitalist countries revisionists are undermining it ideologically by spreading the rumor that world capitalism has changed its nature and can be peacefully transformed into socialism; that the working class does not need to undertake class struggle or carry out the proletarian revolution in order to destroy the bourgeois state machinery and achieve proletarian dictatorship; that the working class can follow "the parliamentary path" or use the "structural reforms" methods within the framework of the bourgeois constitution to seize power and construct socialism. Their goal is to steer the working class along the reformist path, thus causing it to be disoriented in its struggle for socialism. Both the 1957 and 1960 Moscow statements set forth both possibilities: peaceful and non-peaceful transition to socialism. But the revisionists have laid emphasis on the possibility of peaceful transition, the possibility of following the parliamentary path to seize power, although in many capitalist countries militarism and bureaucratism have developed to a high level.

Concerning the problem of war and peace, the revisionists propagandize for bourgeois peace, raving that with the appearance of nuclear weapons war nature has changed; that war will be only war of complete destruction; that there is no just and unjust war; that active peaceful coexistence and all-out cooperation with the imperialists is the only correct path just now. This is, in fact, the policy of agreement with
and surrender to the imperialists, a betrayal of the revolutionary work of the working class and world people. In a number of communist and workers parties, the revisionists are basing themselves on the appearance of nuclear weapons to formulate their strategy and tactics, regarding peaceful coexistence as the top strategy, replacing the revolutionary struggle line by the peaceful coexistence line, and replacing the political and ideological struggle between two opposing systems in the world by economic competition.

Concerning Stalin, our party has constantly upheld the stand that Stalin was an outstanding Marxist who had the great merit of disseminating and developing Marxism - Leninism, a great leader of the CPSU and the international communist movement. Stalin made great contributions to the success of the October Revolution, to the consolidation of proletarian dictatorship and the successful construction of socialism in the Soviet Union, and to the success of the Soviet people's patriotic war against world fascism, thus creating conditions for the birth of a number of people's democratic countries in Europe and Asia. Stalin had the great merit of leading the Soviet people in restoring and developing the economy, culture, science, and techniques after the war, in reinforcing the Soviet defense forces. However, during the last years of his life, Stalin committed a number of mistakes in connection with the repression of counter-revolution and with the internal activities of the party.

Properly criticizing these mistakes in order to draw up experiences for the CPSU and for the international communist movement is necessary. But the revisionists have not evaluated Stalin comprehensively, have exaggerated the struggle against the cult of Stalin's personality to negate the Marxist-Leninist principles which Stalin resolutely defended during his entire active life, to negate the inevitability of proletarian revolution and proletarian dictatorship, to negate the great achievements which the Soviet people performed under the leadership of the CPSU during the period when Stalin headed the party and state, thus creating for the enemy of the class a favorable opportunity to launch counter-propaganda against socialism and proletarian dictatorship.

The views of the Tito revisionist clique on the major problems concerning the Marxist-Leninist principles, such
as class struggle, proletarian revolution, proletarian dictatorship, and the party and state of the proletariat as well as on the burning and important problems of the era, such as war and peace, peaceful coexistence, national liberation revolution, and so forth are basically similar to the views of the revisionists in a number of fraternal parties. The difference between the Tito clique and the latter lies in the fact that the Tito clique not only is undermining the international communist movement in the ideological field, but also has become the lackeys of the imperialists, actually having the intention of undermining the revolutionary work of people. As for the revisionists in a number of fraternal parties, they have committed serious mistakes concerning standpoint and viewpoints, concerning revolutionary strategy and tactics. Thus, they have caused heavy damages, but we regard their present errors as having the same direction as the errors of the international communist movement. The contradictions between the Tito clique and the international communist movement are the contradictions between the enemy and us, while the present contradictions between the revisionists and rightist opportunists in a number of fraternal parties and the Marxist-Leninists are the internal contradictions of the international communist movement. However, it is necessary to realize that while the Tito revisionist clique has become a commando unit of the imperialists and is undermining the international communist movement, the revisionists in a number of fraternal parties have become the leaning points for the Tito clique.

The 1960 Moscow statement pointed out: "While distorting Marxism-Leninism and depriving it of its revolutionary spirit, revisionism and rightist opportunism, in practice as well as in theory, [words indistinct] of the bourgeoisie, paralyze the revolutionary will of the working class, take the weapons away from and annihilate the spirit of workers and laboring people in the struggle against the rule of the imperialists and exploiters for achieving peace, democracy, national liberation, and success of socialism."

That is why at present, the struggle against imperialism cannot be separated from the struggle against revisionism and rightist opportunism which are the main dangers to the international communist movement. Only through resolutely
struggling against revisionism and rightist opportunism is it possible to protect the purity of Marxism-Leninism, protect the CPSU and other fraternal parties, protect the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, restore and strengthen solidarity and unanimity in the socialist camp and the international communist movement. This is a very important condition for insuring the success of the struggle against imperialism headed by U.S. imperialists for achieving greater victories for peace, national independence, democracy, and socialism.

The 1957 Moscow statement pointed out: "The survival of bourgeois influences is the internal cause of revisionism, and the surrender before imperialist pressure its external cause."

After World War II, the following objective and subjective conditions of the international communist movement have contributed to the birth and development of modern revisionism: demand for peace by world people, especially by people in the countries which were heavily devastated by war; the appearance of nuclear weapons and their destructive power; influence of new scientific and technical progress upon production; monopolist capitalists' new deceiful policies toward the working class in a series of capitalist countries; the development of the aristocratic and bureaucratic working strata; the imperialists' policies of oppression, terror, and fascism; the lack of experiences concerning the achievement of proletarian dictatorship and concerning socialist construction in socialist countries and the discovery of errors and shortcomings caused by this lack of experiences; shortcomings committed by many communist and workers parties while building themselves in the ideological and organizational fields; the quick development of the international revolutionary movement and of socialist and communist construction; and the slower progress of the recapitulative task and the theoretical task of the international communist movement, and so forth. These conditions help us understand why revisionism has become an international event.

To efficaciously struggle against revisionism, first of all Marxist-Leninists should realize that this is a struggle in
the field of principles to protect and develop Marxism-Leninism -- that is, to protect and invigorate the most important factor of the success of the revolution in each country and in the world.

In the theoretical and ideological fields, revisionism of any shade is dangerous to each communist and workers party, to the international communist and workers movement, and to the revolutionary task of the working class and world people. But in the political and organizational fields, it is necessary to distinguish the contradictions between the enemy and us from the internal contradictions of the international communist movement in order, consequently, to adopt appropriate measures and attitudes.

The anti-revisionist struggle is long, arduous, and complex, but will surely be successful. Closely united and struggling resolutely, Marxist-Leninist parties and persons will surely be able to protect the purity of Marxism-Leninism and achieve victory on the ideological and political fronts. The following situation insure victory of Marxism-Leninism over revisionism:

- Imperialism is being weakened by a grave general crisis. Its reactionary and warlike nature is being laid increasingly bare before the eyes of everyone. The policy of unprincipled agreement with imperialism is being increasingly opposed by world people and will sustain ignominious defeat.

- The superiority of socialism is becoming increasingly obvious, and the force of the socialist camp is being daily reinforced. Workers and people in various countries are being constantly revolutionized. The revolutionary movement in various countries is developing constantly and vigorously. Daily realities are asserting the correctness of Marxism-Leninism and condemning the erroneous line of revisionism.

- Communist and workers parties are maturing daily. Their theoretical and political levels are being heightened constantly.

The anti-revisionist struggle is an opportunity for communists and workers to become more tempered. This
struggle will surely develop strongly and enrich Marxism-Leninism further. Communists the world over will be more impregnated with Marxist-Leninist principles, and this is a basic condition for world revolution to develop itself favorably and achieve more brilliant victories.

Along with struggling resolutely against revisionism and rightist opportunism which are the main dangers at present, we must struggle against dogmatism and sectarianism.

The 1960 Moscow statement said: "Dogmatism and sectarianism cause revolutionary parties to lose their capacity to develop Marxism-Leninism on the basis of analyzing scientifically and applying creatively Marxism-Leninism in a way suitable to concrete conditions; isolate communist from other people's strata; cause them to wait passively or engage in 'leftist' or adventurous activities in their revolutionary struggle; prevent them from evaluating in time and correctly the new situations and experiences; prevent them from using their ability to achieve success for the working class and all democratic forces in the struggle against imperialism, against reactionary forces, and against the danger of war; and consequently, prevent the populace in different countries from achieving success in their just struggle."

Dogmatism manifests itself through applying mechanically the Marxist-Leninist principles or "reproducing textually" the policies tactics, and experiences of other parties for application in one's country, without taking into consideration the concrete conditions and characteristics of the country, thus doing harm to the revolutionary work.

However, it is necessary to realize that in the present international communist movement, there is the struggle between the Marxist-Leninist line and the modern revisionist line. Dogmatism manifests itself locally only in one party or another. In fact, there is not a third line which must be combated and which is the dogmatist line.

Sectarianism manifests itself through the fact that when
there is disagreement within the international communist movement, a number of parties tend to gang up to criticize and isolate the fraternal parties and Marxist-Leninists who have different views, thus causing serious disagreement and creating the danger of division inside the international communist movement; turn the disagreement between parties in the socialist camp into disputes in state relations; set up sects among the fraternal parties; and mobilize the masses to isolate the fraternal parties and countries which are loyal to Marxism-Leninism.

Moreover, it is necessary to combat bourgeois nationalism and chauvinism. In fact, these latter are other manifestations of revisionism in the international communist movement.

The resolution of the Third National Congress of our party in 1960 said: "Being a part of the great and powerful international communist movement, our party endeavors to contribute to strengthening solidarity and unanimity among the communist and workers parties on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and on the principles set forth in the 1957 Moscow peace statement and manifesto, actively struggles to protect the purity of Marxism-Leninism, and resolutely combats revisionism and dogmatism."

Our party pays special attention to the problem of protecting the purity of Marxism-Leninism and the problem of strengthening solidarity and unanimity in the socialist camp and the international communist movement. That is why we resolutely struggle against revisionism and other opportunist tendencies, regarding it as a sacred duty for ourselves as well as for the fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties the world over for protecting the socialist camp and the international communist movement, protecting the fraternal parties and the fraternal socialist countries, and insuring the achievement of increasing the great victories through the struggle of the working class and world's peoples for peace, national independence, democracy, and socialism. At the same time, this is a very important duty for strengthening solidarity and unanimity in our party, protecting our party's correct line, and stepping up the revolutionary work of our people throughout the country.
IV. OUR PARTY'S INTERNATIONAL DUTY

The revolutionary work of our people and the revolutionary work of the world's peoples are inter-related and interdependent. The resolution of the Third National Congress of our Party pointed out: "The Vietnamese revolution is part of the international movement of struggle for socialism, national independence, and world peace."

That is why, up to now in determining the line and duties of the Vietnamese revolution, our Party has constantly applied Marxism-Leninism to the concrete conditions of our country, guided by the general line of the international communist movement. Our Party has constantly and correctly associated the requirements of our people's revolution with those of world people's revolution. This proves that our Party has constantly adhered to the standpoint of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

Immediately after its founding in 1930, our Party based itself on the platform of the Communist International and on the concrete conditions of Viet-Nam to determine the line of a national democratic revolution for our working class and people.

During the Indochinese Democratic Front phase (1936-1939), our Party based itself on the resolutions of the Communist International and on the then prevailing conditions of our country to set forth the policy of concentrating forces to oppose the fascists and reactionary colonialists; to demand freedom, democracy, and a better life for the people; to protect world peace, and to oppose aggressive war.

During World War II (1939-1945), our Party led our people and united them in the anti-imperialist national united front and later in the Viet-Minh Front to struggle against the Japanese and French fascists, liberate the country, support the Soviet Union, and contribute to the common struggle of the international democratic front against fascist aggression. The historic victory of the Soviet Union in its great patriotic war created favorable conditions for our people to rise up and seize power during the August Revolution (1945) and set up the DRV.
When the French colonialists returned and again invaded our country, our party led our people in resisting the U.S. supported French colonialists (1945-1954). The resistance of our people against the French colonialists and U.S. interventionists along with the revolutionary war of the Chinese people against the U.S.-Chiang clique and the anti-U.S. war of the Korean people formed a common front against the warlike and aggressive imperialists, headed by the U.S. imperialists. The success of the Chinese revolution and of the anti-U.S. war of the Korean people created more conditions for the success of our national salvation resistance. The success of the August Revolution and of the protracted resistance of the Vietnamese people contributed to stepping up the national liberation movement, strengthening the forces of the international socialist system, and, at the same time, thwarting the U.S. imperialists' plot of enlarging the Indochinese war, thus actively contributing to protecting peace in Southeast Asia and the world.

After the restoration of peace, our party remarked that the common duty of the working class and people of Viet-Nam is to undertake the socialist revolution and socialist construction in the North and, at the same time, continue to complete the people's national democratic revolution throughout the country, achieve national unification through peaceful means, build a peaceful, unified, independent, democratic, rich, and prosperous Viet-Nam, contribute to the reinforcing of the socialist camp, support the national liberation movement and the struggle movement for democracy and socialism by people in various countries, and actively protect peace in Southeast Asia and the world.

The revolutionary struggle of the Vietnamese people in the past nine years proves that the stepping up of socialist revolution and socialist construction in the North exerts the most decisive influence upon the development of the entire Vietnamese revolution as well as upon the task of unifying the country. At the same time, the revolutionary struggle of the southern people exerts a decisive influence upon the task of directly overthrowing the rule of the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys and crushing their neo-colonialist policy in order to liberate the South and thwart the U.S. imperialists'
plot of turning South Viet-Nam into a military base to oppose the socialist camp, rekindle the Indochinese war, and expand the war in Southeast Asia. That is why, the present patriotic struggle of southern compatriots is an active contribution to the world's peoples' task of protecting peace and, at the same time, an encouragement to the national liberation movement.

Experiences drawn from the Vietnamese revolution confirm that at present, world peace, national liberation, and socialism which are the urgent requirements of the working class and world people are closely related and cannot be separated. These experiences also prove that if the socialist system is the decisive factor in the development of human society, the struggle of the people in the capitalist countries--especially of the oppressed people in Asia, Africa, and Latin America--is the direct decisive factor in the overthrowing of the colonial rule, the weakening of imperialism, the achievement of national independence and democracy, the protection of world peace, and the creation of conditions for socialism to succeed in more countries. These experiences also prove that to protect peace, it is necessary along with reinforcing the socialist system, to drive back world imperialism step by step and overthrow it chunk by chunk. Revolutionary struggles, especially the national liberation movement under all forms, including the form of the liberation war, are positive contributions to the protection of the socialist camp and the protection of world peace.

The successes of our people's revolutionary work during the several past decades--the success of the August Revolution, the success of the protracted resistance, the great achievements of the socialist revolution and socialist construction in the North, the continued successes of southern compatriots' heroic struggle against the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys--prove that our party's line is correct.

While struggling for the Marxist-Leninist line of the international communist movement and protecting the revolutionary principles of the 1957 and 1960 Moscow statements, we have continuously struggled for strict implementation of the correct line of our party. That is why, in the ideological field, we along with the Marxist-Leninist parties and people throughout the world have opposed revisionism and other opportunistic tendencies. At the same time, we have endeavored
to help our cadres and party members eliminate erroneous views and develop the good traditions of the party.

Since its founding, our party has continuously engaged in ideological struggle. On the one hand, it has defeated the reformism of the bourgeoisie, unmasked the super-class line of the petite bourgeoisie, and crushed the provocations and sabotages of the Trotskyites. On the other hand, it has overcome the erroneous rightist and "leftist" tendencies within its own ranks. During the process of its building and development, our party has continuously improved the proletarian standpoint of its cadres and members, helped them understand and be impregnated with the Marxist-Leninist principles and the party's line and policies so that they can carry them out correctly. On the other hand, being trained in the realities of a protracted and arduous revolutionary struggle, the great majority of our cadres and party members have correct viewpoints on the basic problems of the national and world revolutionary will and spirit of solidarity and unanimity.

However, a small number of our cadres have been influenced by modern revisionism. A small number of our cadres and Party members sided with the Nhan Van Giai Pham clique when the latter, taking advantage of our Party's self-criticism action over the shortcomings and errors committed during the land reform campaign and rectification action concerning our own organization, and also taking the opportunity of our opposition to the personal cult of Stalin, engaged in sabotage activities. In the past few years, while an acute ideological struggle was taking place within the international communist movement, a small number of cadres have supported the erroneous viewpoints and lines of the revisionists. A number of cadres and Party members have adopted rightist thinking which was reflected in the following matters:

Concerning the domestic problems, there have been the following deviations:

- They have slighted the problem of people's democratic dictatorship, the substance of which is proletarian dictatorship. They have failed to realize that strengthening dictatorship over the enemy and developing democracy for the people are two inseparable aspects of our dictatorship.
Thus, they have lost vigilance toward the enemy and have been unwilling to repress the counter-revolutionary elements resisting [thought] reform. On the contrary, they have become bureaucratic, arrogant, and commandistic toward the people. They have paid little attention to the problems of state and jurisdiction and to resolutely maintaining and strengthening the socialist legal system. In charge of enforcing the law, a number of cadres and organs have not resolutely behaved in accordance with the law.

They have maintained that since the North of our country has basically completed the socialist transformation of the national economy, it is unnecessary to carry out the class struggle and the struggle between the socialist and capitalist paths in the economic and political fields, and it is necessary only to carry out the struggle between the socialist ideology and anti-socialist ideology and between the new and old in a general manner. They have maintained that since the exploiting classes—landlords, bourgeois, including rich farmers—have been reformed it is unnecessary to resolutely continue transforming them into genuine laborers. They have not correctly implemented the party's class line in rural areas, slighted the problem of reforming petty traders and loosely managed the market.

They have not realized the importance of socialist industrialization toward the work of socialist construction in the North of our country. They have not thoroughly understood the view that agriculture is the base for developing industry, and industry plays the leading role in the national economy. They have not understood the correct relationship between accumulation and consumption. They have opposed the main task of building an autonomous and self-reliant economy. They failed to realize that in order to build an autonomous economy and a relatively good industry, it is necessary to relay principally on accumulation inside the country, achieve self-sufficiency, and, at the same time, pay special attention to and use satisfactorily the aid from fraternal socialist countries.

They have maintained that agricultural cooperation was started too soon, that agricultural production would have been strongly stepped up if after land reforms, the peasants were allowed to engage in private business on their own land.
for a certain time. They have failed to realize the relationship between agricultural cooperation and socialist industrialization. They have not understood that after the land reforms, the slower peasants were led into agricultural cooperation the more conditions a rich peasant economy would have to develop itself, and the more difficulties our industry and agriculture would encounter. They have refused to look ahead, but looked backward only. Instead of busying themselves with consolidating and developing agricultural cooperatives, they have constantly expressed regret for old individualistic, dissipative, and backward work methods.

- They have failed to see the difficulties in a backward agricultural country which is advancing directly to socialism by skipping the capitalist development phase as well as the protracted, arduous, and complex nature of the struggle for achieving peace [and] national unification. They have failed to realize that to achieve success, one must not retreat before difficulties; instead one must strengthen one's stand, have revolutionary courage and the determination to overcome all difficulties and fulfill one's duties. On the other hand, when evaluating the situation they have seen only difficulties and no advantages and success. Thus they have become pessimistic and suspicious and engaged in production, tasks, and study with less enthusiasm and eagerness.

- Concerning the struggle for achieving peace [and] national unification and the liberation struggle of the southern compatriots, they have feared that those struggles might be protracted and arduous; they have been afraid of sacrifices. Concerning the southern compatriots' struggle, they have adopted a somewhat indifferent attitude and failed to realize the relationship between the revolutionary tasks of our people in both zones.

- They have failed to realize the party's class nature and vanguard nature as well as party members' duties. That is why they have longed for security and for enjoying pleasures. They have been worried about personal positions. They have neither enthusiastically nor courageously fulfilled the tasks entrusted them by the party, nor voluntarily set the good example in implementing party and government policies. Their sense of organization and discipline has been low. They have paid no attention to consolidating party
branches into leading nuclei at the basic level, to improving and helping core cadres so that they could satisfactorily fulfill the tasks entrusted them by the party and the state.

Concerning the international problems, they have been vaguely aware of the nature of imperialism as well as of the problem of war and peace, of the role of nuclear weapons, of peaceful coexistence, of economic competition, of peaceful transition, and so forth. They have cultivated pacifist views, lost vigilance before the plots and actions of the U.S. imperialists and henchmen. Their fighting spirit has been blunted. Sometimes they have repeated or disseminated the revisionists' erroneous views.

The above-mentioned rightist views have exerted a bad influence upon the implementation of party's policies and line and upon the fulfillment of the state plan in a number of branches and localities. Therefore, at present, criticizing and resolutely overcoming rightist views is an essential task for insuring successful fulfillment of the tasks which the Third National Congress of the Party set forth and, at the same time, for preventing the influences of revisionism from infiltrating the Party.

In a number of cadres and Party members, rightist views have a social cause and a class origin. The majority of our cadres and Party members have come from the petty bourgeoisie. Those comrades have brought some petty bourgeois thoughts into the Party upon joining it. Since our country was a country where small production occupied an absolute superiority for a long period, it is natural that bourgeois and petty bourgeois thoughts have influenced our Party. In a large number of cadres and Party members who have been educated by the Party and trained in revolutionary struggle, bourgeois thoughts have been basically eliminated and proletarian thoughts have been improved. However, in a number of other cadres and Party members, the vestiges of petty bourgeois thoughts have survived rather deeply. The characteristics of petty bourgeois thoughts are individualism, fear of fierce struggle, lack of firmness, and unilateral and unrealistic subjectivism. Faced with revolutionary evolutions, difficulties, or advantages, petty bourgeois thoughts usually have manifested themselves under the form of rightist or "leftist", mostly rightist, deviations, thus leading to an easy
assimilation of modern revisionists' views. Although our cadres and Party members, who have rightist views on one or another problem, generally speaking do not support the erroneous views of the revisionists, we must admit that rightist thoughts are seed beds where revisionism can take roots and develop advantageously if it is given the opportunity. That is why we must be clearheaded and take precautions against it.

International as well as domestic duties require that we struggle against petty bourgeois thoughts and at the same time oppose the influences of bourgeois thoughts and the influences of revisionism, overcome rightist thoughts so that to prevent revisionism from doing harm, so that to make our Party become increasingly pure ideologically and firm organizationally and remain forever the clearsighted and courageous vanguard team of the Vietnamese working class and people.

In addition to rightist thoughts which are the main deviations, in our Party there have been manifestations of dogmatism and experimentalism and the \"leftist\" deviations.

Dogmatism manifests itself through the fact that policies and stands of fraternal parties and countries are applied mechanically, without taking consideration of the concrete conditions of our country and without conducting investigations and research on the national concrete situation before adopting correct policies and tasks; through the fact that during the study, theory and practice are not closely connected.

Experimentalism manifests itself through the fact that theory is slighted; that revolutionary struggle experiences are not recapitulated in order to draw up general conclusions; that theory is not studied systematically in order to keep a firm hold on the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism; and that one relies only on one's old experiences and those of fraternal parties. Thus, in various tasks, there is lack of foresight and creativeness.

Concerning \"leftist\" deviations, as far as internal affairs are concerned, the relatively general manifestations are: to prefer to resort to administrative orders for the carrying out of the policies and lines of the Party and State; to slight the propaganda task for convincing the masses;
refuse to follow the masses lines; to support egalitarianism; and so forth. As far as international relations are concerned, in the struggle against revisionism and rightist opportunism there is no differentiation between the contradictions between the enemy and us and the contradictions inside the international communist movement. Consequently, this leads to deviations concerning struggle methods and attitudes. While criticizing the errors and shortcomings of the revisionists in a number of fraternal parties, one does not make a comprehensive and objective evaluation of our Party and people.

Basing itself on the requirements of the revolutionary tasks in the country and the tasks of the international communist movement and in order to develop good points, overcome weak points, and cause our cadres and Party members to defend the Marxist-Leninist position resolutely under any circumstances, our Party must undertake the following tasks of the current ideological task:

To educate cadres and Party members --especially leading cadres of all echelons and branches-- so that they can understand more deeply the line of the socialist revolution in the North, the line of the Southern revolution and national unification, the line of the Party's foreign relations, and the Party's stand-point and viewpoints concerning the strategic and tactical problems of the international communist movement and the international duties of our Party. Then our Party must put itself on this basis in order to consolidate their class standpoint, develop their thoroughly revolutionary spirit; improve their self-reliant spirit and determination to overcome difficulties and fulfill their tasks; cause them to struggle against the influences of revisionism and overcome the rightist thoughts and the deviations of other erroneous thoughts; cause them to improve the revolutionary virtues of the proletariat, build the collective socialist ideology, and struggle against individualism; cause them to heighten their sense of organization and discipline and struggle against "freedomism"; teach them patriotism and proletarian internationalism; strengthen solidarity and unanimity inside the Party and create a strong revolutionary impulse among cadres, Party members, and the people and step up the patriotic emulation movement in order to satisfactorily fulfill the State plan, consolidate the North, make the North advance toward socialism quickly, strongly, firmly, support
actively the patriotic struggle of southern compatriots, and make concrete contributions to world's people's struggle for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

To attain the above-mentioned goals, it is necessary to keep a firm hold on the direction of the ideological task, as set forth by the Third National Congress of the Party: "To improve the proletarian ideology, to struggle against the influences of bourgeois ideology and petty bourgeois ideology, and to pursue the elimination of the vestiges of feudal and other non-proletarian thoughts." At the same time, it is necessary to correctly apply the following ideological struggle methods: to struggle against the influences of revisionism and overcome the rightist thoughts is the main task. At the same time, it is necessary to prevent and overcome the manifestations of dogmatism, factionalism, and "leftist" errors; criticize the modern revisionists' erroneous views concerning the carrying out of the Vietnamese revolution and world revolution; and criticize the cadres' and Party members' rightist views concerning the carrying out of tasks in various localities and branches.

For the time being, it is necessary to undertake the following tasks:

A--To pursue the systematic education of cadres and Party members in Marxism-Leninism with different requirements and levels. During the study, it is necessary to apply the method of connecting theory with practice. In Party schools, in newspapers, and so forth, it is necessary to apply the method of connecting theory with practice. In Party schools, in newspapers, and so forth, it is necessary to clearly and properly criticize the modern revisionists' views and uphold the spirit and experiences of the Marxist-Leninist classicists' struggle against revisionism and other opportunistic manifestations.

B--To rely on the "three for, three against" movement in factories, at construction sites, and in collective farms and on the "improve cooperative management, improve techniques and develop agricultural production in an all-out, strong, and firm manner" movement in rural areas to step up the emulation movement for increasing production and practicing economy and, at the same time, struggle against corruption,
waste, and bureaucracy and struggle against rightist and conservative tendencies in the task of improving techniques; to apply the method according to which cadres closely follow the realities and participate in labor, to strengthen relations between the Party and the masses.

C--To strengthen the leadership over the organs and branches in charge of ideological, research, and propaganda tasks. It is necessary to prevent and combat the influences of revisionism in those branches, especially in philosophy, culture, arts and literature, and scientific branches -- including social and natural sciences.

D--To organize a careful study of the resolution of the 9th Conference of the Party Central Committee and confirm the correct stand and viewpoints of cadres and Party members on the tasks and line of the international communist movement as well as on the international duties of our Party and people.

V. THE FOREIGN POLICY OF OUR PARTY

Our Party's stand is that of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. Our Party is responsible before the working class and people of our country and has the duty of looking after the revolutionary interests of our people throughout the country. At the same time, our Party is partially responsible before the international communist and workers movement and has the duty of looking after the revolutionary interests of the working class, laboring people, and oppressed people the world over.

To fulfill its international duties, our Party has based itself on the Marxist-Leninist view that the interests of the proletarian revolution in each country and those of the proletarian revolution the world over are one, and that the basic and long-term interests of each nation and those of the working class and world people are one.

At present, the revolutionary interests of our people and those of world people are requiring that our Party resolutely protect and fully implement the revolutionary principles of the 1957 and 1960 Moscow statements. The
Third National Congress of our Party pointed out the international duty of our Party as follows: "To actively contribute to the common struggle for socialism, national independence and world peace."

The content of our Party's foreign policy, as pointed out by the Congress, can be summarized as follows:

- To endeavor to strengthen the forces of the socialist camp; strengthen the solidarity and unanimity and consolidate the unshakable friendship between our people and people in fraternal countries; develop the relationship of cooperation and mutual help between our country and fraternal countries in accordance with the principles of proletarian internationalism.

- To continue to struggle in order to contribute to consolidating world peace, opposing the aggressive and war-seeking policy of the imperialists—headed by the U.S. imperialists—and achieving peaceful coexistence between countries having different political and social systems.

- To endeavor to support the struggle movement of Asian, African, and Latin American people to oppose imperialism and achieve national independence; strengthen friendly relations and develop economic and cultural cooperation with nationalist countries on the basis of the peaceful coexistence five principles and the Bandung Conference spirit; establish friendly relations with other countries on the basis of equality and mutual respect.

- To resolutely struggle for complete implementation of the Geneva Accords on Indo-China.

- To expand the friendly relations between our people and world peoples, along with the building and strengthening of relations between our government and the governments of other countries.

To carry out the above-mentioned foreign policy, our Party now has the following concrete policy and duties to fulfill:

A—To restore and strengthen solidarity and unanimity inside the socialist camp and the international communist movement.
The solidarity of the socialist camp and of the international communist movement is a very important factor insuring the success of the revolutionary work of the working class and people the world over.

Now in the world there are over 90 communist and workers parties embracing over 40 million party members. The international communist movement has become a political force exerting the greatest influence in our era. The socialist camp "is becoming the decisive factor in the development of human society." To achieve victory in the struggle for peace, national independence, democracy, and socialism, now more than ever it is necessary to strengthen the solidarity and unanimity inside the socialist camp and the international communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

Now the imperialists--headed by the U.S. imperialists--are mustering the reactionary forces and are using the modern revisionists to sow discord in the socialist camp, oppose the international communist movement, undermine the revolutionary movement of world people, and sabotage peace. Thus, strengthening solidarity in the socialist camp and the international communist movement is of very great significance. This will increase manifoldly the forces of the world revolution and insure ever greater victories for the world revolution and the protection of peace.

In the past few years, due to the appearance of revisionism, in the international communist movement there appeared a disagreement between the communist and workers parties over a series of problems concerning Marxist-Leninist principles, concerning the strategy and tactics of revolutionary struggle. Revisionism is developing and confronting the international communist movement with the danger of deep disunity. This disagreement between a number of parties has led to bad relations between a number of fraternal socialist countries.

This state of lack of solidarity has weakened the international communist movement, limited the decisive influence of the socialist system, and exerted a bad influence upon the revolutionary struggle of world people. The imperialists and their henchmen have endeavored and are endeavoring to take advantage of this situation to deepen the disagreement
between a number of fraternal parties and countries — especially between the Soviet Union and China. At the same time, they have shown their brazenness and insolence and adopted an attitude of obvious intimidation and provocation (such as their provocations in Berlin, their plot of creating crises in the Caribbean areas, their pursuance of the plot of invading Cuba, their intensification of armed aggression against South Viet-Nam, and so forth).

Therefore, to consolidate and strengthen international solidarity on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, proletarian internationalism, and the 1957 and 1960 Moscow statements in order to muster all forces and concentrate the spearhead of attacks upon the common enemy of world revolution is a present urgent task for all communist and workers parties and all socialist countries.

The conference of delegates of communist and workers parties, held in Moscow in 1960, remarked: "...greater solidarity among communist parties on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism is a very important condition for mustering all the forces of the working class, all the democratic and progressive forces for insuring new victories for the international communist and workers movement in its great struggle for the brilliant future of the entire mankind and for the success of peace and socialism."

To consolidate and strengthen international solidarity in order to defeat the imperialists --led by the U.S. imperialists-- and their reactionary henchmen, it is necessary to struggle against revisionism which is the origin of the disagreement in the socialist camp and the international communist movement.

Our Party pledges to resolutely struggle, along with the fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties, to protect the purity and clarity of Marxism-Leninism, defend and develop the revolutionary principles of the 1957 and 1960 Moscow statements. It is necessary to draw a clear-cut frontier between Marxism-Leninism and revisionism, promote solidarity between Communists' and workers' parties based on Marxism-Leninism and international proletarianism, at the same time we must resolutely oppose the Tito revisionist clique, lackeys of imperialism, who are betraying the international communist movement.
In the ideological struggle to protect the purity of Marxism-Leninism and oppose revisionism and other opportunistic tendencies, we do not compromise in the field of principles; but we base ourselves on solidarity to struggle for strengthening solidarity. We must adopt reasonable attitudes and base ourselves on the concrete situation and concrete objectives to adopt suitable struggle methods and forms.

We must endeavor to struggle to contribute to restoring and strengthening solidarity among fraternal parties. Pending the elimination of this disagreement, our Party advocates the necessity of maintaining unity, protesting against and preventing disunity.

Our Party must establish more contacts with fraternal parties in order to understand the stand and viewpoints of our Party, and at the same time, exchange views about the problems which both sides are interested in.

Our Party is of the opinion that a conference of delegates of communist and workers parties the world over must be convened to settle all disagreements. But this conference must be carefully prepared, must not be convened in a hurry. Our Party hopes that the CPSU and CCP—which have the greatest part of responsibility in the international communist movement—will resume the conference of the summer of 1963 in order to settle their disagreements and prepare the necessary conditions for the coming conference of delegates of communist and workers parties to achieve good results. We welcome the convening by fraternal parties the world over of bilateral or multilateral meetings to understand one another's views and take the first step in settling their disagreements, thus contributing to the preparations for the above-mentioned international conference.

The 1960 Moscow statement said: "Communist and workers parties, when need be, must convene conferences to discuss urgent problems, exchange experiences, understand each other's stand and viewpoints, use the exchange of views to arrive at unanimous conclusions and coordinate their actions in the struggle for achieving common goals.
"When in a certain party problems arise which are related to the activities of another fraternal party, the leading organ of that party must discuss them with the leading organ of the interested party and, if need be, hold meetings to exchange views."

These are very correct principles which every party has the duty to respect strictly. However, in the light of the realities occurring during the past few years, our party has proposed to supplement them with the following points concerning the parties and the relations between communist and workers parties:

- Communist and workers parties do not intervene in each other's internal affairs. Each party has the duty of respecting the independence of the other fraternal parties.

- To settle the difference of opinions, the interested parties must give evidence of sincerity and reasonableness. They must base this attitude on the aspiration for solidarity, on the desire of conducting criticisms to strengthen solidarity. They must base their discussions on the spirit of comrade-ship. They must patiently and perseveringly wait for each other.

- All communist and workers parties have the duty of publicly unmasking the Tito revisionist clique, the commando team of the imperialists, the saboteurs of the international communist movement which the 1960 Moscow conference of delegates of communist and workers parties severely condemned.

We advocate the necessity of strengthening the solidarity between our country and the fraternal socialist countries on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and on the basis of the common duties of the socialist camp. Concerning the relationship among socialist countries, we advocate the necessity of correctly associating genuine patriotism and proletarian internationalism and opposing all manifestations of bourgeois nationalism and chauvinism.

At present the philosopher's stone of the loyalty to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism is the loyalty to the entire socialist camp. That is why our Party resolutely opposes all policies and actions aimed at weakening
or doing harm to the solidarity between the 13 fraternal socialist countries. Our Party does not recognize Yugoslavia as a socialist country because at present, under the leadership of the Tito revisionist clique, the Yugoslav society actually is in the process of changing its nature, and capitalism is being restored in Yugoslavia.

It is necessary to struggle hard to achieve and intensify mutual help and cooperation among socialist countries in the economic, political, cultural, scientific, technical, and other fields in accordance with the principles of complete equality, voluntariness, mutual profit, respect of each other's independence and sovereignty, and mutual help on the basis of comradeship and proletarian internationalism.

Our Party maintains that socialist countries have the duty of supporting one another's revolutionary work and national construction, encouraging one another, protecting and defending one another against the imperialists and the reactionaries in all countries.

Relations among socialist countries are an entirely new sort of relations between governments in the history of human society. The socialist countries have a common goal which is to achieve socialism and communism, have a common system which is the socialist system. But due to the erroneous line and policies and the divisive and factionalist activities of the revisionists, in the past few years relations between a number of socialist countries have deteriorated. Now, serious disagreements have arisen among a number of fraternal countries. We hope that these fraternal countries will discuss between themselves to settle these disagreements, restore and strengthen solidarity and unanimity inside the socialist camp. If the disagreements have developed to the point of doing harm to the relations between governments, the interested countries must endeavor to restore the normal relations between governments. They should not let these disagreements last too long and lead to national prejudices. Concerning the relations between socialist countries, we base ourselves on the experiences of the recent years to make the following proposal:

- In the socialist camp, it is absolutely necessary not to confuse the ideological struggle between parties with the
relations between governments. One must not take advantage of these ideological disagreements to exert political, economic and other pressures and force other countries to adopt one's own views.

- In the case where the enemy, which is the imperialists and other reactionaries, provokes or attacks a fraternal country, the socialist countries --whose disagreements have not been settled-- must put the common interests of the socialist camp above all, tighten their ranks, defend each other, support and help each other in the struggle against the common enemy.

Only through firmly adopting the standpoint of Marxism-Leninism and basing oneself on the common interests of world revolution as well as of the task of constructing socialism and communism in the socialist system to hold meetings and discussions on the basis of comradeship and discover similar viewpoints is it possible to settle disagreements and strengthen solidarity and unanimity inside the socialist camp and the international communist movement.

B- To positively support the national liberation movement of Asian, African, and Latin American people.

We have the duty of actively supporting and helping in all fields the national liberation movement of the Asian, African, and Latin American people struggling against imperialism and old and new colonialism. The exchange of experiences between our Party and the communist and workers parties in colonies, dependent countries, and nationalist countries is very necessary.

We advocate the necessity of strengthening the friendly relations between our country and the nationalist countries in the common struggle against imperialism and colonialism for achieving national independence and world peace, of developing economic and cultural relations with these countries on the basis of the five principles of peaceful coexistence, and of supporting and helping the people of these countries in the struggle for completely fulfilling the national democratic revolutionary tasks.

We must struggle hard to contribute to enlarging the united front of the Asian, African, and Latin American peoples
in the struggle against imperialism and old and new colonialism, for achieving and consolidating national independence, and achieving democracy and progress; actively participate in organizations and activities of people's organizations in Asia, Africa, and Latin America in order to direct these organizations and activities toward strengthening solidarity among the Asian, African, and Latin American people in the struggle against imperialism and old and new colonialism; and contribute to the struggle for crushing the influences of revisionism in the revolutionary movement in these areas. We must resolutely struggle to contribute to maintaining the independence and combativity of these organizations of the Asian, African, and Latin American people so that these organizations can continue to struggle resolutely against imperialism, headed by U.S. imperialism. At the same time, we must contribute to the struggle for strengthening solidarity between the socialist camp and the revolutionary movement in Asia, Africa, and Latin America and the workers movement in capitalist countries with the aim of achieving the common goals which are to oppose imperialism and new and old colonialism and to achieve peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

C.--To positively support the movement of the workers and people in capitalist countries struggling for democracy and socialism.

The struggle movement of the working class and laboring people in capitalist countries strikes directly at the imperialists and monopolist capitalists right in their lairs. People in socialist countries and the oppressed people must unite closely with the working class and laboring people in capitalist countries. It is necessary to achieve solidarity and mutual support between the people in socialist countries and the oppressed people on the one hand and the working class and laboring people in capitalist countries on the other hand in order to struggle against the common enemy -- imperialism.

Basing itself on the above remark, our Party advocates the necessity of supporting the struggle of the working class and laboring people in capitalist countries against the imperialists and monopolist capitalists for achieving peace, democracy, and socialism.
It is necessary to develop the relationship between our people's organizations—the like as trade unions, youth federation, women's union—the Viet-Nam Committee for the Defense of World Peace, and our literary and scientific organizations and their counterparts in capitalist countries. An appropriate policy and formula for these relations is to be decided by the nature of these organizations.

It is necessary to actively support the negroes' struggle movement against the racial discrimination policy and to demand for racial equality, democratic freedoms, and a better life.

D—To contribute to protecting peace in Southeast Asia and the world.

First of all, we must clearly realize that our people's efforts in building socialism in the North and struggling against the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys in the South are positive and concrete contributions to protecting peace in Southeast Asia and the world. Meanwhile, our people continue to directly participate in the movement for protecting world peace; opposing the war-seeking and aggressive policy of the imperialists; opposing their armament race policy; demanding that general disarmament be achieved step by step, that testing, production, stocking, and use of nuclear weapons be banned, that aggressive military blocs be disbanded, that military bases on foreign land be dismantled, and that international disputes be settled through negotiations.

While participating in the movement for protecting world peace, we must adopt a clear-cut, definite attitude: we must support what is just and oppose what is wrong. We must stick fast to our stand and principles. But we must be flexible in applying tactics. The goals of our struggle are: to actively contribute to steering the peace movement along the right path; to focus the spearheads of attacks on the imperialists, headed by the U.S. imperialists; to protest against the viewpoints and policies which oppose the revolutionary movements of people in various countries to the struggle for protecting world peace.

We must contribute to the struggle to enlarge the front of the forces which oppose the aggressive and warlike imperialists to protect world peace, using the socialist camp, the
communist movement in capitalist countries, and the national liberation movement as the core (the task of widely winning over the forces of peace must be carried out along with strengthening these core forces.) We must not let the desire of enlarging the peace movement and the international movement of the people's organizations the world over cause these movements to lose all concrete objectives and goals.

Our Party is of the opinion that while participating in a large front to struggle against the war-seeking imperialists and protect world peace, all people's organizations the world over continue to keep their independence and own principles and focus their activities primarily on the implementation of these principles because these activities by themselves are a positive contribution to the struggle for protecting world peace. However, in addition to struggling for the implementation of their own principles, people's organizations the world over have the duty of struggling for the implementation of the general principles of the world peace front and the resolutions of the peace movement in each area.

To satisfactorily fulfill the above-mentioned tasks, we must streamline and unify the leadership over the organs in charge of carrying out the foreign policy of the Party, government, and people's organizations in the Viet-Nam Fatherland Front; modify the work methods of these organs, thus enabling these organs to unify their activities and closely combine their tasks. We must intensify the various aspects of the foreign relations task, especially the research and propaganda aspect.

Let all cadre and Party members tighten their ranks around the Party Central Committee, headed by President Ho, strengthen solidarity and unanimity inside the Party; heighten their sense of organization and discipline and their revolutionary consciousness; improve their fighting will and their determination to oppose the imperialists, headed by the U.S. imperialists, and their henchmen; emulate among themselves to increase production, practice economy, study and carry out their tasks well, and satisfactorily implement the resolutions of the Party Central Committee.

The world situation is developing in a way increasingly favorable to the populace of various countries, but unfavorable
to imperialism and its henchmen. Holding high the banner of creative Marxism-Leninism, our Party is struggling firmly, along with the Marxist-Leninist Parties, to protect the revolutionary principles of the 1957 and 1960 Moscow statements, oppose modern revisionism which is the main danger to the international communist movement, contribute to strengthening the solidarity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism in order to win greater victories in the world's peoples' great struggle for peace, national independence, democracy, and socialism.
BROADCAST RECORD OF VWP DELEGATION TO USSR, JANUARY 31 - FEBRUARY 10, 1964

[Moscow TASS International Service in English, 1948 GMT, 31 January 1964]

Moscow -- A delegation from the Viet-Nam Workers Party, headed by Le Duan, First Secretary of the Party's Central Committee, arrived here earlier today at the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee. The delegation was met at the airport by members of the Presidium of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Suslov and Andrey Kirilenko; secretaries of the CPSU Central Committee Jurij Andropov, Leonid Ilichev, Boris Ponomarev, and other officials. Do Phat Kuang, DRV Charge d'Affaires, and embassy officials, were also at the airport.

[Moscow TASS International Service in English, 1720 GMT, 10 February 1964]

Moscow -- "Friendship! Friendship!" -- these were the words with which the applauding workers of the First Moscow Watch Factory greeted the members of the delegation of the Vietnamese Workers Party. Members of the Politburo of the Central Committee and Secretary of the Central Committee of the Vietnamese Workers Party Le Duc Tho, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Vietnamese Workers Party To Huu, and DRV Ambassador to the Soviet Union Nguyen Van Kinh took part in a mass meeting of Soviet-Vietnamese friendship held at one of the factories today.

Le Duc Tho expressed the conviction that friendship and unity of the peoples of the DRV and the USSR would continue to develop. "We shall exert all efforts towards this end, and nothing in the world will be able to destroy our friendship and unity," he said.

Le Duc Tho stressed that negotiations between the delegation of the Vietnamese Workers Party and leaders of the CPSU passed in an atmosphere of comradeship, friendship, and sincerity, and in the spirit of unity.
Moscow -- The delegation of the Vietnamese Workers Party led by Le Duan, First Secretary of the Party Central Committee, which visited the USSR at the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee, left for home earlier today. It was seen off at Vnukovo airport by Mikhail Suslov and Andrey Kirilenko, members of the Presidium of the CPSU Central Committee; Jurij Andropov and Leonid Il'ichev, secretaries of the CPSU Central Committee; and other responsible workers of the CPSU Central Committee.

Members of the delegation were also seen off by Suren Tovmasyan, Soviet Ambassador to the DRV; Nguyen Van Kinh, DRV Ambassador to the USSR; and diplomatic officials of the DRV Embassy.
A Special Political Conference opened here this morning. This is the first conference of its kind convened and presided over by the President of the DRV in accordance with Article 67 of the DRV Constitution to examine major problems of the country. In his report to the conference, President Ho Chi Minh made a review of major events occurring in North and South Viet-Nam and in the world during the past 10 years since the signing of the Geneva Agreements on Indo-China. He also put forth the immediate tasks of the Vietnamese people for discussion by more than 300 participants to the conference coming from all strata of the people and all parts of North Viet-Nam.

The conference is attended by members of the Political Bureau and Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Viet-Nam Workers Party, the National Assembly Standing Committee, the Council of Ministers, the Presidium of the Viet-Nam Fatherland Front, delegates of the Viet-Nam Socialist Party, the Viet-Nam Democratic Party, mass organizations, religious communities (Buddhism, Catholicism, Cao Dai, Protestantism, and Hoa Hao), delegates of industrialists and businessmen, democratic personalities, scientific, technical, educational, press, cultural, and art workers, delegates of 21 nationalities, of South Vietnamese people regrouped in the North under the 1954 Geneva Agreements, of Vietnamese repatriates, 11 standard bearers in the nationwide emulation movement, and 21 labor and army heroes and heroines, including four heroines, one of them an ethnic minority national. Representatives of the diplomatic corps and of the International Commission in Hanoi attended the opening session of the conference. Also present were many Vietnamese and foreign newsmen.
The participants stood up in prolonged applause when President Ho Chi Minh, Vice President Ton Duc Thang, First Secretary of the Viet-Nam Workers Party Central Committee Le Duan, Chairman of the National Assembly Standing Committee Truong Chinh, Premier Pham Van Dong, and the other members of the Presidium of the Conference entered the meeting hall.

In his greeting speech, Chairman Truong Chinh warmly welcomed the delegates coming from all parts of North Viet-Nam and the foreign guests who attended the opening session. He stressed that this conference is a shining illustration of the solidarity of all the Vietnamese people who have valiantly struggled and recorded great successes, and are now enthusiastically marching forward, resolved to overcome all difficulties and to record further and greater successes in their building of socialism in North Viet-Nam and in the struggle for the peaceful reunification of the fatherland. He expressed the firm conviction that with their ardent patriotism and exuberant experiences, the delegates will make a valuable contribution to the success of the conference. The delegates then spent the whole morning exchanging views on the various problems which had been dealt with in the President's report. The conference will be in session for two days.
President Hồ Chí Minh this morning delivered a report to the Special Political Conference which he convened by virtue of Article 67 of the DRV Constitution. The President made a review of major events occurring in North and South Viet-Nam and in the world during the 10 years since peace was restored in Viet-Nam. He also put forth the immediate tasks of the Vietnamese people for discussion by more than 300 participants to the conference. Here is a free translation of the President's report:

Honorable Delegates and Dear Comrades:

Exactly 10 years have elapsed since peace was restored. During this period great changes have occurred in the country and in the world. The present Special Political Conference is a good opportunity for us to review past events and discuss future questions. The past 10 years have been 10 years of struggle and construction. Our people have overcome many difficulties and won many successes.

Ten years ago the Điện Biên Phủ victory put a glorious end to the protracted, arduous, and heroic resistance war of our entire people against the French colonialists' aggression and the U.S. imperialists' intervention. This was a great victory for our people and also a common victory of all oppressed nations in the world. The Điện Biên Phủ victory made the truth of Marxism-Leninism in the present time glitter with even greater radiance. The imperialists' war of aggression is doomed to defeat; the People's Liberation Revolution certainly will win success. The Điện Biên Phủ victory led to the success of the 1954 Geneva Conference on Indo-China. The Geneva Agreements solemnly recognized the independence, unity, and territorial integrity of the Vietnamese people, as well as of the fraternal Laotian and Cambodian peoples. The Western countries -- the United States, the United Kingdom, and France -- participating in the conference pledged themselves to respect these inviolable national rights.
However, immediately after the Geneva Conference, with U.S. wirepulling, the imperialist countries set up the so-called "SEATO Defensive Bloc," which is in reality the SEATO aggressive bloc. Since that time the U.S. imperialists have indulged in ever more blatant intervention in the southern part of our country and in Laos, where they have unleashed fratricidal wars. They have resorted to every perfidious maneuver to jeopardize Cambodia's peace and neutrality. They have used Thailand as a springboard for aggression against the above countries. Recently the U.S. and British imperialists have engineered the establishment of the so-called "Malaysia" in an attempt to menace the Republic of Indonesia. They wrongly believe it possible to crush the new emerging nations and turn a number of Southeast Asian countries into military bases for eventual attack against the socialist countries. This perfidious scheme is, however, being resolutely combated by the Vietnamese, Laotian, Cambodian, and Indonesian people and is doomed to complete failure.

After the Geneva Conference the people throughout our country ought to have been in a position to live in peace and tranquility and strive for national construction. Nevertheless, the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys have sabotaged the agreements, prolonged the partition of our country, and started a bitter war in South Viet-Nam. They have burnt down or destroyed many villages, massacred the population, made arrests, committed rapes, and disembowelled and beheaded many people without even sparing children and aged persons.

All civilized mankind is seething with indignation at their monstrous crimes. That is the reason why our 14 million compatriots in the South have resolutely risen up to resist to the end. Deeply sensitive to its sufferings the countrymen in the North never cease, even for a minute, thinking of the valiant South and of the struggle for national reunification.

Honorable Delegates and Dear Comrades:

Over the past 10 years, under the people's power, our 17 million compatriots in the North, singlemindedly united, have been striving to build the country, to build a
new life, and to strengthen our might in all fields. The
great achievements of the North are making it increasingly
clear that the socialist system is a very good one, and they
are strongly inspiring our compatriots in the South in their
patriotic struggle. The continuous changes and growth of
the North are a source of pride and enthusiasm for our
entire nation from North to South. This is also a common
cause of elation for our brothers and friends all over the
world.

Only by recalling the state of the North when peace
was restored can we realize the progress made by our people.
Our economy had been ruined by the colonialists' war of
aggression: one-seventh of the land was laid waste, one-
third lacked water for cultivation, all water conservancy
projects had been destroyed, one-fourth of the total number
of draft buffaloes and oxen had been killed by the enemy.
Hundreds of thousands of houses, and hundreds of townships
big and small had been razed to the ground. The new fac-
tories which had once existed had been destroyed by the enemy,
their machines and equipment removed, and production was
at a standstill. Most of the roads, bridges, and vehicles
had been destroyed. In towns and cities there were hundreds
of thousands of unemployed. Famine was threatening every-
where. In a word, the spectacle was one of devastation and
ruin. However, our people, who had valiantly fought in the
resistance war against the enemy, also have valiantly striven
in the arduous struggle to overcome all difficulties and rebuild
their country.

Within three years we managed to heal the war wounds
and to restore almost all agricultural and industrial establish-
ments. Agricultural production rapidly surpasses by far the
highest prewar figure; industrial output almost reached the
level under the French colonial rule. During that period we
completed agrarian reform, distributed lands, buffaloes, and
oxen to over 10 million working peasants. Thus our peasants
really became masters of the countryside, masters of their
life. During the following three years we further recorded
great successes in socialist transformation. Eleven million
working peasants voluntarily joined the cooperatives and
steadily advanced along the path of collective farming. Prac-
tically all of the handicraftsmen were reorganized.
The entire capitalist industry and trade was peacefully transformed. The socialist state-run economy unceasingly grew in strength and held absolute superiority in all branches of the national economy. Exploitation of man by man was abolished in the main. Socialist relations of production were built, in which all working people are brothers and are united into a great force for national construction.

For the past three years, in the light of our Party's Third National Congress, our people have been enthusiastically emulating to fulfill the First Five-Year Plan, to make a step in socialist industrialization, and to build up the initial material and technical foundations of socialism. At the present time in agriculture we have completed many water conservation projects of various sizes, irrigating over half a million hectares of land. We have reclaimed over 300,000 hectares; stepped up the production of fertilizers, and improved farming implements of various kinds. The state has afforded increased aid to the peasants and striven to develop the cooperatives' capital with a view to building up the material and technical foundation of agriculture and applying intensive farming to raise land yields. Although droughts, typhoons, and floods have frequently occurred during the past three years, an all-round and steady development has been secured in agricultural production.

Compared with 1939, food production has increased more than two-fold, animal husbandry has nearly doubled and industrial plants have increased sevenfold in value. Our agriculture is powerfully developing into a firm basis for socialist industrialization. In industry, we have built up many new enterprises. We now have 1,000 factories --including 217 big factories-- as against 41 --including only 20 big ones-- in 1954. Important establishments in heavy industry: machine building, electric power, metallurgy, chemical industry, mining, and so on, have been gradually built up. Light industry and handicrafts now are in a position to turn out the major part of the goods for home consumption. Our national economy has become in the main a self-supporting economy which is steadily advancing.

In the cultural and social field, 95 percent of our people have learned to read and write, whereas under the French colonial rule the same percentage was illiterate. In comparison
with the first days after peace was restored, the number of pupils attending general schools has increased 3.5 times and that of students attending the university and medium vocational schools 25 times. Several minorities now have their own scripts, and many university graduates were born of minorities. In the field of public health, many achievements have been recorded: many epidemics and social diseases have been controlled, and the people's health has been improved. Children are being attended to ever more adequately. The cultural life of the masses is making increasing progress. Literature and arts with a socialist content and a national character is being powerfully developed.

Over the past 10 years the northern part of our country has made big strides, as was never seen before in the history of our nation. The country, society and man have changed. Several great industrial centers have sprung up. Towns and cities which were formerly entertainment centers have become production centers. Many rural areas which formerly grew only one crop per year now are growing two or three crops. Agriculture has developed in all fields. Middle and high regions, once out-of-the-way places, are welcoming hundreds of thousands of people from the plain, who come to join efforts with mountain people in exploiting the rich resources of the country.

Present-day North Viet-Nam society is a society of the working people who have become collective masters, and who, heightening the spirit of self-reliance and of building socialism through labor and thrift, are building a new life for themselves and for all generations to come. It is a great family, including all sections of the people and all fraternal nationalities, cordially united, helping one another, sharing weal and woe, and striving for the common interest of the atherland. Ours is a new system. Our peoples are fostering a new ethic, the socialist ethic of the working people, whose motto is: everyone for all, and all for everyone. While building the new, we develop the good virtues of our forefathers and learn from the good examples of the fraternal peoples.

We are proud to have many old men and women of the wrong side of 70 or 80, who are still eager to learn and to
work, to set up "white-haired detachments," to plant trees for afforestation, to push forward the movement of struggle against illiteracy, for popularized hygiena and the prevention of diseases. Our women have recorded great achievements in agricultural and industrial production. Many of them are excellent heroines, model workers, heads of production teams in factories, presidents of cooperatives, chiefs of militia groups, doctors, teachers, and so on.

Our youth has been actively striving to fulfill its role as a lever in all economic, cultural, and defense activities, carrying out the slogan: "Wherever necessary, the youth are present. Wherever there are difficulties, there are youth." Our children are very good, hard studying and hard working. Many of them have valiantly saved friends in danger. Many others honestly give back the things they have found and love and help one another, and emulated to "achieve 1,000 good deeds." In our villages people formerly went hungry and wore rags although they toiled hard all the year-round. At present a jubilant atmosphere of collective farming prevails there in all the four seasons. Everywhere there are schools, kindergartens, maternity hospitals, clubs, yards and storehouses of the cooperatives, and new dwelling houses of cooperative members. Material well-being is increasing, and intellectual life is making continuous progress.

At present the movement for better management of the cooperatives and for improved techniques in involving millions of peasants in lively discussions on the direction and plans of production and on improved techniques and is bringing about a new change in agriculture and a new exultant spirit in our countryside. In various enterprises, construction sites, and other economic establishments, our workers and cadres, conscious of being collective masters, are eagerly emulating to work, to develop initiatives, striving to achieve the technological revolution step by step, with a view to increasing labor productivity, stepping up production, raising quality, and reducing production costs.

Preparations are in full swing everywhere for the "three for and three against movement": the sense of responsibility is being enhanced, management and techniques improved, and corruption, waste, and bureaucracy eliminated. These movements of revolutionary significance, aimed at turning out in
great quantities and at a quick tempo good and cheap products, securing a good fulfillment of the state plan, will certainly bring about a powerful change in the national economy and make an important contribution to the gradual carrying out of socialist industrialization and to the raising of our people's standards of living. Brain workers are striving to conduct research, to create and invent, and to step up the work in the field of science and technology, education, literature and arts. They have made great contributions to the development of the economy and culture, to the building of the Fatherland into a prosperous country, and to the training of cadres for the future.

The Army and the People's Armed Forces are enthusiastically building themselves into a regular and modern army, enhancing their revolutionary spirit, heightening their socialist consciousness and their tactical and technical standards, constantly keeping themselves ready to fight in defense of the Fatherland, for the maintenance of public order and security and for resolutely smashing all acts of sabotage by the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys.

Vietnamese overseas, though living far from home, constantly turn their thoughts toward their Fatherland. Back home our compatriots have enthusiastically contributed their zeal and efforts to national construction. In all spheres of activity in the North, the patriotic emulation movement is mobilizing our people to develop their revolutionary ardor and creative labor, to build thousands of socialist labor groups and teams, to record outstanding achievements in all branches, to strive for the successful fulfillment of the 1964 State Plan and the First Five-Year Plan.

Honorable Delegates and Dear Comrades:

The past 10 years have been 10 years of arduous struggle and glorious victory. This good result is due to the correct leadership of the Party and Government and to the valiant efforts of our compatriots. It is also due to the warm assistance extended by the fraternal countries, especially the Soviet Union and China. On this occasion, I wish on behalf of our people, Party, and Government to extend sincere thanks to the fraternal socialist countries.
We are elated by the great achievements we have recorded. But we also must realize the great difficulties to be encountered in the development of the revolution and the shortcomings and weaknesses to be overcome. For instance, the standard of economic management is still low, the sense of responsibility is not yet very high, the products are not yet of a very good quality, bureaucratism, waste, and corruption are still rife, and so on. However, with the efforts of the entire Party and people, by developing a strong spirit of criticism and self-criticism, singlemindedly joining efforts and eagerly advancing forward, we shall certainly overcome all difficulties and win still greater successes. All the compatriots in the North should always bear in mind that while we are living and building in peace, our compatriots in the South are making sacrifices in a valiant fight against the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys. Each of us should therefore work eagerly in response to the kith-and-kin compatriots in the South.

Honorable Delegates and Dear Comrades:

We are immensely proud of our heroic South Viet-Nam. The past 10 years have been for that part of the country 10 years of gallant struggle and glorious victory. For 20 years our compatriots there have been ceaselessly fighting to defend the Fatherland. In their struggle against the French colonialists, then against the U.S. imperialists, the patriotic forces in South Viet-Nam have overcome all difficulties and hardships, have grown ever stronger as they fight on, and have consequently won ever greater victories. South Viet-Nam is indeed worthy of being called the Fatherland's Brass Wall.

At present, people all over the world, including U.S. public opinion, have realized that the U.S. imperialists' war of aggression in South Viet-Nam is doomed to defeat. Even in U.S. ruling circles, some are beginning to see that the United States and its lackeys have been driven into a blind alley. Billions of U.S. dollars, and thousands of tons of U.S. weapons have been poured into South Viet-Nam. Over 20,000 U.S. military advisers have been sent in to command over half a million of South Viet-Nam troops in a most bitter war against our compatriots. But the result is that the longer the fight, the greater their defeats, and the deeper they sink into an impasse. Why are the U.S. imperialists sustaining
defeats? They believe that these are due to their lackeys being inefficient, and that a change of puppets will bring about a turn for the better. However, the more they change puppets, the more their situation deteriorates. They put the blame on the South Vietnamese troops' unwillingness to fight. In this connection they are right. South Vietnamese army men are also of Vietnamese stock. There is no reason for them to obey U.S. orders and kill their own compatriots. They are becoming more and more politically conscious and seeking an opportunity to turn their arms against the invaders and the traitors.

The U.S. aggressors and their henchmen also slanderously accuse North Viet-Nam of having supplied arms to the patriotic forces in South Viet-Nam. But everybody knows that the weapons of the South Vietnamese patriots are precisely U.S.-made weapons and that the South Viet-Nam Army itself is their supplier. The U.S. press has admitted that over the past year the guerrillas captured more than 8,000 guns for their equipment. At present, the U.S. warmongers and their new running dogs are trumpeting about marching to the North. However, they must understand that should they rashly venture to touch on the North, they would certainly sustain a shameful defeat. And this is because our whole people will resolutely fight back, because the socialist countries and progressive peoples the world over will unreservedly support us, and because the people of the United States and its allies, too, will oppose them.

The present situation in South Viet-Nam clearly shows that the U.S. imperialists cannot avoid defeat in their special war. And if they fail in the special war which they are testing in South Viet-Nam, they will also fail everywhere else. That is the international significance of the patriotic struggle of our compatriots in the South with regard to the national liberation struggle in the world.

In the face of this situation, public opinion in the world as well as in the United States is interested in finding a solution to the South Viet-Nam war. As far as we are concerned, up to now we have always taken the following stand: The only correct solution to the South Viet-Nam question is the correct implementation of the basic provisions of the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Indo-China.
The participants in the Geneva Conference, including the United States, must live up to their commitments: They must respect the sovereignty, independence, unity, and territorial integrity of Viet-Nam and refrain from any interference in its internal affairs. As the DRV Government has done, the South Viet-Nam administration must correctly implement the most essential provisions about not entering into any military alliance with foreign countries, not allowing any foreign country to establish military bases, and not admitting foreign military personnel into its territory.

We unreservedly support the most correct demands made by the South Viet-Nam National Liberation Front, demanding that an end be put to the U.S. imperialists' intervention in South Viet-Nam, that U.S. troops and arms be withdrawn, and that the people of South Viet-Nam be left to solve by themselves their internal affairs, in accordance with the spirit of the program of the front. With regard to the peaceful reunification of Viet-Nam, our government has repeatedly made clear its views and attitude, in accordance with the spirit of the program of the Viet-Nam Fatherland Front and that of the South Viet-Nam National Liberation Front. We unreservedly support Point No. 9 in the program of the Front: The urgent demand of our people throughout the country is to reunify the Fatherland by peaceful means. The South Viet-Nam National Liberation Front undertakes the gradual reunification of the country by peaceful means, on the principle of negotiations and discussions between the two zones on all norms and measures beneficial to the Vietnamese people and fatherland.

Pending national reunification, the governments of the two zones will negotiate and undertake not to spread propaganda to divide the people or in favor of war, not to use military forces against each other, but to carry out economic and cultural exchanges between the two zones, to insure for the people of both zones freedom of movement and trade and the right of mutual visits and correspondence. The Vietnamese people sincerely thank the people of the socialist countries and of the world for having extended resolute support to the just struggle of their compatriots in the South for self-liberation, and of our entire nation for peaceful reunification of the country.

To the U.S. people I wish to say: The unjust war now being waged by the U.S. Government in the southern part of our country has cost the U.S. people a great deal of money
and human lives. It has also defamed the United States at present. It is time for the U.S. people to fight still more resolutely to end this dirty war, to save the honor of the United States, and to build the friendship between our two countries.

Honorable Delegates and Dear Comrades:

Over the past 10 years great revolutionary changes have occurred in the world in favor of the struggle for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism. A century ago Marx called on the proletariat of the whole world to unite and make revolution. Half a century later Lenin again called on the proletariat and the oppressed nations to unite and to overthrow imperialism. Under the leadership of Lenin and the great Russian Communist Party, the October Revolution brilliantly triumphed, brought about the establishment of the mighty Soviet Union, and inaugurated a new era in the history of mankind, the era of the triumph of socialism. In World War II, the Soviet Union smashed the fascist hordes, saved mankind from their barbarous yoke, and provided opportunities for the victory of revolution in many countries.

The victory of the Chinese revolution and the founding of the People's Republic of China definitely tipped the world balance of forces in favor of the revolution and strongly inspired the struggle of the oppressed nations and the working people throughout the world. The socialist camp was formed, grew in strength, and is becoming a decisive factor in the development of human society. It is a strong prop for the national liberation struggle in Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

The more imperialism sustains repeated and heavy setbacks and heads for its decline and decay, the more it become ferocious and reckless. At present the people of the world have clearly realized the true wicked nature of the U.S. imperialists: aggressive and warlike, they are frenziedly carrying out most perfidious schemes against the socialist countries, against the independence and sovereignty of all nations, and against peace and security in the world. Everywhere, in Asia, Africa, and Latin America the peoples have risen up in resolute struggles against the imperialists headed by the United States and have repeatedly scored glorious victories.
It is the foreign policy of our Party and state to strengthen solidarity with the fraternal socialist countries on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, to wage a resolute struggle against the policy of aggression and war by imperialism headed by U.S. imperialism, to achieve peaceful coexistence between countries with different political and social systems, to extend resolute support to the movement of struggle for national liberation and defense of national independence, and to support the movement of struggle of the world working class and people for peace, national independence, democracy, and socialism. Developments over the past years have testified to the complete correctness of this policy, which has scored great successes. The international position of our country has been unceasingly heightened. We now have ever broader and stronger sympathy and support from the fraternal countries and the people of the whole world for the cause of socialist construction in the North, the liberation struggle of our compatriots in the South, and the struggle of our entire people for peaceful reunification of the country.

As a Southeast Asian country, we wholeheartedly support the just struggle to the nations of this area against aggression, and enslavement by imperialism and colonialism, old and new.

With regard to the Kingdom of Laos, as its neighbor, we are always willing and prepared to develop friendly relations in all fields. We wholeheartedly support the just struggle of the Laotian people against U.S. imperialist aggression and the efforts made by the National Coalition Government of the Laotian people against U.S. imperialist aggression and the efforts made by the National Coalition Government of Laos with Prince Souvanna Phouma as Premier for the implementation of the 1962 Geneva Agreements on Laos and the safeguarding of the peace and neutrality of that country. We sincerely wish the National Coalition Government of Laos early realization of national concord and speedy stabilization of the situation, which would enable it to build a prosperous Laos.

With regard to the Kingdom of Cambodia, we constantly stand for the establishment of good-neighbor relations. We fully support the resolute stand of the Cambodian Government opposing the provocations and threats of aggression by the U.S. imperialists and their agents. We have time and again
declared our support for and readiness to participate in the international conference to guarantee the neutrality and territorial integrity of Cambodia, as proposed by Head of State Prince Norodom Sihanouk. We are firmly confident that, with the powerful support of the world's people, the Cambodian people will certainly maintain their national independence, sovereignty, neutrality, and territorial integrity and make worthy contributions to the defense of peace and security in this area.

We unreservedly support the Indonesian people, who, under the leadership of President Sukarno, are resolutely fighting against Malaysia, a creation of the imperialists who want to maintain their privileges and interests in Southeast Asia and to have a springboard for attack against the national liberation movement in this area. The imperialists' maneuvers are, however, doomed to failure, while the Indonesian people's just struggle will certainly end in victory.

In the common interest of the world revolutionary movement and the cause of the anti-imperialist struggle, we always endeavor to contribute to the safeguarding and strengthening of the solidarity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement. On the basis of the resolution of the Ninth Session of the Central Committee of the Viet-Nam Workers Party, we pledge ourselves to continue to join efforts with the fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties in a persevering struggle to safeguard the purity of Marxism - Leninism and the revolutionary principles of the Moscow declaration and statement.

We are fully confident that the differences in the international communist movement will be overcome. Marxism-Leninism will achieve victory, the socialist camp and the international communist movement will be still more united and powerful and will enhance their effect of strongly impelling the revolutionary cause of the working people the world over, thereby securing ever greater victories for peace, national independence, democracy, and socialism.

Honorable Delegates and Dear Comrades:

We have reviewed together the major events occurring in our country and in the world during the past 10 years.
Our people have grown in maturity, strength, and experience. We are still more steadily proceeding to complete the revolutionary cause of our nation -- to build socialism, to build a new life in North Viet-Nam, to support the patriotic struggle of our countrymen in South Viet-Nam, to bring about a peaceful, unified, independent, democratic, prosperous, and strong Viet-Nam, and to contribute to the defense of peace in Southeast Asia and the world. To achieve these great aims, we must achieve the following immediate tasks:

1-- The whole Party, the whole people, and the whole Army should enhance further their existing unity; let all of us fear neither difficulties nor hardships and bring into play our consciousness of being collective masters, our boldness of thinking and action, and eagerly aim high to discharge our duty and insure successful fulfillment of this year's State Plan and the First Five-Year Plan.

2-- We must bring to success the drive for better management, improved technique, and stepped-up agricultural production and the three-for and three-against movement in industry and in various branches of the national economy. We must step up the movement of the lowland population going and taking part in the economic and cultural development of the highlands. We must strive our best in the patriotic emulation drive, developing socialist labor groups and teams and advanced agricultural cooperatives.

3-- We must unremittingly strengthen the people's power. We must correctly apply democracy vis-a-vis the people and dictatorship vis-a-vis the enemy. We must strictly observe all the laws and regulations of the state. The forthcoming general elections to the National Assembly, Third Legislature, must be successfully held. We must consolidate our national defense, maintain law and order, constantly enhance our vigilance, and stand ready to smash all activities of provocation and sabotage by U.S. imperialists and their henchmen.

4-- We must wholeheartedly support the patriotic struggle of our countrymen in South Viet-Nam. Each of us must eagerly work to make actual contributions to the cause of socialist construction in North Viet-Nam and the struggle for peaceful reunification of the country.
5-- We must heighten proletarian internationalism, preserve and develop our friendship with the fraternal socialist countries, wholeheartedly support the national liberation movement, and unite with the working class and people of the whole world in the struggle against imperialism headed by U.S. imperialism, for peace, national independence, democracy, and socialism.

The revolutionary cause is a long, and arduous, but certainly victorious cause. All of us, whoever we may be, and whatever our occupation and function, must be valiant militants for this glorious cause.

The cadres of the Party, of the state, and of the mass organizations, the members of the Party and of the Labor Youth Union, must be exemplary in production and other work, serve the people heart and soul, and constantly foster their revolutionary ethics, their qualities of industriousness, thrift, honesty, and righteousness. Let us develop the traditions of our nation as a heroic people and stand ready to undergo sacrifices and wage struggle in the supreme interests of the Fatherland, of the people, and of the cause of revolution in the whole world. Now, great and glorious victories are awaiting us! Let the whole Party and the whole people enthusiastically march forward!

Honorable Delegates and Dear Comrades:

The above are some humble views and opinions. I request you to discuss them and give your comments.