the North. Under the clearsighted leadership of our Party and President Ho Chi Minh, enjoying world sympathy, support and help, our people have become a spearhead of world revolution, valiantly fighting at the frontline of the struggle of the world's people against the US imperialists and their stooges, resolutely defending the forward post of the socialist camp in Southeast Asia, and contributing to the safeguarding of peace in Asia and the world.

At the same time as we express our gratitude to the great Lenin, we feel grateful to President Ho Chi Minh, the genial leader of our working class and people, who founded, trained and educated our Party and taught it to creatively apply Marxism-Leninism in order to take the Vietnamese revolution from one victory to another. To celebrate the centenary of Lenin's birth in the most worthy way, the Vietnamese people must completely defeat the American aggressors and their stooges, and, at the same time, successfully carry on socialist building in the North and bring about a peaceful, unified, independent, democratic and prosperous Viet Nam.

Our people's patriotic war of resistance against US aggression has achieved great victories in all fields, compelling the American imperialists to unconditionally end their war of destruction against the North, withdraw part of their troops from the South and come to the four-party conference in Paris. They have met with obvious failure but remain very stubborn. The Nixon administration speaks about peace, but is in fact prolonging its aggressive war against our country through "Vietnamization".

According to US President Nixon's words and deeds, "Vietnamization" of the war implies three operations:

- 1. To withdraw part of the GIs,
- 2. To beef up the puppet army, and
- 3. To step up "pacification."

What is the gist of this plan?

Having suffered bitter and heavy setbacks at the hands of the Vietnamese people, and run into stern opposition by American and world opinion, the US imperialists are forced to withdraw part of their expeditionary corps in order to cut down casualties and war expenditure and deceive public opinion with their sham "good will for peace". But they carry out only a partial and piecemeal withdrawal in order to buy time and build up the puppet army, consolidate the puppet administration, prolong the Viet Nam war by pitting Vietnamese against Vietnamese, even extending the war to the three countries of the Indochinese peninsula and using Indochinese to fight Indochinese.

After the pull-out of a part of the US troops, according to the American plan there will still remain hundreds of thousands of GIs who will occupy for a long time strategic zones in South Viet Nam to provide backing for the puppet army and administration, and "support" for the Saigon troops to massacre our fellow-countrymen. Therefore, Nixon's plan to "Vietnamize" the war is but a scheme to prolong the war and at the same time US occupation of South Viet Nam.

To step up "pacification" means to use puppet troops for continual mopping-up operations and barbarous massacres of the population, to attack bases in the hope of destroying the guerilla and resistance forces, to "screen" the population and often relocate them; to re-impose Saigon's grip upon the countryside, to nibble at the liberated zone, extend the areas controlled by the Americans and their puppets, set up a foothold for the puppet administration and enable it to grab populous and rich areas to feed the war.

Thus, to "Vietnamize" the war does not mean to end it as the Nixon administration has often declared, but to carry on the US aggressive war in Viet Nam with the puppet army and an important part of the US troops, to turn the South of our country into an American military base and neo-colony to perpetuate the division of Viet Nam.

The plan to "Vietnamize" the war is clearly a component of Nixon's "new doctrine" concerning Asia, the aim of which is "to pit Asians against Asians" for the profit of the neo-colonialist policy and global strategy of the US imperialists.

Applying this doctrine to Viet Nam's neighbouring countries in Indochina, the Nixon administration is stepping up "the special war" in Laos, using Meo troops and those of the Lao rightist faction to encroach upon the Lao liberated zone, sending B. 52s to bomb areas controlled by the Lao Patriotic Front, bringing Thai troops into Laos and turning this country into a US neo-colony and military base.

In Cambodia, the Americans used the Lon Nol-Sirik Matak reactionaries to stage a coup d'état against Samdech Head of State Norodom Sihanouk, destroying the independence, peace and neutrality of the Kingdom of Cambodia, turning this country into a US neo-colony and military base and bringing about a criminal collusion between Washington and its Saigon and Phnom Penh lackeys to oppose the patriotic resistance of the Vietnamese people.

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The putschists in Cambodia began their national betrayal with the sacking of the Viet Nam embassy. At present, they are savagely terrorizing and massacring Vietnamese residents, who have been earning an honest living in Cambodia. This fascist scheme of the US imperialists and their stooges to arouse racial hatred is aimed at implementing the American policy of pitting Indochinese against Indochinese, diverting the spearhead of the Khmer people's struggle (now aimed at the putschists) and turning it against the Vietnamese people, and preparing to drive the Vietnamese residents to South Viet Nam to serve as cannon fodder for the Americans.

The entire Vietnamese people energetically condemn the Lon Nol-Sirik Matak clique's barbarous policy of terrorizing the Vietnamese residents. They urgently call on the governments and peoples of the fraternal socialist countries, the national countries and the peace- and justice-loving people the world over to use every form of struggle and take every necessary measure to check their bloody hands in a timely way and compel them to abide by international law regarding the treatment of foreign residents.

No savage and cruel action has ever saved oppressors of the people once they are condemned by history. By perpetuating ever more odious crimes, they only dig their own graves deeper. The Lon Nol-Sirik Matak butchers will have to bear the incalculable consequences of their acts.

The cynical moves of the US imperialists in Laos and Cambodia are precisely aimed at turning these two countries into links of the US strategic system in Southeast Asia while encircling and isolating the resistance of the Vietnamese people, and creating favourable conditions for the United States to carry out their plan to "Vietnamize" the Viet Nam war.

By their "Vietnamization" plan and their frenzied acts in Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia, the US imperialists hope to create a "position of strength" from which to dictate their terms to the Vietnamese people at the Paris Conference. But they will get nowhere. Clearly the Nixon administration has been using the Paris Conference as a screen for its plan to "Vietnamize" the war. There lies the cause of the standstill and deadlock at the conference.

The machiavellian machinations of the US imperialists against Viet Nam and Indochina betray a passive character on the strategic plane, being conceived in a posture of weakness and defeat and fraught with insolvable contradictions. They arouse increasing opposition from the peoples of Viet Nam, Indochina, the United States and the world. They have met with initial setback and are bound to fail completely.

The solution to end the war and restore peace in Viet Nam has been clearly set forth in the four points of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and the ten points of the National Front for Liberation and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam. The crux of the matter is that the United States must completely, rapidly and unconditionally withdraw all US and satellite troops from South Viet Nam and let the Vietnamese people settle their internal affairs by themselves, without foreign interference.

Obdurately carrying on their "Vietnamization" plan, the US imperialists have turned down all the fair and reasonable proposals put forward by the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam. The entire Vietnamese people are duty-bound to constantly heighten their vigilance, strengthen their unity, persevere in and push ahead their patriotic resistance against US aggression, completely smash the plan to "Vietnamize" the war and all other machinations of the US imperialists against Viet Nam.

The powerful attacks which are taking place on the South Viet Nam battlefields show that our people have the required determination and strength to defeat the US aggressors, liberate the South, defend the North and advance toward the peaceful reunification of the country.

The resolute struggle waged by the workers and students in the South eloquently prove the bitter resentment of the population in the areas under temporary puppet control against the traitorous Thieu-Ky-Khiem clique.

The frenzied acts of the US imperialists who have stepped up their "Vietnamization" of the war in Viet Nam, escalated the war in Laos and overthrown the Government of Cambodia all the more expose them as the three Indochinese peoples' most cruel and dangerous enemy. The already united Vietnamese, Khmer and Lao peoples are strengthening their unity even more, setting up a united front of the Indochinese peoples * against the US imperialists and their lackeys to reconquer and safeguard their independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity, and ensure for each country development in the way of its choice. The US imperialists want to sow division among the Indochinese peoples and pit Indochinese against Indochinese, but the latter will close their ranks even further to wipe out the common enemy — US imperialism. Whoever sows the wind shall reap the whirlwind !

The Vietnamese people warmly hail the recent resounding victories of the Lao people in the Plain of Jars and resolutely support their resistance against the US imperialist aggressors and their lackeys to safeguard their fundamental national rights. The Vietnamese people fully support the political solution in five points of the Lao Patriotic Front aimed at peacefully solving the Lao problem on the basis of the 1962 Geneva Agreements on Laos and the concrete situation in this country at present.

The Vietnamese people fully support the proclamation in five points dated March 23, 1970, of Samdech Head of State Norodom Sihanouk; they warmly hail and unreservedly support the just struggle of the Khmer people against the US imperialists and their lackeys, the Lon Nol-Sirik Matak clique, in order to build an independent, free, peaceful, neutral and prosperous Cambodia. True to their word, the Vietnamese people pledge to respect Cambodia's

 $^{^{\}ast}$ The Summit Conference of the Indochinese Peoples was held on April 24, 1970.

independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity within her present borders.

The Vietnamese people warmly hail the American progressive people who recently turned out en masse in the streets to demand that the warlike Nixon administration end its aggressive war against Viet Nam, immediately withdraw all US troops from South Viet Nam, Laos and the Indochinese peninsula, cut military spending and use the money thus saved to solve social problems in a way beneficial to the American people.

Facts have shown that the just struggle of the Vietnamese people, of the three Indochinese peoples against US aggression constitutes an important part of the struggle of the world's peoples for peace, national independence, democracy and social progress. That is why the latter warmly hail and support the struggle of the Vietnamese people in particular, of the Indochinese peoples in general. On this occasion, on behalf of the Vietnamese people, the Viet Nam Workers' Party and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, I convey my sincere thanks to the governments and peoples of the fraternal socialist countries. the national countries and peace- and justice-loving people the world over, including progressive American people, who have extended their sympathy, support and assistance to our patriotic resistance against US aggression.

President Ho Chi Minh said: "The war of resistance against US aggression may drag on. Our people may have to face new sacrifices of life and property. Whatever happens, we must keep firm our resolve to fight the US aggressors till total victory." Convinced that "nothing is more precious than independence and freedom", and resolved to "do everything to defeat the US aggressors", our entire people, united as one man and determined to act upon President Ho Chi Minh's Testament, will step up and persevere in their patriotic resistance against US aggression until total victory.

Our people's patriotic resistance against US aggression has won and is winning great and resounding successes. The North has recorded all-round achievements of utmost importance which testify to the overwhelming superiority of socialism, while ceaselessly fulfilling its role as the "great rear area" toward the "great front", the South.

At present, while pushing ahead, together with their fellow-countrymen throughout the land, their resistance against US aggression until total victory, our people in the North must exert all-out efforts to overcome the sequels of the war of destruction and gradually re-adapt our economic activities to the new situation; impel the revolution in the relations of production, the technical revolution, and the ideological and cultural revolution; carry on the building of the material and technical bases of socialism, step by step improve the people's living conditions, strengthen our country's economic and military potential, consolidate our rear base, heighten our revolutionary vigilance, stand ready to smash all new schemes and acts of the US imperialists against the North and continue to fulfil our duty toward the heroic "great front".

In the immediate future, our people must strive to fulfil the 1970 State Plan. The main orientation of this plan is to boost agricultural production and the making of consumer goods. In agriculture, we concentrate on the development of cereals and other foodstuffs and some industrial crops for processing and export, step up animal husbandry, fishing and forestry. Light industry, food industry, small industry and handicrafts must above all intensify the production of commodities for the people's consumption. Meanwhile, particular attention must be paid to preferential sectors of heavy industry such as coal, electricity, mechanical engineering, fertilizer, cement, timber; to the development of communications and transport and capital construction, in order to efficiently serve the orientation of the above-mentioned plan, while strengthening a step further the material and technical bases of socialism in the North.

To fulfil the State Plan, we must do our best to mobilize the social labour force and organize patriotic emulation under the slogan: "to launch the two thrusts to defeat the Americans" in order to attain the "three peaks"* in industry, the "three goals in agriculture" ** etc.. That is the decisive measure to develop production and increase accumulation, heal the wounds left by the US war of destruction and prepare for a new upsurge of the socialist economy in the North.

* High productivity, good quality, great economy.

****** 5 tons of paddy, 2 pigs, and one man-year per cultivated hectare.

In industry, construction and in administrative and specialized services, we must "work in a revolutionary way" *, i.e. with a freely accepted voluntary discipline, ensure the required number of work-days and work-hours, make the best use of the existing material and technical bases, while trying our utmost to renovate technique, rationalize production, improve the work in all services and raise labour productivity.

In the countryside, in correlation with the study and application of the Rules for Agricultural Cooperatives and with the continued rectification of errors in the implementation of the "three contractual targets" ** and in the management of collectivized lands, we must promote democracy, enhance the collective masterhood of the co-op membership as a whole, fire their revolutionary ardcur and raise their productivity in order to extend the sector in which the three goals set for agriculture are attained, improve the people's living conditions and meet the considerable requirements of the struggle against US aggression and those of socialist construction.

Parallel with the mobilization of labour force, we must *improve organization*, streamline the Party and State apparatus and make it more efficient; at the

* Lenin, Selected Works, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1967, III, p. 206.

** This practice consist in assigning to each production brigade in a cooperative a task with three contractual targets in keeping with the acreage at its disposal : yield per hectare, number of work-days, production costs. This applies either to a production campaign or a whole year. (Ed.) same time, we must strengthen and *renovate economic management*, work out strict regulations in order to mobilize and fully use all our existing equipment and materials according to set norms and with practical economic efficiency. We must display diligence and thrift in building socialism, struggle against embezzlement, waste and bureaucracy.

To foster the labour force and ensure constant high productivity and high yields, we have to better organize the people's life.

To mobilize the labour force in order to fulfil the State Plan, we must seek to perfect step by step the *policies and regulations* aimed at stimulating production, raising productivity, improving the quality of products and cutting down production costs. These are important economic levers. At the same time, we must perform *ideological work* so that everybody can understand the situation and the tasks at hand, realize the favourable conditions, which constitute the keynote, and also the difficulties to be resolutely overcome, enhance his revolutionary ardour, carry out production and work with enthusiasm, high productivity and high efficiency.

We must unceasingly strengthen and consolidate national defence, keep order and security, resolutely punish and patiently re-educate the delinquents, hooligans, etc..

The Party and its judicious leadership constitute the determining factor of all the successes of the revolution in our country. The situation and tasks at hand require great efforts from our entire Party and people. Therefore we must unceasingly consolidate the Party. It rests with the entire Party to constantly build up its militant strength, its unity and onemindedness, reinforce its ties with the masses, make itself pure and strong to lead our patriotic resistance against US aggression to complete victory and our socialist construction to success.

To this end we must raise the quality of Party members so that "each cadre, each Party member must be deeply imbued with revolutionary morality, show industry, thrift, integrity, uprightness, total dedication to the public interest and complete selflessness", "prove worthy of his role as the leader and very loyal servant of the people." *

Political education for cadres and Party members must be further improved by linking theory with practice, and its contents must include three aspects: Marxist-Leninist theory, Party line and policy, and revolutionary morality.

At the same time, to express our gratitude to President Ho Chi Minh and to increase the Party's militant strength, we must satisfactorily accomplish the task of admitting new Party members of the Ho Chi Minh batch.

This batch must show especially good quality to help raise the standard of Party members and set an example for future admissions. To successfully conduct the movement to raise the quality of Party members and admit new members of the Ho Chi Minh batch is to strengthen the class and vanguard

^{*} President Ho Chi Minh's Testament.

character of the Party, to make it even worthier of our heroic people's confidence and love, of being a Leninist party, the party of President Ho Chi Minh.

* *

Forever grateful to the great Lenin, let our entire Party, people and armed forces strengthen their unity, strive to brilliantly accomplish the abovementioned tasks, heighten their revolutionary ardour, energetically struggle to carry on President Ho Chi Minh's work, faithfully act upon his sacred testament and fulfil his last wishes: "To build a peaceful, united, independent, democratic and prosperous Viet Nam, and contribute a worthy part to the world revolutionary cause."

Long live Lenin, the genial leader of the working class and oppressed peoples throughout the world, the great teacher of proletarian revolution!

Long live President Ho Chi Minh, the best disciple of Lenin in Viet Nam!

Long live the Viet Nam Workers' Party, the organizer of all the victories of the Vietnamese people!

Let our entire people and armed forces advance on the impetus of their victories and completely defeat the US aggressors and their stooges !

Let us wholeheartedly engage in patriotic emulation to successfully build socialism in the North !

Long live a peaceful, united, independent, democratic and prosperous Viet Nam!

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