

**SOME DOCUMENTS
OF
THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY
OF THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC
OF VIETNAM**

(3rd LEGISLATURE — 1st SESSION)

June - July 1964

**FOREIGN LANGUAGES PUBLISHING HOUSE
HANOI — 1964**

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GOVERNMENT REPORT

by Premier Pham Van Dong

Comrade deputies,

On behalf of the Government Council, I convey affectionate and warm greetings to the comrade deputies of the Third National Assembly.

The report that I am going to read today before the National Assembly on behalf of the Government Council, has something different from former ones. The difference lies in the fact that it will try to give some features of the situation in various regions. All our works must start from the localities, from the bases, the popular masses, and in the end they must make their effectiveness and impact felt in the localities, the bases, and bring practical interests to the masses. Our Party's line and the whole policy of our Party and State must be closely and vividly linked with the multifarious life in the countryside and the enterprises all over socialist North Vietnam.

A clear survey of the situation in various regions enables us to realize the necessity of strengthening the centralized and unified leadership of the competent central organs of the Party and the State, and endeavouring to develop all local forces, with a view to implementing the Party's line and the State plan, gradually carrying out socialist industrialization, and building the material and technical basis of socialism.

PART I

THE SITUATION IN VARIOUS REGIONS

To be masters of the country means to understand more and more profoundly and all-sidedly the situation in various regions: natural conditions and resources, economy and productive labour, material, cultural and spiritual life, the struggle between the two paths*: the rising revolutionary tide and the obstacles still met in production relations, society, and men's minds.

The deeper we go into the various local situations, and the masses' life, the more correctly we estimate—that is the higher we value—our achievements and progress. The statistics, though correct and comprehensive, cannot fully and vividly illustrate the all-round achievements and progress recorded in various regions, at the bases, chiefly in the countryside. Only by inspecting, together with the local leaders, the situation of production and the conditions of life in many places from Vinh Linh, Quang Binh to Hung Yen and other provinces in the Red River delta, then to Vinh Phuc, Phu Tho, the midland and

* i. e. socialism and capitalism. *Ed.*

highland provinces, the industrial zones already set up or under construction: Thai Nguyen, Viet Tri, Hong Quang, Ha Bac, Uong Bi, etc., the engineering, electrical, metallurgical, chemical, mining, building material, etc. bases for socialist industrialization in North Vietnam which are appearing and growing up gradually, can we clearly and profoundly realize the magnificent events of historical significance, which are changing the face of our country, society and the life of our people—that of the peasants and workers, and of other strata of the people. These changes are extraordinary ones and would be inconceivable, should we not witness them with our own eyes. Only by talking with the local leaders and population, especially in places which were formerly the poorest and most wretched ones, can we realize all the significance of the revolution which is unfolding before our eyes, and the masses' ardour and upsurge.

A deeper insight into the various local situations and into the masses' life enables us to get a clearer and livelier view of the source of our achievements in all fields: this source lies in the Party's correct revolutionary line, the resolutions of the Fifth, Seventh, Eighth and Ninth Sessions of the Party Central Committee; the efforts and progress made by all levels and branches of the central and local administration in leadership; it lies in the people's patriotism, socialist revolutionary enthusiasm and creative labour. At the same time we get a clearer and livelier view of the real possibilities and prospects for economic development and improvement of living conditions throughout the country: in the delta, in the

midlands and highlands, in the coastal regions, and in industrial centres. How could we realize these possibilities and prospects, sitting in the assembly room and peering over documents and figures, as accurately as we would do in real life? And these are most inspiring things which encourage us and drive us on; at the same time they are a source of creativeness promoting our vigorous advance.

Comrade deputies,

Over recent years, our countryside (the delta, midlands, highlands and coastal region) has experienced a deep-going, vigorous and continuous development of socialist revolution which has brought about great changes and created a seething revolutionary mettle among millions of labouring peasants. The struggle between the socialist and the capitalist paths has developed all-sidedly in the political, economic, social and ideological fields. The triumph of the socialist path has brought forth a new countryside and new peasants — the co-op farmers. Over recent years, thanks to the realities of class struggle and production, the co op farmers have grasped the Party's line and guiding principle ever more thoroughly and have viewed things, thought and worked in line with them; they have seen things ever more clearly and have won ever bigger successes with their own efforts, hence their growing confidence in the Party and the regime, their ever sharper socialist consciousness and awareness of being masters of their co-operatives and their lives, they know that their own cause is linked with

that of socialism in North Vietnam. This is clearly shown in the good and speedy way with which they carry out their duty of selling foodstuffs to the State in this Winter-Spring crop. In many places, even before the completion of the harvest, this duty was fulfilled and overfulfilled.

The changes in agricultural production, in the rural economy have appeared first of all in the further consolidation and strengthening of socialist relations of production. The superiority of the co-operative has been proved in actual life. After having stood the test of experience, the co-operatives with their present size and initial organization, have proved in general suitable to the situation prevalent in our country. At present they are the best form of organization of the labouring peasants to develop productive forces, improve technique, curb natural calamities, rationally use land and manpower, define and carry out the new trend of production. They are a good school to train the new man and build the new, socialist life in the countryside. They constitute a good form to tighten the socialist relations between the State and the peasants, consolidate and strengthen the worker-peasant alliance.

In the age-old history of the Vietnamese countryside, co-operatives are a new phenomenon, prevalent only in the last three or four years, but having taken root in the peasants' life, they have become familiar and dear to them. Today the young generation in the countryside is unable to conceive their villages and hamlets without co-operatives. This proves the steadiness, strength and bright prospects of co-operatives.

Through the drive for managerial and technical improvement, the co-operatives in the delta, midlands and highlands, and coastal regions have grown in strength. Until now, the higher-type co-operatives occupy one-third of the aggregate number of co-operatives, and include about 40 per cent of the total number of labouring peasant households. On an average, about 30 per cent of the co-operatives are fairly good, about 45 per cent are of medium quality, and about 25 per cent are poorly run. Their size has been stabilized; about 150 households in the delta and 50 in the mountain regions, per unit. Their stores, drying-yards, cattle-sheds, improved farm implements, fertilizers, etc., have been bettered. The drive for improvement of co-op management has gone through three stages and this year it will be basically completed in the delta according to plan. At present in the mountain regions we are multiplying pilot units and disseminating the experiences of advanced co-operatives. Doubtless the co-operatives will unceasingly develop their active role in agricultural production and in rural life in North Vietnam.

The forces of the co-operatives have been clearly expressed in the great successes of the movement for hydraulic work. This is a revolution carried out by millions of people to check natural calamities and conquer nature. If we ask the grass-root cadres and the co-op members about the causes of progress in agricultural production and improvement of living conditions over recent years, they will unhesitatingly answer that those causes lie in the setting-up of co-operatives and the carrying out of hydraulic work.

Until now, a number of provinces already have the conditions which would allow them basically to do away with drought, but they have to make still greater efforts against water-logging. Many others, particularly among the bigger ones, have to make still greater efforts to liquidate drought and water-logging.

Through the campaign for the improvement of co-op management and technique, each co-operative, village, district and province has made the first steps in defining its own trend of production, with a view to solving the fundamental problems of the rural economy such as: rational use of land and delimitation of zones of production; satisfactory distribution and management of manpower, intensified investment of labour for intensive cultivation, increase of output and crops; intercalated crops, straddling crops, round-the-year crops; application of advanced technical measures; all-sided development of agriculture; good proportion between these three closely related links: food, animal husbandry and industrial crops; increased percentage of agricultural goods of the countryside... Thanks to the correct trend of production defined at the start, many co-operatives have realized their great possibilities and prospects, and the goal to reach and means to use for a successful onslaught on poverty and backwardness, to enrich the co-operatives, and make a worthy contribution to the common cause.

The emulation movement in agriculture has been launched and continuously guided over recent years, from the Dai Phong movement with the participation

of over 7,000 co-operatives, the emulation drive for "high output in autumn crop" in 1963 with the participation of over 11,000 co-operatives, to the emulation movement "to raise productivity, grow more subsidiary crops, develop animal husbandry and increase industrial crops" which enjoys at present the participation of nearly 15,000 co-operatives. This seething movement of a mass character, aimed at the main goals pointed out in the Party's resolution and the state plan, has had great effect on the consolidation of the new production relations and the enhancement of agricultural production.

In the recent period the main task of the state farms was to concentrate their force on their own consolidation, in which work they have scored initial results in improving management, particularly the management of labour, in defining their size, limit, production trend and task, in intensifying cultivation to increase productivity, in giving appropriate care to the various kinds of crops, and in developing animal husbandry.

On the basis of the successes recorded in the transformation of production relations and development of productive forces, the labouring peasants' material and spiritual life has advanced a good step further. But the people's living conditions are not yet equally improved in all regions: wherever production follows a correct trend and is well led, life has been fairly improved. Wherever guidance over production is not good, and natural calamities not efficiently checked, at times the people's life still meets with difficulties. In general, the co-op members' income

in kind and in money has increased in all the regions. Over recent years, in the majority of villages, all or nearly all peasants have built new houses, wooden ones or brick ones, with tiled roofs. In the places razed to the ground in the resistance war, all houses are newly-built ones, and in some of them all the houses are roofed with tiles. It is a cheerful sight. The peasants now have better food and better clothing. They own blankets, mosquito-nets, beds, mats, tables, chairs, bowls, table-ware, etc. Looking to the future every one feels assured, and free from the obsession of poverty and famine. One is certain of an ever happier and more plentiful life.

Collective life in the countryside has undergone a conspicuous change. Almost all villages have their own schools, infant classes, crèches, maternity houses, brik-wells, and public conveniences; many have their own libraries and clubs. In certain regions, the villagers have begun to think of building a new countryside, planning dwelling-places, gardens, and roads, according to the requirements of production and collective life, at the same time making the villages brighter and more pleasant-looking.

In the spiritual and cultural fields, the new life is altogether different from former times. The peasant co-op members, masters of the countryside, boldly discuss village and state affairs, and live freely in conditions of the changed-for-the-better relations between men, between the older and younger generations and between man and woman. Thanks to the efforts and achievements in the cultural and educational fields and in public health, co-op

members can study and relax, and the cultural aspect of the countryside has been transformed at a particularly rapid tempo.

In short, the state of affairs in the North Vietnam countryside is a source of revolutionary enthusiasm. The last winter-spring agricultural production campaign has given the richest crop in the period of 10 years since the restoration of peace: Our plan for summer rice was overfulfilled in cultivated area, productivity and output. Subsidiary crops have increased. The acreage of a number of main industrial crops (especially mulberry and hemp) has expanded at a fairly rapid rate. The collective raising of pigs and the breeding of buffaloes and cows for reproduction in the plain have made initial progress. The success of this winter-spring campaign is that of the correct trend of production, it is a progress made both in guidance work and actual execution. The central organs have directly helped the local authorities to overcome many difficulties in production. The leading organs of the Party, the administration and mass organizations from the provincial down to the village levels have made efforts and progress in leading agricultural production; especially they have made initial investigation and study in order to utilize more rationally local resources and manpower. The satisfactory changes in agriculture have not taken place evenly in all places; however outstanding examples in various fields have appeared in ever greater numbers and in a relatively large scope, covering not only whole co-operatives, but also whole villages, districts and provinces.

Naturally the achievements scored are only initial ones. Now that we have obtained a bumper crop after several years affected with repeated natural calamities, we must more than ever uphold thriftiness and ban subjectivism and self-complacency. We must realize that in co-operativization as well as in agricultural production, difficulties are still many, as are our weaknesses and shortcomings. We must make unceasing efforts and consistently struggle in the coming years if we want North Vietnam's agriculture to develop all-sidedly, vigorously and steadily. Compared with previous years production trend has been determined in a more concrete and adequate fashion, however the delimitation of production zones, and the assignment of production tasks to each province and each locality have been done at a slow rate, and as a result the abundant potentialities of local agriculture have not been timely brought into play. The delimitation of productive zones must be done very carefully, on the basis of scientific data, investigation and all-round planning. In agricultural production the importance of intensive farming for increase of productivity has been better understood but guidance work does not yet correspond to the multiplication of crops and the expansion of acreage. The co-operativization movement has been stabilized; however it must be further consolidated. In ability for organization, management, and execution, the responsible state organs at all levels are slow in making progress to keep up with the changing situation. At some places the working out of production plans, guidance for technical improvement, and supply of means of

production, are not yet adequate and timely, thus exerting a bad influence on the progress of agriculture.

Comrade deputies,

The huge potentialities of North Vietnam's agriculture as a whole are reflected in the situation in various regions: the delta, the midlands, the highlands and the coastal areas.

The delta holds a particularly important position in the whole of North Vietnam's agriculture. At present, it contains about 75 per cent of the population, 74 per cent of the crop land, and supplies over 60 per cent of the animal breeding products, and 76 per cent of the food sold by peasants to the State.

Over the past years, the acreage of crop land in the delta has increased substantially, especially the subsidiary crops have increased at a rapid rate, hence animal husbandry has been on the upgrade. Monoculture in the delta has been shifting vigorously to polyculture. However, we must emphasize the fact that these last years, crop yield has increased but little. The delta, the granary of the whole of North Vietnam, is too narrow for the dense population, therefore first priority must be given to intensive cultivation, increase of productivity and multiplication of crops. On the basis of the present outstanding examples it is estimated that in the delta notably, yearly rice yield can be raised to as much as 5 tons per hectare. At present in many provinces, the annual average yield per hectare is over 4 tons. It is obvious that we have every possibility to harvest about 5 tons per hectare annually,

and must do our utmost to reach this target in order to ensure abundant production of foodstuffs; on this basis we will develop in the delta valuable industrial crops such as hemp, ramie, rush, sugar cane, mulberry, groundnuts, tobacco, sesame, etc. for home industries and for exports; at the same time, we will develop animal husbandry: buffaloes, cows, pigs... In the delta we must invest more labour in a given production unit, speed up irrigation to do away with drought and water-logging, improve technique, carry out intensive cultivation for the increase of production, multiply seasonal crops, plough and harrow more carefully, make a great quantity of manure, take good care of the fields and develop animal husbandry.

The midlands have very great economic potentialities and prospects of development; abundance of land, per capita landholding over 3 sao*, favourable conditions for expansion of acreage, multiplication of crops, especially subsidiary and industrial crops. In the midlands, there are large hilly areas which, once transformed, will lend themselves to the breeding of cattle both for reproduction and farming purposes, at the same time to the cultivation of timber trees, oil-bearing trees and fruit trees. In general, manpower in the midlands is not so much in excess as in the delta and not so short as in mountain regions. In a word, in all respects, the midlands have the possibility to develop agriculture all-sidedly in order to become an important economic area able to supply marketing products to the state, thus enriching the country and rapidly improving the people's living conditions.

* 1 sao = 360 sq. m.

Over the past years, thanks to an ever better understanding of the correct trend of production, agriculture in the midlands has gradually entered a new stage of development. From a largely monocultural economy the midlands have become a region rich in subsidiary and industrial crops and having many possibilities to develop animal husbandry. Compared with previous years, conditions of life in the midlands have been distinctly improved, and in general are somewhat better than in the delta.

But like the highlands, the midlands have many bare hills; this is the cause of floods and drought very harmful to agriculture and makes erosion and exhaustion of land more serious than in other regions. Over the past years, in many midland provinces, there have appeared good examples in afforestation of bare hills, in fighting erosion, transformation of the soil, rational utilization of land and distribution of manpower, with excellent results. These examples have shown the possibility of gradually turning lateritic areas into rich agricultural regions, exhausted lands into fertile ones, and districts which were formerly poor and are still suffering from food shortage, into regions abounding in food and agricultural commodities. In the coming years, in the midlands as in the mountain regions, efforts must be concentrated on solving the following closely related problems: afforesting bare hills, fighting erosion, transforming exhausted soils, thereby eventually solving other problems: conservation of the soil and water, fighting against drought and floods, development of animal husbandry, intense preparation of manure,

improvement of seeds, increase of crop-yield, all-round development of midland agriculture.

The highlands cover about two-thirds of North Vietnam's total area and accounts for over one-fifth of population figures. Crop land accounts for only about 5 per cent of the highland areas, the remaining 95 per cent being covered with forests and hills. Of these areas, bare hills and waste land account for as much as 45 per cent; poor forests, which are being restored, and rocky forests account for 37 per cent; bamboo forests account for 5 per cent, whereas exuberant forests account for about 13 per cent only. As for animal husbandry, the highlands account for half of the total number of buffaloes, one-fifth that of oxen and cows and nearly one quarter that of pigs raised in the whole of North Vietnam. The natural resources contained therein are immense, especially the forests which our ancestors rightly called a treasure of gold. To exploit these rich resources, we must on the one hand develop to a high degree the creative labour power of our national minorities, and on the other do away with the serious lack of manpower in mountain areas.

Over the past few years, in application of the line and policies of the Party Central Committee and the Government, North Vietnam's highlands have made promising progress in agricultural co-operativization, agricultural production, irrigation, transport and communications, development of culture, education, public health, etc.. In general, the mountain provinces are on the upsurge. However, at present in mountain areas the agricultural producers' co-operatives must

be more steadily consolidated and the trend of production clearly defined. The transfer of manpower from the delta to the mountain areas for the development of the highland economy, being done at a slow rate, still falls short of the requirements. Therefore, the responsible organs of central and provincial administration — on the delta, midlands and highlands — must intensify the mobilization of our compatriots in the delta to go and participate in the development of the highland economy with the full understanding of the many-sided importance of their work. The work of making local people settle down to fixed farming and dwelling location has not yet been done satisfactorily, destruction and burning of forests is still serious. Concerning the people's livelihood there are still fairly distinct inequalities between the lowlands and highlands. We must do our utmost to rapidly overcome these shortcomings.

To develop the important role of the highlands in all respects, we must actively investigate, study and define their general trend of production, and the concrete trend of production for each locality, in order to help the mountain areas and the delta gradually advance abreast. Attention must be paid to the satisfactory realization of the following tasks: making local people settle down to fixed farming and dwelling location; protection of forests; development of irrigation, transport and communications; creation of favourable conditions for the speeding up of food production; rapid development of industrial crops suitable to each mountain locality; development of stock breeding; and especially exploitation of forest resources. To this

end, the key work is the intensive training and fostering of an army of national minority cadres with good ideological and political consciousness and with an ever higher cultural, professional, managerial, scientific and technical level. At the same time more labour must be invested in the mountain areas to fulfil the above-mentioned tasks.

North Vietnam's coastal areas have great economic possibilities in fishing, salt producing and agricultural production. If forests constitute a "treasure of gold", the sea is a "treasure of silver". In the coastal areas, tens of thousands of hectares of land can be used to produce salt, rear brackish water fish and various species of sea animals, or be transformed into lands suitable for the growing of rush, mulberry, hemp, ramie, and rice. Coastal areas may also be planted with trees for protection against wind and tide, and with coconut palms and timber trees. Generally speaking, the livelihood of the population of the coastal areas has been clearly improved though not yet in an even and steady fashion.

Due to the needs for developing the national economy and improving the people's livelihood, the exploitation of sea products (mainly sea fish) and production of salt must be speeded up. But due to the shortcomings of the responsible central and local organs, these two branches have developed at a slow rate. We must do our utmost to speed them up in a steady way.

To bring into play the huge possibilities of the coastal areas, we must accelerate investigation and research work with a view to working out all-round

plans. With regard to fishing and salt producing socialist transformation must be completed, co-operatives consolidated and developed and their size adapted to the requirements of production and the characteristics of each locality. We must complete the improvement of management in pilot co-operatives, actively prepare for the expansion of the drive for managerial and technical improvement in fishing and salt producing co-operatives, satisfactorily solve the problem of income distribution, and fund accumulation in co-operatives with a view to developing production and steadily improving the co-op members' livelihood step by step.

A survey of the situation in North Vietnam's different agricultural zones has helped us see even more clearly the valuable possibilities for proportionate and harmonious development of agricultural production in the three branches: food, animal husbandry, and industrial crops. The delta, the midlands and the mountain areas alike can be developed all-sidedly; at the same time, they must clearly realize and firmly grasp their respective essential task. At present we still meet with some difficulties in the food situation. But it is clear that we are making steady progress towards solving this problem in the coming years, and this has helped us see the real possibilities of developing many kinds of industrial crops valuable for home industries and for exports. This upsurge must be encouraged vigorously and systematically, by all means, both at the central and local levels. In animal husbandry — a very important link in a comprehensive agriculture, especially in our country at

the present time, because animal husbandry means tractive power, manure, meat and other food — the situation has undergone satisfactory changes, and good examples have arisen but our grasp of the matter as well as the measures we have adopted are not yet strong and steady; especially we have not yet made full use of the huge possibilities for animal husbandry in the midlands and the mountain areas.

At present, each co-operative, each village, each district and each province has begun to define its trend of production and delimit its zones of agricultural production. In the long run, the trend of production for each locality can be correctly defined only on the basis of the delimitation of zones and the working out of production plans for larger regions by the central administration. In the coming years, we must endeavour to initially fulfil this very important task, so as to speed up the steady development of North Vietnam's agriculture as a whole thus making it give the maximum contribution to socialist industrialization.

Facts in these last few years have brought to the fore the very important role of agriculture in the national economy and illustrated more clearly the correctness of the Party's line which consists in taking agriculture as a basis to develop industry. In socialist industrialization the collective farmers have the important and glorious duty to ensure food supply for industrial centres and in general for non-agrarian people; to provide sufficient raw materials to farm-products processing factories, and to some important light industry enterprises; to produce ever greater

quantities of exportable goods of high value to exchange for machines, equipment and raw materials which we are not yet in a position to produce; to create ever larger markets in order to promote industrial development. Over the past few years the State has endeavoured and will continue to make still greater efforts to help the co-operatives in every respect: to strengthen the material and technical basis of agricultural co-operatives, fishing and salt-producing co-operatives, etc., to put into effect and implement policies promoting cultivation, animal husbandry, fishing and salt-production, to create conditions for the co-operatives to work satisfactorily, provide them with necessary means and give them technical guidance in order to enable them to accelerate production.

All this assistance afforded to the agricultural co-operatives by the socialist state, the state-run economy and the working class in the factories aims at developing the strength and promoting the role of agriculture, creating the basis and condition for the co-operatives to expand ever more vigorously, better their production, increase their income and have more and more possibilities to fulfil their duty towards socialist industrialization and to improve the livelihood of the co-op members.

Comrade deputies,

Parallel to the efforts we have made to develop agriculture, we have, over the past few years, done our utmost to expand industry and recorded great achievements. At the recent Special Political Conference,

President Ho Chi Minh cited figures of great significance: at the beginning of 1955 there were all over North Vietnam only 40 industrial enterprises, including relatively 20 big ones run by the central authorities. At the beginning of 1964 we had over 1,000 enterprises among them nearly 250 sizeable ones managed by the central authorities. Over the past ten years factories were built in North Vietnam to the tune of one every three days on an average: one factory was built every three days on an average in North Vietnam. The construction of a number of relatively big-sized and modernly equipped bases of heavy industry—engineering, metallurgy, chemicals—the formation of an ever more comprehensive power grid capable of regulating and utilizing the output of all power stations, the building of many light industry factories in a number of centres, the transformation of big towns from consumer into producer have resulted in the coming into existence of industrial centres such as Hanoi, Haiphong, Nam Dinh, Hong Quang, Thai Nguyen, Viet Tri, Vinh... These industrial centres play a leading role vis-à-vis the various regions of the country, and play an extremely important role, immediate and long-term, in supplying modern equipment to agriculture and other economic branches, carrying out technical revolution by introducing semi-mechanization, creating condition to raise social labour productivity and increasing social production and national income. The industrial centres directly turn out producer goods and consumer goods and commodities for export, contribute a most important part to the accumulation of capital and at the

same time improve step by step the people's livelihood.

Parallel to the appearance and development of industrial centres, the working class has grown up, now numbering nearly half a million workers, whose ideological, political as well as professional levels have been raised day by day. From about 100 at the re-establishment of peace, the ranks of our scientific and technical cadres have grown to about 20,000 cadres with a college education and over 50,000 cadres graduated from vocational schools. These young technicians full of vigour work side by side with the workers and peasants and are eager to learn from actual life, to work and study painstakingly in order to contribute to the development of the national economy and give a strong impulse to science and technology.

In industrial centres, the "Three Fors and Three Againsts" campaign* has yielded good results in pilot factories and has now broadened little by little its scope with the enthusiastic participation of workers at the bases. We must do our utmost to turn this campaign into a far-reaching revolutionary movement in industry and state-run economy, obtain satisfactory results in the improvement of management and technique, develop the productive forces, strengthen state-run economy, and train new, socialist men. At present we must accelerate the emulation movement

* Movement to heighten the sense of responsibility, strengthen economic and financial management, improve technique, oppose corruption, waste and bureaucracy.

in such a way as to form teams and brigades of socialist labour in the spirit of redoubling our efforts to show our gratitude to our kith and kin compatriots in the South". It is necessary to co-ordinate this movement with the "Three Fors and Three Againsts" campaign in places where the latter is underway. Wherever such a co-ordination and mobilization is satisfactorily carried out the movement engages in a steady upward trend, in an enthusiastic and seething atmosphere. In centrally-run industry, in heavy industry enterprises such as the Hanoi Engineering Plant, the Thai Nguyen Iron and Steel complex, the big electric power stations, the chemical fertilizer plants, and as well as the light industries such as the Nam Dinh textile factory, the sugar refineries, the paper mills, the workers have, in a spirit of self-reliance, overcome great difficulties created by the shortage of equipment, raw materials, materials and spare parts and limited technical knowledge, to step up production. The various localities have reported that the campaigns for the production of coal, timber and salt have obtained satisfactory initial results. In local industrial enterprises and in handicraft co-operatives, the workers and co-op members have endeavoured to tap all sources of raw materials, make the most use of existing equipment and implements, turn out new items and raise the quality of goods in order to serve agricultural production and the local requirements. Local industries have more and more clearly realized the trend to give to their production and are now embarking on the path of re-organization and division of labour according to a comprehensive project.

Coupled with the achievements obtained in industry and agriculture, we must highlight the great efforts and progress made in transport and communications. Roads, railways, waterways and ports have been expanded and improved together with multiplying the means of transport. Of late, we have completed the construction of a number of mountain roads of economic and political importance, of the Ham Rong bridge and the railway line to Vinh. In the countryside after co-operativization, there exists a widespread mass movement for the building of roads, bridges and culverts, and of carts and boats in order to free the shoulders from the carrying pole. Since the beginning of the first five-year plan, we have built over 60,000 km. of roads and over 600,000 carts and boats of all descriptions.

At present we are facing a very great problem which is how to develop still further the leading role of industry over the national economy.

This means that parallel to the rational priority development of heavy industry, it is necessary to make the best use of heavy industry to establish step by step the material and technical basis of agriculture and other branches of the national economy. Heavy industry should do its best to produce equipment, implements and spare parts in greater quantities and of better quality, supply energy and the necessary means of production to agriculture, the various industrial branches, transport and communications, public works, forestry, fishery, salt production, commerce, cultural activities. It is clear that this work is closely

linked with the technical revolution referred to many times in this report. We must realize what are the most important and urgent problems in the technical equipment of agriculture and other branches of the national economy; these are also important links in the technical revolution.

Simultaneously with the priority development of heavy industry, light industry should be stepped up; it must process agricultural produce, utilize all the raw materials available in the country, produce more, better and cheaper consumer goods, exchange manufactured goods for agricultural products, promote agricultural development, satisfy the needs of the people, constantly increase exports and contribute to the accumulation of capital.

Apart from the centrally-run industries, we must realize all the present and future importance of local industries (handicrafts) which turn out means of production as well as consumer goods for the localities concerned. We must help local industries solve the major immediate problems regarding production such as: planning of production, supply of raw materials, and improvement of management. In a word, industries in any given locality must be deep-rooted in that locality, satisfy the requirements of agricultural development there, expand the local economy in accordance with a comprehensive project, which must provide for a rational repartition between centrally-run industries and locally-run industries and among the local industries themselves. It is important to realize that local industries should serve the key points for technical

improvement and increase in labour productivity in local agriculture, process local farm products, serve the improvement of equipment and implements, supply spare parts and raw materials to other local economic branches such as handicrafts, transport and communications, public works.

MILESTONES OF STATE PLANS

The first five-year plan (1928-32) was the first step towards the realization of the socialist program. It was a plan of the state, which was the first time in the history of the Soviet Union. The plan was based on the principle of the state's ownership of the means of production. The plan was a plan of the state, which was the first time in the history of the Soviet Union. The plan was based on the principle of the state's ownership of the means of production.

The second five-year plan (1933-37) was a plan of the state, which was the first time in the history of the Soviet Union. The plan was based on the principle of the state's ownership of the means of production. The plan was a plan of the state, which was the first time in the history of the Soviet Union. The plan was based on the principle of the state's ownership of the means of production.

PART II

FULFILMENT OF STATE PLANS

Comrade deputies,

We must be well acquainted with the situation in the various regions and all their characteristics to make use of all their potentialities under the centralized and unified leadership of the Party and State organs at the highest level.

Like our Party, our State is organized and run according to the principle of democratic centralism: we must make the best use of the local force and initiative down to the lowest units, and to the grass-roots on the basis of strengthening the centralized and unified leadership, direction and management of the central organs concerned. At present, there are manifestations of dispersion in organization and activity, and because of this dispersion and lack of centralized work by competent organs, our work usually lacks promptness and effectiveness, at the same time there are signs of bureaucratic concentration causing delay in our work.

In order to centralize and unify leadership, concrete direction and management in the hands of the

central organs concerned; and at the same time rationally to broaden democracy to the lowest levels, all of us must contribute, each within his province and according to his responsibility, to the carrying out of the principle of democratic centralism on the basis of clearly defining the responsibility of each branch, level, and person so as to raise our sense of organization and discipline: on the one hand, we must suppress all manifestations of dispersion, departmentalism and sectarianism in various regions and branches; on the other hand, we must overcome manifestations of bureaucratic leadership in the central organs, of failure to grasp the situation and timely pose the problem so that its solution will bring real benefit to the regions, branches and bases concerned.

We must pay greater attention to supervisory and control work in order to disclose all interruptions, snags and delays in the national economy and the state machine, and to find timely measures to overcome them.

It is necessary to further centralize and unify leadership by the central organ on the basis of promoting democracy at the local level, so as to carry out the 1964 state plan successfully and the 1965 state plan still more successfully to fulfil the first five-year plan victoriously and make careful preparations for the second five-year plan.

Over the past six months, we have made new efforts and progress in the carrying out of the 1964 state plan. What enchants us is that the winter-spring agricultural production has yielded good result in nearly all respects. In industry, the big enterprises

have almost fulfilled the targets and the production of staple commodities has reached the control figures of the plan, labour productivity has increased, the saving of material has been stepped up and has made progress. Efforts have been devoted to the construction of important enterprises and a number of them have been partly or fully commissioned, giving a new energy to the national economy. The building and development of local industries has been initially outlined, with a clearer trend of production. Efforts have been made to overcome difficulties in transport and communications and to serve the transport of goods and passengers. In the circulation and distribution of goods, the collection and purchase of paddy is now being successfully undertaken and the distribution of foodstuffs and goods has been improved. The transformation and management of the market have obtained good results; price indices are lower than at the end of 1963. Management of labour in offices and state enterprises is more tightly controlled.

During the first half of 1964 we have made greater efforts and progress to fulfil all the targets of the 1964 state plan. Agricultural production and the improvement of management of agricultural co-operatives have yielded good results and are now the force impelling the autumn and autumn-winter crops. 1964 is the year marking an important turning point in the consolidation and development of the co-operatives. We should devote all our efforts to this momentous revolutionary campaign, in close co-ordination with great efforts to harvest a good autumn and autumn-winter

crop. We must mobilize in time all our forces to firmly carry out the delimitation of zones of production, to universally apply modern technique, to successfully carry out the 1964 programme in irrigation work, and especially consolidate and protect dykes, prevent natural calamities, and take measures to overcome them. All of us should be resolved to make a notable step in agricultural production in 1964, to fulfil the targets of food production, animal breeding, industrial crops, and prepare the conditions for further progress in 1965. The central and local organs concerned should show their determination and pool their efforts to attain these targets.

Is it necessary to remind the eight very important agricultural provinces that they should make still greater efforts concerning leadership and material forces?

In industrial production, since the beginning of this year, we have paid attention to such leading products as coal, cement, timber, fish, salt and carried out on-the-spot discussions with local cadres and workers to ensure the attainment of the set norms concerning the quantity and quality of the above-mentioned products. It is necessary to elaborate timely projects concerning the manufacture and repair of machines, to map out a comprehensive project for local industries. At the same time we must endeavour to strengthen leadership in order to overfulfil all the targets of industrial production—heavy and light industry, centrally-run and local industries, as well as handicrafts.

We must pay great attention to capital construction, step up the building and assembling work in such particularly important enterprises as the Thai Nguyen iron and steel complex, the Ha Bac nitrogen fertilizer plant, the Thac Ba hydro-power station, the coal mines, power stations and the shipyards at Haiphong. In capital construction, we must have the firm determination to complete in good conditions the main enterprises and the enterprises about to be commissioned. In each construction project we should devote our efforts to completing the main sections first.

An especially important item in the 1964 state plan is import and export. We must step up the efforts made since the beginning of this year in order to fulfil our plan in this regard, especially we must raise still more rapidly the quantity, quality and value of our exports.

In 1964, we have paid great attention to the circulation and distribution of goods and gradually suppressed the imbalance in this regard (chiefly in production and consumption). We have obtained preliminary good results in urging people not engaged in productive work or agricultural work in towns and cities to go to the countryside or to the midlands and highlands for farming or any other adequate production work which would allow them to contribute to the development of the national economy and at the same time improve their livelihood.

For the good fulfilment of the 1964 state plan, we must step up the great revolutionary movements in close co-ordination with the emulation campaign now on the high tide among the masses. We must spread

the emulation movements for "high productivity, bumper crop, good animal breeding, increased industrial crops" in agriculture, and for "high productivity, good quality, great economy" in industry, and other emulation campaigns in various branches of activity, in the spirit of "redoubling our efforts" in order to build up socialism in the North and to show our gratitude towards our kith and kin compatriots in the South.

In a word, we must display the greatest will and determination to carry through the 1964 state plan and prepare the ground for a still better fulfilment of the 1965 state plan thus completing the first five-year plan, and creating favourable conditions for the second five-year plan.

It is precisely in order to fulfil the state plan all-sidedly that we must grasp the situation in all regions and all branches from the bases up to the central level. This also means strengthening the centralized and unified leadership of the competent central organs in order to carry out the Party's line of gradually carrying out socialist industrialization and establishing step by step the material and technical basis of socialism in the North.

With regard to the north of our country, to carry out socialist industrialization and set up the material and technical basis of socialism is a very important and at the same time very hard revolutionary task the fulfilment of which calls for a long historical period. Therefore our people should base themselves on the basic and permanent interests of socialist industrialization to assess the situation and the tasks

to fulfil—the situation and tasks of each locality and branch and the general situation and tasks in each period.

Socialist industrialization reflects the will of our people to resolutely carry out socialist revolution in our country under the leadership of our Party and State—a people's democratic state which fulfils the historical mission of the dictatorship of the proletariat. It reflects our will to rely essentially on our own forces and to build up an independent economy. It is the immediate and long-range target of our struggle and the source of enthusiasm for all sections of our people, because it will make our country rich and powerful. It will strengthen the North in every respect and serve as a basis for the struggle to peacefully reunify our country and to build Vietnam into a peaceful, unified, independent, democratic, rich and powerful country.

Socialist industrialization requires a balanced, harmonious and rapid development of all branches of the national economy in accordance with the Party's line. This harmonious and balanced development should be clearly expressed in the trend, tasks and targets of the five-year plan and of each annual plan. Therefore socialist industrialization requires from all regions, branches and persons an unremitting and consistent struggle to fulfil the control figures of the state plan, in accordance with Lenin's teaching that the state plan is the second programme of the Party.

Parallel to gradual socialist industrialization and establishment of the material and technical basis of

socialism, we must endeavour to complete socialist transformation in the near future. On the one hand, we must complete, consolidate and perfect the co-operativization of peasants and other small producers (that is collective economy based on collective ownership) and on the other, we must consolidate and strengthen state economy based on public ownership, which is the force leading the national economy. The close relationship between state economy and the collective economy of co-op members is the manifestation of the worker-peasant alliance in the economic field, the corner-stone of the State and the National United Front. It is necessary to steadily complete socialist transformation of handicraftsmen, small traders, fishermen and salt-producers, people engaged in transport and exploitation of forest resources, etc.. While considering the establishment of the material and technical basis of socialism as our central task, we must pay great attention to the socialist transformation of these small producers because each day, each hour, small production engenders capitalism and a bourgeois class spontaneously, on a large scale and at a quick tempo.

Parallel to the above mentioned paramount tasks we must attend to the ideological and political education of our people, heighten their socialist consciousness and raise their determination to wage revolutionary struggle. We must carry out ideological work in a most practical and efficient manner, in actual life, in production work, on the fields and construction sites, in enterprises, co-operatives, schools, offices, etc., and in the struggle against all

deviations as pointed out in the resolution of the 9th plenum of the Party Central Committee. Here it is necessary to realize that we must resolutely oppose modern revisionism in order to defend the solidarity and unity within the Party, defend its correct revolutionary line and step up the great revolutionary work now being carried out by our people in the North as well as in the South. Revolution is seething in South-East Asia and all over the world. Our people must be tempered to become undaunted and unflinching fighters, neither conceited in victory nor discouraged in defeat, ready to devote all their efforts to our great revolutionary cause, and ever faithful to this lofty mission.

This is to raise the economic and political strength of the North.

In close co-ordination with economic development, we must constantly strengthen the national defence of the North, maintain order and security, heighten our vigilance, and be ready to smash all manoeuvres and acts of provocation and sabotage of the U.S. imperialists and their flunkys.

PART III

SUGGESTIONS ABOUT THE REVIEW OF THE SITUATION AND THE WORK DONE

Comrade deputies,

From now until 1965 we have to satisfactorily fulfil two interrelated tasks of the utmost importance in many respects: first, to satisfactorily carry out the 1964 and 1965 state plans, thus fulfilling the first five-year plan; second, to review our whole work since the restoration of peace, mainly the carrying out of the first five-year plan in order to have a clear and deep understanding of the problems of socialist building in the North in the coming period, mainly the problems of the second five-year plan.

The above part of the report has dealt with the first task. Here are a few points about the second.

I. — We have to review our work and its results to see if they tally with the Party's line, the resolution of the Third Party Congress and the resolutions adopted at the various sessions of the Central Committee, and the main targets of the first five-year plan. We must clearly realize the progress and achievements in all fields: economic and cultural, agricultural and industrial, political and social, in solving the urgent

problems of the masses of the people : food, clothing, housing, education, in strengthening the forces of the North, and bringing into full play the influence of the North in the revolutionary cause of the whole country.

This review is aimed at *commending the achievements* scored through hard and persistent revolutionary struggle, at making us clearly realize our successes and see that they are the result of the Party's correct line and of the great creative labour of our Vietnamese people, the hero of our revolutionary cause.

At the same time, the review must help us find *answers* to such questions of special significance as : can we do more ? can agricultural and industrial production develop more rapidly ? can the people's life be improved still more ? These most realistic questions, which crop up at the centre and in the provinces, in all branches and at all levels, require from us a thorough grasp of our weaknesses and shortcomings, especially as regards organizational and guidance work over the carrying out of the Party's line and the fulfilment of the targets of the national economy, and the management of the state economic sector from top to bottom.

At present the emulation movement combined with the "Three Fors and Three Againsts" movement must be of considerable help to us in bringing our successes into full play, detecting the aforesaid weaknesses and shortcomings, and devising effective measures to increase our management, organizational, and executive abilities.

2. — One reviews the old in order to find out the new. We review our achievements *to find out the new* in our experiences, in our activities, and this is a most important point in reviewing work, for the new in the practice of the revolution may appear as sappy and vigorous shoots which will some time later yield flowers and fruit ; they are the flashes which shed light on the problems of socialist construction in the North in the coming period, mainly those of the second five-year plan, and help us think over them and study them.

The last ten years, especially the recent ones, mark the first steps of our people in building socialism and a new life. Our efforts in every field, our successes as well as our weaknesses and shortcomings constitute a rich treasure of experience in which we can find out the new in the way of understanding the Party's line and implementing the policies of the Party and the State. At present such new things are legion in every field of activity, the most valuable ones in agricultural and industrial production. However only by getting down to the grass roots: co-operatives and enterprises, by making ourselves conversant with the patriotic emulation movement and the creative labour of the masses, can we find these new things, and grasp their significance and value. The extremely rich life at the grass roots, on the production front and the daily revolutionary struggle of the masses are the sources of light and strength which will prove helpful in the solution of our immediate problems.

That life is a constant renewal, for we are waging the most thorough revolution in the history of

mankind; we are really starting from scratch: in politics, economics, culture, social activities and life, all is new and in perpetual change. This constant renewal is the outcome of the creativeness of Marxism-Leninism of the revolutionary struggle and production endeavours of the masses of the people. In the present life in the North, *our achievements are great and very precious, but more precious still is the new which is taking shape and will develop.*

In brief, socialist construction in the North requires us to create everything great and small and this in every field. Here to create does not mean to engage in worthless trifles, still less to design houses costing thousands of dong for agricultural co-op members. *Here to create is to review the work done and the experience gained to find out the new which is taking shape everywhere in the North, to assess it to fully realize its significance in every aspect to help tackle our forthcoming tasks. From the good seeds sown five or seven years ago innumerable sprouts are springing up. Carefully tended, they will become the flowers of socialism in the North.*

3. We are building the palace of socialism in our country with our people's great creative labour; at the same time we must know how to build it *on the firm foundation of our natural resources.*

To build the material and technical foundations of socialism, develop agriculture and industry, culture, science and technology, solve the problems related to the people's daily life: food, housing, clothing, protection of health, all that requires from us a serious grasp of our natural resources; the more thorough

this grasp, the better things are. Over the past years we have made noteworthy efforts in survey and research work, with stress being laid on the most important and urgent aspects. However this work and its results have not been correctly appraised and there are even people who have not yet realized their importance.

We are not asking for perfection, for more than we can possibly do in our present conditions. However we must be mindful and resolute; at the same time we must see to planning and organizational work in order to *cover the most necessary and urgent aspects*, and make the most necessary and urgent steps in survey and research, with regard to soil and geology, meteorology and hydrology, botany and zoology, forest and sea resources, etc.

If natural conditions are not taken into consideration, all constructions, from big works, "life-long works", to small canals, from the defining of the trend of production for co-operatives to the building of a house, etc. are adventurous and possibly dangerous undertakings. Therefore we, cadres of the responsible organs and of all branches and levels, must be fully aware of the necessity of a full grasp of natural conditions in all our construction and production work.

Here as in other fields, the toilers directly participating in production easily realize this truth: to understand nature in order to harness it and transform it by means of science and technology and man's creative labour. This concerns the very instructive and vivid experience gained by agricultural co-operatives

in the construction of hydraulic works, transformation of crop land, selection of seeds and breeding of animals, afforestation, etc. Formerly the French affirmed that the people of the Bac Bo plain are doomed to chronic famine. They argued: How can the peasants carry out intensive cultivation and crops rotation and breed cattle when they just get a bare living out of their tiny plots? Today the peasants of North Vietnam through their achievements have completely foiled the imperialists' reactionary and criminal arguments. Today on the same Bac Bo plain and with a population nearly double that of former times, agricultural production and the life of co-op members and of the peasantry as a whole are making big strides forward.

The peasant members of co-operatives are teaching us something that I want to stress here: To be masters of the country is to be masters of nature in order to harness it, curb its harmful side, develop its beneficial side, and make it serve production and the people's life. To harness nature, science and technology must be brought into play. Therefore in many co-operatives, scientific and technical teams have been set up which have gradually learnt to work in a practical and effective way.

To be masters of nature also means to *know and understand nature in order to control and protect it*: protect the soil, forests, mountains, rivers, vegetation and animals, etc.

4. The general survey of our work is aimed at a realistic assessment of our activities. Let us have a look into the three following aspects of our work.

a) To make full use of manpower, distribute it harmoniously and rationally among the various branches and zones of the national economy.

b) Unceasingly to raise social labour productivity, regarding it as the main task in speeding up the development of economy and production and the improvement of the people's livelihood.

c) To organize the distribution in the most rational way, with a view to unceasingly improving the people's livelihood, at the same time increasing fund accumulation for socialist construction.

To make full use of the people's labouring power, distributing it harmoniously and rationally among the various branches and zones of the national economy.

This is a very important problem of great practical significance, to which we have not yet paid due attention and which has not been solved satisfactorily.

At present we are facing a rather contradictory situation: in general we have not yet made full use of the people's labouring power, especially in the towns and in densely populated delta regions; meanwhile, in many other places, especially in the midland and highland regions, the lack of labouring power is greatly felt. At present, every year, the youth reaching labouring age — mainly those having finished the 7th or 10th form (general education) and a number of vocational school graduates—are meeting with difficulties in getting suitable occupation. Even more strange is the situation in which labouring power is lacking seriously in one place and in excess in another, and this in the same branch or ministry. And it is also due to the difficulties met in the distribution of

labour that in some enterprises, concern has been felt as to where to shift the excess labour power if less personnel is needed as a result of the emulation drive for increased productivity.

At present our national economy and the people's livelihood ask for the carrying out of the two following imperative tasks: *first, to do whatever work is available in whatever place to increase the material wealth of society; second, to mobilize and make full use of all manpower in town and country to develop production.* It is obvious that in North Vietnam these two tasks are closely linked with each other. We have very rich natural resources which must be exploited, and for that we have a growing abundance of manpower.

At present the way to solve the problem is fairly clear:

In the countryside, especially in the delta, the co-operatives have realized more clearly that additional labour must be invested in agricultural production, that is intensive cultivation must be undertaken to increase productivity. To this end, the following problems must be satisfactorily solved: water, manure, labour, and seeds. Labour is money, that is our present slogan of very practical significance. In the last winter-spring production campaign, in many places, rice output reached 4 tons, and even 5 tons, per hectare, and maize over 5 tons. Thanks to what? Thanks to intensive cultivation. In the present conditions, intensive cultivation will bring in from 4 to 5 tons of paddy per hectare of double-crop land. If this is to be done everywhere viz. intensive cultivation

with regard to rice as well as to subsidiary food crops, the food problem will be solved steadily.

More than ever we must shift more labour, millions more of toilers *to the midlands and mountain areas* to exploit their abundant natural riches : forest resources, agricultural production ; subsidiary food crops and industrial crops ; animal husbandry. To this end, attention must be paid to the development of transport and communications, irrigation and local industries turning out means of production for the above-mentioned branches of activity, and consumer goods to meet the people's needs. The investment of more labour will turn the midlands and mountain areas into the richest and finest region of our country. We must always bear in mind that in the midlands and mountain areas were written the most brilliant pages of the history of our struggle against imperialism. They are our powerful rear which we must endeavour to reinforce. This is the will of our whole people and the aspiration of our minority compatriots living in the highlands.

In the coastal areas, our possibilities in fishing, salt producing and in the exploitation of sea products are truly immense ; yet over the past few years, we have been at a standstill. Moreover, we must clearly see that rush, mulberry-trees, jute and hemp can be planted in the various soils along the seacoast, and they constitute great sources of wealth the importance of which is not yet fully grasped. Our coast stretches over thousands of kilometres. Our people must gradually acquire a deeper knowledge of

our territorial sea and greater competence in exploiting all sea and coastal resources ; at the same time they must know how to be masters of our coastal region and territorial waters. Therefore, here also, labour power must be increased.

In industry, stress must be laid on the basic necessity and real possibilities of developing industry, gradually carrying out socialist industrialization, and striving to overfulfil the targets of the state plan in industrial production ; heavy industry and light industry, centrally-run industry and locally-run industry, production of means of production and that of consumer goods. In agriculture have the centrally-run and locally-run industries adequately served irrigation, the production of fertilizer, improved implements, and insecticides, and the processing of agricultural produce ? What have they done and what must they do to supply technical equipment and improved tools to branches of the national economy besides agriculture : industry, communications and transport, construction, forestry, fishery and salt marshes, trade and cultural activities ? As regards the various kinds of consumer goods necessary for the people's material and cultural life, much can be done, and yet is not. Therefore, in general, the industrial branches (heavy, light, centrally-run and locally-run industries) must develop ceaselessly and more rapidly than the other national economic branches, in many respects : scope, tempo, technique, management ; only then can they efficiently serve the other branches. Thus industry must attract more and more labour power, and this is

a necessary law in the economic development of North Vietnam, in its advance towards socialist industrialization.

In the process of socialist construction, in each period of time, we must know how to *harmoniously distribute labour power among the various branches and regions* of the national economy with a view to carrying out the Party's line on socialist industrialization: "to build a harmonious and modern socialist economy combining industry with agriculture, take heavy industry as the basis; to give priority to the rational development of heavy industry, at the same time to develop agriculture and light industry, turn our backward agricultural country into one with a modern industry and agriculture."

At present a quite serious weakness in our planning work and one seemingly overlooked by the labour managing organs and other responsible branches is the failure to make full use of the labour force and to rationally distribute it according to the requirements of the various branches and regions.

All available labour power should be fully used; in consequence, it is necessary to solve problems concerning working tools and the object of labour, and those relating to the labourers' life, such as the food problem.

These are very practical problems, to which we must pay due attention.

To unceasingly raise social labour productivity, considering this as the main link in our work to accelerate economic development, develop agricultural and industrial production, and improve living conditions.

This is the key, the highly valuable formula which will help us fulfil our tasks. If all of us are fully conscious of it, and wholeheartedly devote our minds and efforts to increasing labour productivity, we can do wonders for at present our labour productivity is still very low, 90 per cent of production work being done by hand. *We are fully able to raise it rapidly.* For instance, at some hydraulic construction sites, such as the one at Neo, Hung Yen province, in a matter of months, labour productivity in many workers' teams (belonging to co-operatives) has increased twofold, threefold... fivefold.. tenfold. Where does the secret lie? In the improvement of tools and technique, and in the rational organization of labour. Through quite simple devices, (substitute wheelbarrows for carrying poles, for instance) without resorting to any extraordinary means, they have managed to raise labour productivity sharply! This precious guiding principle is still advantageous in many other aspects: the work is less hard; the number of work-days can be greatly reduced; the work is more quickly done, one can be released from work ahead of time, more rice is saved!

To increase labour productivity, the main thing is to improve tools and technique, to gradually advance to semi-mechanization and mechanization. Therefore we must stress the necessity of supplying ever more advanced technical equipment to the various branches of the national economy, first of all to branches using a great deal of manual labour, particularly agriculture, then communications and transport, forestry, fishery, salt-producing, etc.

To supply technical equipment means to supply equipment, implements and all necessary technical materials which must be of good quality and sold at low prices, and in accordance with the technical level and working habits of the users. To improve the tools of labour and the technique of production in order to increase labour efficiency is the goal of the technical revolution now underway in the north of our country. Not only should the producers and emulation fighters think day and night over this, but the organs managing the national economy and concerned with science and technology, and technicians in all branches and schools — from higher to general education schools — should heed this problem and contribute their part to its solution. We should seek technical improvements not only in economic branches in which manual labour is still prevalent but also in those which have been partly mechanized and even in those using modern techniques.

In our country, technical revolution is of paramount and far-reaching significance and deserves fuller attention from every one of us; we should constantly meditate over this problem and discuss it in order to find the most suitable measures for its gradual solution.

We must wage this campaign of technical improvement, this technical revolution *from top to bottom and conversely*. A leader in any of the economic branches must be very mindful of technical matters; he must not only be deeply conversant with economics but also gradually acquainted with technique, and with technical problems that need a solution. This applies

especially to the cadres in charge of industrial branches who control the main sources of technical improvement, i.e. engineering, electricity, materials such as coal, etc.

Over the past few years, everywhere the patriotic emulation movement has led to valuable achievements in the improvement of implements and technique of production. *Had these experiences been timely summed up and popularized after careful checking*, social labour productivity in North Vietnam would have increased more rapidly. However it is most regrettable and censurable that responsible organs from the central to the regional level, have not paid adequate attention to this problem and have not been heedful enough of valuable innovation to detect, check, and popularize them in a wide and timely fashion. Such negligent cadres are unworthy ones; they have no sense of responsibility towards the masses as well as towards the interests of the national economy.

On the one hand, we must mobilize all forces to improve implements and the technique of production, on the other, we must popularize in a timely and extensive fashion all our achievements, all valuable innovations; only by so doing can we constantly speed up the emulation movement, step by step, part by part, going from lesser to bigger work, from town to country, from the lowlands to the highlands, and constantly increase social labour productivity. This is the key, the highly valuable method to make our socialist cause move forward at a quick pace.

Organization of distribution in a most rational manner so as to constantly improve the people's livelihood and at the same time increase accumulation for socialist construction.

The better we fulfil the two above mentioned tasks — harness all labour force to production and constantly increase labour efficiency — the greater will be the volume of social products (means of production and consumer goods); this will make it possible for us to *constantly improve the material and cultural life of the people and to increase accumulation for socialist construction.*

Let us speak first of living conditions. The life of our compatriots in the North, especially in the countryside, has changed markedly. This is a valuable point, over which we must feel happy. But we must not be conceited; we must ask ourselves: can we do still better? How have we concerned ourselves with the livelihood of our compatriots, in town and country in the lowlands and highlands? Have we paid due attention and adopted suitable measures to improve our people's livelihood step by step? No, we haven't done enough. Let's take for instance the building of new houses, wooden and tile-roofed ones, in the countryside; this is a most conspicuous fact in the countryside after co-operativization, it has been done by the rural population with limited assistance from the provincial administration, while the central organs have only gradually become aware of the situation. A series of such questions should be put to the organs concerned. And to pose these questions means to be able to find practical answers to them.

Particular attention should be paid to the production of foodstuffs and their supply to the towns and industrial centres. In this connection, still greater efforts should be made to satisfy the legitimate requirements of our people in quantity, quality and price. With regard to those doing indispensable and hard work such as miners, blast furnace and chemical workers, operators of mechanical shovels, builders of elevated or under water works, sea fishermen, woodcutters, we should give them adequate preferential treatment, which is but just and corresponds to the socialist law of distribution: more work, better remuneration.

It is necessary to improve the present living conditions and at the same time *make accumulation*, which is being aimed at improving living conditions in the near and far future. To establish the material and technical basis of socialism, to build heavy industry and carry out socialist industrialization, are huge, arduous and long-term tasks, but relying on the people's democratic power and on their unlimited potentialities our Party and people are determined to carry them through.

Constant increase in accumulation should go together with constant and gradual improvement of the people's livelihood, this is very important not only to state-run economy but also to collective economy. Our co-operatives have begun to see this, and are valiantly endeavouring to strengthen their material and technical bases through increased investments of money and labour.

Parallel to the increase in accumulation, we must study the increase in *economic efficiency of the capital*

invested in capital construction work. Up to now we have not yet made very rational use of these investments; waste is still rampant in capital construction, thus resulting in the very high costs of our enterprises. The efficiency of investments is a very great problem, a problem of real significance, which our cadres in all branches and at all levels should sum up and from which they should draw appropriate conclusions so that accumulated funds could be used to build the most economically profitable enterprises and, at the same time, savings effected in all branches of capital construction, according to the watchword: "more, faster, better and cheaper".

In the distribution of social products, we must realize and make our people realize the necessity to *reserve an ever greater part for export*, because this is also an accumulation of capital to exchange for machinery, equipment, materials (raw materials) needed by agriculture, industry and other branches, and by socialist industrialization. Therefore all of us should grasp still more profoundly the great importance of export in order to contribute most positively to raising the quantity, quality and value of our exports. We are fully capable of doing this work.

In a word, in the North our people must deeply concern themselves with and strive to carry out these two tasks successfully: first, to improve their present living conditions and second, to build their future and that of the generations to come. This involves a very great amount of complicate and hard work which requires *clearsightedness, courage and the determination to live independently and proudly*. Such is

the meaning of self-reliance which is one of the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism and of the revolution—national-democratic revolution and socialist revolution. Self-reliance is by no means contrary to international solidarity and to proletarian internationalism. The more we rely on ourselves, the greater is our strength and ability to expand international co-operation relations and to receive and utilize the aid granted by the brother socialist countries in the economic, cultural, scientific and technical fields. Self-reliance means not to depend on others; it does not mean to dispense with co-operation and assistance among brother countries. The Vietnamese people constantly bear in mind the sympathy, support and assistance which the Soviet Union, China and the other socialist countries, in accordance with the lofty spirit of proletarian internationalism, have shown to our revolutionary cause.

To build a new life in our country is a very complex and long-term task which can be carried out only step by step in the years to come. But right now, we must find *a way to accomplish this work, which is most suitable to us*, to the conditions of our country and to the traditions of our people.

We are still poor, our economy has known but little development and on us weigh heavy burdens. We must make every endeavour, think, discuss, basing ourselves on the natural conditions and practical situation in our country and learning from the experiences of the socialist and other countries in order to find the most steady, rational and practical way to solve the problem of socialist construction in our country step by step and part by part. viz, economic

development—industry and agriculture—and cultural, scientific and technical development; problems regarding the material and cultural life of the people: food and clothing, housing, household articles, transportation, education and cultural life, etc.

Our people possess very praiseworthy traditions, heroism, industriousness, frugality and thrift. The President of our country, who lives the life of a revolutionary militant, sets a bright example of heroism, industriousness, frugality and thrift. Over a long period of time in history, our people have been living in close union, in the love of our villages and country, united in the defence of the supreme interests of the Fatherland. We must strive to maintain and foster these precious traditions, develop their significance and effects under our present socialist system. We call on everyone to do his utmost in productive work in the interest of our nation and people and for the sake of the lofty revolutionary cause. We devote all our attention and efforts to the livelihood of our people, of the toilers, first and foremost of those doing hard work or meeting great difficulties in their lives. In the past as well as in the future we have not followed and shall not follow the policy of widening beyond measure the gap between the various categories of workers concerning treatment and salaries. Everyone of us must live and work like a revolutionary militant, that is to say with courage, industriousness, frugality and thrift — because the revolution is going on in our country, around our country, and in the world. And we shall educate the younger generations in accordance with this world outlook.

PART IV

SITUATION IN SOUTH VIETNAM AND SOUTH-EAST ASIA

Comrade deputies,

There are always new developments in the South Vietnam situation to report to the National Assembly every time it meets though the intervals between sessions are relatively short. New developments mean new successes recorded by the South Vietnamese people in their hard and extremely valiant struggle. Such changes, such successes have recently been *ever greater, ever more tremendous and have given ever clearer evidence of the mettle of the beloved fighters now holding high the banner of the liberation of South Vietnam on the front line of the Fatherland.*

The striking point in the new changes in the South Vietnam situation at present is that the U.S. imperialist aggressors are finding themselves in a very great and irremediable predicament. This comes as no surprise to us. Our people will certainly be victorious, the U.S. aggressors will certainly be defeated. It is noteworthy that at present, public opinion in the United States has also begun to realize the truth

in South Vietnam. Columnist Walter Lipmann has said that there is no light at all at the end of the tunnel. Many other journalists have spoken of a Dien Bien Phu in South Vietnam. In the United States, a movement against U.S. aggressive war in the south of our country is developing.

The huge and rapid changes in South Vietnam which have led to the present situation are closely bound to the intensification of the U.S. imperialists' aggressive war in South Vietnam, especially since 1963. What does this mean? This means that the crueller the U.S. aggressors become and the more monstrous crimes they commit and the deeper they plunge in the illegal war, the greater and heavier their failures and those of their henchmen, the more rapidly the patriotic movement will develop, and the more repercussion and significance the successes of the South Vietnam Liberation National Front will have at home and abroad.

At present, the U.S. aggressors are doing their utmost to increase their military forces: first, to strengthen the army of the South Vietnam authorities. But under the successive rules of Ngo Dinh Diem, Duong Van Minh and now Nguyen Khanh, the South Vietnam army has been weakened ever more rapidly in all fields, especially as regards their moral condition because the South Vietnam soldiers have become gradually conscious, and more and more of them have left the South Vietnam army ranks for their native villages or to join the Liberation army. This tendency is now spreading. Second, to strengthen the American military forces in South Vietnam. But the men making

up these forces have tasted all the bitterness and hardships of a war waged against a people determined to liberate themselves. Many casualties have been recorded. American public opinion has been deeply shocked!

Finding no way out, the U.S. imperialists have *called for rescue everywhere*. At the April 1964 S.E.A.T.O. meeting, for the first time the representative of the French Government raised his voice and disapproved the U.S. use of military measures to solve the South Vietnam issue. At the May 1964 N.A.T.O. meeting, there was not much response to the U.S. call. The U.S. intention is to drag many other countries of Asia and Europe into a "dirty" and issueless war! But nobody is silly enough to jump into a sinking boat!

Recently, the U.S. imperialists intended to use the U.N. to smokescreen their schemes of intervention and aggression. But the revolutionary peoples in South East Asia as well as in other regions are resolved not to be duped, and are determined to step up their struggle to defeat the U.S. imperialists and all their manoeuvres, and to oppose the United Nations' interference, whatever form it may take.

In accordance with the long-standing habit of aggressors, the U.S. imperialists are playing the "thief crying stop thief" trick, repeating the allegation which involves so much inconsistency and contradiction as to be utterly ridiculous, that the extremely serious situation in South Vietnam is caused by so-called Hanoi interference! But how can they hide the sun with their hand, and how can their shameless fabrications drown the voice of truth: today

everybody in the world is well aware that it is precisely the U.S. imperialists who have trampled upon the 1954 Geneva Agreement on Vietnam, introduced officers, men and weapons, into South Vietnam, commanded and directly participated in the war, and perpetrated monstrous crimes against the South Vietnamese people. They have also tried to draw their allied and satellite forces into this inhuman aggression.

Stubbornly continuing their way in that issueless tunnel, the *U.S. imperialists will undoubtedly fail shamefully, for the following fundamental reasons:*

1. In the present era, the South Vietnamese and the oppressed peoples have found, and know how to handle, a weapon likely to defeat any aggressive imperialist country however rash and mighty it may be, including the U.S. imperialists: that weapon is *the people's revolutionary war*. These peoples have known how to closely unite and to use their political and military forces, and have firmly grasped the law of development of such invincible forces to defeat the aggressors.

2. The mighty *socialist camp* has become definitely stronger than the imperialist and capitalist camp. The socialist camp is the bulwark of the world revolution and world peace. Together with the national-liberation movement, the struggle movement of the working class and the peace forces, the socialist camp is able to stay the imperialists' aggressive hands, smash all their warlike schemes and effectively help the peoples of various countries defeat all aggressive wars.

3. The U.S. imperialists' odious aggressive acts are perpetrated in South Vietnam at a time when *the world's peoples including the American people, are expanding their resolute struggle to maintain peace, achieve national independence, democracy and social progress.* The U.S. imperialists have been ever more isolated, ever more energetically condemned and opposed in every part of the world and even in their own country.

The imperialists are in the most serious stage (the third) of the general crisis of world capitalism. The ranks of the imperialists and their lackeys have been ever more ridden by disputes and weakened because of their insolvable contradictions. Their inner crisis drags on uninterruptedly and will grow ever more serious until they completely collapse.

In our era, the era of transition from capitalism to socialism on a world wide scale, the people's revolutionary struggle against the imperialist aggressors, headed by the U.S. imperialist aggressors, will certainly triumph. Like the Vietnamese people the peoples of Cuba and Algeria have corroborated this truth. Today, like the peoples of South Vietnam and of many South-East Asian countries, the peoples of South Korea, of many African countries like Angola, the Congo... and the peoples of Latin American countries like Venezuela, Guatemala... have proved that eloquent truth.

Finding themselves in a dangerous situation in South Vietnam, the U.S. imperialists have sought a way out by *intensifying intervention in Laos and*

threatening Cambodia, with the probable intention of extending their aggressive war to South-East Asia.

The U.S. imperialists' manoeuvre to interfere in peaceful and neutral Laos is utterly brazen: they engineered the Kouprasith-Siho group's April 19 coup d'état abolishing the tripartite coalition government formed on the basis of the Zurich and Plain of Jars Agreements, and rigged up a government as a smoke-screen for every illegal and extremely dangerous activity of theirs and their agents. They have torn up the 1962 Geneva Agreement on Laos, an international agreement which recognizes and guarantees Laos' sovereignty and independence, the policy of peace and neutrality and the tripartite coalition government in Laos. At present, they are using jet planes in reconnaissance and strafing missions over Laos, and have carried out bombing raids on the representation offices of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and of China in Khang Khay. It should be recalled that formerly, as a result of repeated setbacks on the military front in Laos, the U.S. Government was forced to attend the 1962 Geneva Conference on Laos. But never have the U.S. imperialists observed the Geneva Agreements, on the contrary they have sought every means to continue their intervention in Laos, in an attempt to turn it into a U.S. military base. The more dangerous the situation in South Vietnam becomes for them, the more frightened the U.S. imperialists are by the Laotian people's successes: the policy of peace and neutrality, the tripartite coalition government, the 1962 Geneva Agreement on Laos, are likely to set precedents for

South Vietnam. They are in an ever greater panic and are interfering ever more frenziedly in Laos!

The U.S. imperialists never cease disturbing *Cambodia* which, in spite of many difficulties and hardships, is determined to firmly maintain its policy of peace and neutrality. They and their hirelings in South Vietnam have framed utterly absurd incidents to threaten Cambodia and have encroached upon its border and territory, with the aim of compelling Cambodia to toe their line, making it their prop in their aggressive war against South Vietnam and in their scheme of unleashing war in Indo-China and South-East Asia.

The Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam has consistently held the view that the U.S. imperialists' policy of aggression and war provocation is the root cause and direct source of the unstable situation, constant tension and protracted war in that area. Since early this year, as they have been getting into a still greater predicament in South Vietnam the U.S. imperialists' behaviour has been even more shameless and frenzied in Laos and toward Cambodia. But such acts only show ever more clearly their weak and isolated position to everybody, and are the evidence that they will go even further along the path of failure.

We must see the situation in the Indo-Chinese peninsula against the background of the general situation in South-East Asia, and in close connection with the situation in the southern part of our country. Here, we must lay bare the British imperialists' scheme in the setting up of "Malaysia" aimed at

consolidating the British colonialist domination in the countries within that bloc, strengthening the British military base of Singapore and directly threatening the Republic of Indonesia. It is clear that the U.S. and British imperialists are supporting each other, sharing in the wicked and perfidious schemes of carrying out subversive, interventionist and aggressive activities against South-East Asian countries. By so doing, Britain, a Co-Chairman of the 1954 and 1962 Geneva Conferences respectively on Indo-China and Laos, is precisely the wrecker of these agreements along with the United States.

In face of such a serious situation created by the U.S. imperialists, what are the attitude and position of our people, of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam?

I. Regarding South Vietnam

At the Special Political Conference, President Ho Chi Minh put forward very correct, fair and reasonable proposals, the only ones susceptible of bringing a solution to the South Vietnam question.

1. 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 Vietnam, and refrain from any interference in its internal affairs.

Like the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the South Vietnam authorities must scrupulously implement the very important provisions in the military field contained in the Geneva Agreements: it must not join military alliance with any

other country, not allow foreign countries to set up military bases on, and not accept foreign military personnel in, its territory.

2. The U.S. Government must stop its aggressive war in South Vietnam, withdraw American troops and weapons from there and leave the South Vietnamese people to solve their internal affairs according to the programme of the South Vietnam Liberation National Front. This programme includes all great policies on the national rights of the South Vietnamese people, the democratic liberties and economic interests of various strata of the people, and foreign policy, which is peace and neutrality.

3. The problem of peaceful reunification of Vietnam is the affair of the Vietnamese people. It will be solved in the spirit of the programme of the Vietnam Fatherland Front and that of the South Vietnam Liberation National Front.

I would like to report to the National Assembly and all our compatriots that our people's attitude and position, as reflected in the above clear points, have enjoyed the warm approval and support of the governments of many countries and of wide public opinion in the world, especially the socialist countries and the nationalist countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Our people sincerely thank our comrades and friends in all parts of the world for their wholehearted support and encouragement. The struggle of our people in South Vietnam against the U.S. aggressors is an integral part of, and at the same time makes an

active contribution to, the world people's revolutionary cause of peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

The valiant and certainly victorious struggle of our people in South Vietnam against the U.S. imperialists' "special" war is a shining example for the Asian, African and Latin American peoples. It inspires these peoples to resolutely stand up against every imperialist policy of intervention and aggression, especially on the part of the U.S. imperialists. If determined to rise up and sacrifice everything to strike back at the invaders, the people will certainly win final victory.

Recently, when the Song and Dance Ensemble of the Republic of Guinea visited our country, the head of the Ensemble made a very significant statement: "The successful Vietnamese revolution against colonialism, has given us the determination to persistently carry out revolution in Guinea and Africa... The struggle of the Vietnamese people in the South is also our struggle, and the successes of that struggle are not only those of the Vietnamese people but also those of the Asian-African bloc and of the whole of mankind... We are firmly convinced that in the near future, our Ensemble will visit your country again. We will come not only to Hanoi but also to Saigon to sing songs hailing and praising the warm friendship and solidarity of our Asian-African bloc.

We can hear such heartfelt words in every part of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Realizing clearly the tremendous significance of the South Vietnam liberation struggle, our people will

carry on ever more persistently and confidently their hard and unremitting but certainly victorious struggle. Marx has said significantly enough: "History never does anything by halves." Yes, history is made by the people. Our people as well as the revolutionary people of other countries are determined to carry through their great revolutionary struggle. Our people have struggled for the survival of the nation, for the independence and freedom of the whole country, for peace in Vietnam and South-East Asia as a whole. Our struggle is just and conform to the trend of history and of the progress of mankind. Though still enduring countless sacrifices and hardships the Vietnamese people, scores of million as one man, have grown ever mightier and more confident; they are resolved to inflict utter defeat upon the U.S. imperialists, and will certainly win final victory.

Sustaining ever more bitter failures in South Vietnam, the U.S. aggressors and their henchmen have for a long time been sending commandos of all kinds to encroach upon the North. But as everybody knows, and as the Americans themselves have admitted, almost all these ruffians have been hounded up and arrested as soon as they set foot on the North, by the people and by militiamen, sometimes even by children, women, old men, wood cutters or fishermen. This eloquently testifies to the political consciousness, vigilance, determination to defend the North, strength and readiness to fight of the entire northern people.

Recently as the U.S. aggressors and their lackeys' difficulties have increased in South Vietnam, they

have clamoured still for an attack against the North. They urged a "march to the North", the bombing of the North...! At the Special Political Conference, President Ho Chi Minh said, "... At present, the U.S. warmongers and their new running dogs are trumpeting a 'march to the North'. However, they must understand that should they rashly venture to 'attack 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, because the people of the U.S. and its allies, too, will oppose them." Afterwards, on the rostrum of the conference, many representatives of various strata of the people: workers, peasants, intellectuals, democratic personalities, militiamen, people's armed security men, people's army-men, voiced the Vietnamese people's resolve to enhance their vigilance, their preparedness to fight, and their determination to foil all infringements on the northern territory. Should the U.S. warmongers venture to attack the North, our compatriots throughout the country will stand up as one man to smash their aggression against the North, and defeat them completely in all our country. Let us warn the American warmongers and their flunkies of the consequences of their action. To strike at the North is to expand the war to that area. Not only the Vietnamese people but also the other peoples in South-East Asia will be utterly indignant and will rise up to oppose their common enemy with tremendous might.

Even in the United States, political and military circles, prominent intellectuals, journalists, mass organizations, business circles, students, youths... have been ever more active in developing the movement against the "dirty war" in South Vietnam. Many army men and drafted youths have declared that they refuse to go and die in "McMamara's war" in South Vietnam. The Vietnamese people warmly hail the American people's movement against the war in South Vietnam and convey to them their cordial and friendly greetings.

II. *Regarding the Laotian situation*

As said above, the situation in Laos has now become extremely serious. American military planes are brazenly carrying out bombing and strafing missions all over Laos.

It is clear that the U.S. imperialists have expanded war in Laos.

As a neighbour of the Kingdom of Laos, and a signatory to the 1962 Geneva Agreement on Laos, we Vietnamese people certainly cannot remain indifferent to this very dangerous situation in Laos.

The Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam has many times solemnly stated its unreserved support for the policy of peace and neutrality, for the tripartite coalition government and the 1962 Geneva Agreement on Laos. It regards them as the Laotian people's great successes, which create conditions to stabilize the situation all over Laos, realize national concord, build a new life conforming to the Laotian people's traditions and aspirations. We fully

support the above-mentioned points, for we are greatly concerned about the western border of our country: only with a peaceful and neutral Laos, that is a Laos freed from any interference on the part of U.S. imperialism, can the western border of our country be safe, a point which we greatly desire and can friendly relations in all fields between the two neighbouring countries be able to develop and consolidate! But the U.S. imperialists have sought every means and used every trick to intervene in Laos, in an attempt to turn it into a U.S. military base from which they will encroach upon the Laos-Vietnam frontier and permanently and directly threaten the security of our country from the west. These are schemes and acts which our people cannot tolerate. We are making ever greater efforts to contribute an active part to maintaining the 1962 Geneva Agreement on Laos, and ensuring the inviolable national rights of the Laotian people: sovereignty, independence, unity and territorial integrity, and maintaining the policy of peace and neutrality and the tripartite coalition government. We are very happy to voice here our friendship for the Laotian people, and our respect and admiration for them who are making sacrifices and valiantly struggling to safeguard their revolutionary gains, who are determined to defeat the U.S. aggressors and their agents to restore peace and stabilize the situation in Laos and rebuild their country ravaged by many years of war.

At present, to avert the danger of the expansion of the war in Laos, created by the U.S. imperialists and the reactionary forces, it is necessary to convene

a 14-nation international conference. Only such a conference is fully qualified to discuss and settle the present serious problems. This is the aspiration of the Laotian people and of their neighbours. This is also the demand of every country desiring peace and security in this area.

The history of struggle for self-liberation of the South-East Asian peoples has brought to the fore the significance of the 1954 and 1962 international conferences respectively on Indo-China and Laos, which recognize the sovereignty, independence, unity and territorial integrity of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia, and guarantee the policy of peace, and neutrality of the Kingdom of Laos, etc. That is precisely why the U.S. imperialists have done their utmost to sabotage the Geneva Agreements. But the U.S. imperialists will fail. The 14-nation conference on Laos will be convened under new historical conditions in which the Laotian people's forces have grown stronger than before, and for that reason their successes will be further consolidated.

III.— *Regarding Cambodia*

For many years now, the Cambodian people, under the leadership of Head of State Prince Norodom Sihanouk, have determinedly struggled to maintain their policy of peace and neutrality. But as they have tried to do with Laos, the U.S. imperialists want to turn Cambodia into a springboard, and a base to carry out their aggressive war in South Vietnam. It is clear that the U.S. imperialists want to turn all the countries in the Mekong River basin into so many links

in their system of military bases in an attempt to conquer the whole of this area and prepare for a war against the socialist countries in Asia.

To stamp out the Cambodian people's passionate and gallant opposition, the U.S. aggressors have shrunk from no wicked and mean manoeuvres; they have instigated their lackeys in the southern and western areas to openly encroach upon the Cambodian border and territory, as recently in Traloklek village. But the Cambodian people and their respected and beloved leader are not at all upset, on the contrary, they are still more resolved to carry out their just struggle, and have enjoyed ever greater sympathy and support from the socialist countries and the world's people.

The Vietnamese people and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam unswervingly and resolutely support the policy of peace and neutrality of the Kingdom of Cambodia, and regard it as the only correct policy for Cambodia, which exerts a positive effect on the preservation of peace and security in this area.

The people and Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam warmly support the recent proposal made by Head of State Prince Norodom Sihanouk on June 13, 1964 for the convening of the 14-nation Geneva Conference to the effect that the neutrality of Cambodia should be respected and guaranteed.

The people and Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam fully approve of the statement made by the South Vietnam Liberation National

Front concerning the border line between Cambodia and South Vietnam and the coastal islands near Kep:

"We respect the existing border line which was delimited long ago. That is why there has never been any incident although our liberated area has a common border with Cambodia.

"Especially, we never have any intention of laying claim to the coastal islands near Kep which are part of Cambodia's territory, which nobody could deny."

IV. *Regarding the struggle against "Malaysia"*

As the economic, political and strategic interests of the British-American imperialists in this area are very important, their ambition is surely to cling to them. However, the more stubborn they are, the more bitter the struggle of the people in the Republic of Indonesia and the other countries in this region will grow.

The Vietnamese people and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam are resolved to support the just struggle of the brother Indonesian people to break up "Malaysia" and to back the liberation struggle of the North Kalimantan people

Today, South-East Asia is a broad front of mighty struggle against imperialism, especially U.S. imperialism. The imperialists want to divide the peoples in the hope of being able to easily intimidate, invade and dominate them, but their cynical and wicked policy has incited the peoples ever more

vigorously to stand up, unite and help one another in opposing their common enemy. The South-East Asian peoples have strengthened still further their militant friendship in their struggle against the imperialist aggressors and for national independence, peace and progress.

In the course of their revolutionary struggle for self-liberation, the Vietnamese people as well as other peoples in South-East Asia (and in every other part of the world) have realized very clearly that: *peace in their country, peaceful labour to build up a new life, peaceful co-existence with all peoples in the world, all these very legitimate and splendid things are closely linked with the fierce struggle against the aggressive imperialists* especially the U.S. imperialists, for self-liberation. That is why, the Vietnamese people as well as the Laotian, Cambodian and Indonesian peoples and other South-East Asian peoples are at present growing ever more resolved, enthusiastic, confident, and powerful in their hard and certainly victorious struggle against the imperialist aggressors, especially the U.S. imperialists.

This great revolutionary struggle will undoubtedly triumph because it is the struggle of hundreds of millions of people who have resolved to sacrifice everything in order to achieve the right to live independent and free; because this just struggle enjoys the sympathy and great support of the socialist countries and the peace-loving peoples the world over.

Like the South-East Asian peoples the Vietnamese people are determined to stand shoulder to shoulder with the other peoples in Asia, Africa and Latin

America, to struggle in close union with them against the imperialist aggressors headed by the U.S. imperialists for their sacred rights, thus making a great contribution to the world people's revolutionary cause of peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

Comrade deputies,

Today we hold the first session of the National Assembly of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (Third Legislature). Under the leadership of the Party, our people's democratic state is fulfilling its glorious mission as a very efficient instrument of our people for socialist construction in the North and peaceful reunification of the country.

Our National Assembly is composed of true representatives of our people, of our whole country. Each legislature of the National Assembly marks an important stage on the road taken by our people, by our country in their long and hard, but certainly victorious revolutionary undertaking.

On behalf of the Council of Government, I wish the Third Legislature of the National Assembly may make great contributions to the revolutionary cause of our people.

REPORT ON THE SITUATION IN SOUTH VIETNAM AND THE STRUGGLE FOR THE PEACEFUL REUNIFICATION OF VIETNAM

by NGUYEN VAN VINH, Chairman
of the Government Reunification Committee

Dear Comrade deputies,

Our Third National Assembly is holding its first session at a time when our people's struggle for the implementation of the Geneva Agreements and peaceful national reunification is completing its tenth year. During this period, the American imperialists and their agents have committed most vicious crimes against our countrymen in the South. During these years, our southern countrymen have experienced untold sufferings caused by the American imperialists and their agents, overcome innumerable difficulties and won brilliant victories.

1 The American imperialists are striving to intensify the war in South Vietnam and taking a further dangerous step in their military adventure in Indo-China, directly sabotaging peace in South-East Asia.

As is well known to the whole world, ten years ago following our people's great victories in the nine-year Resistance War which ended with our glorious Dien Bien Phu victory, the 1954 Geneva Conference on Indo-China solemnly proclaimed the respect of the inviolable rights of the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia, namely their independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity. The Geneva Agreements also stipulated that two years after the signing of the agreements, free general elections should be held in all Vietnam, to achieve the peaceful reunification of the country.

Our countrymen in the South should have been able since then to live in peace and happiness, and the people in the southern and the northern zones should have been living under the same roof to build together a peaceful, united, independent, democratic and prosperous Vietnam. But after peace was restored, the American imperialists who had given the French colonialists a shot in the arm to prolong the war of aggression against Indo-China, ousted the French and took over South Vietnam, seriously sabotaged the Geneva Agreements and started in South Vietnam the largest, bloodiest and lengthiest war at present in the world.

During the last ten years *the American imperialists have committed unpardonable crimes against the people of Vietnam as well as against those of Laos and Cambodia.* Immediately after the signing of the Geneva Agreements in 1954, they created the S.E.A.T.O. military bloc to carry out their scheme of aggression against South Vietnam, against Indo-Chinese and South-East Asian countries. They have undermined the 1954 Geneva Agreements, wrecked the consultations and general elections to reunify Vietnam, schemed to permanently partition Vietnam, inflicted upon our people in the North and in the South the agony of separation, all these long years. They have turned South Vietnam into a new-type colony and a military base to serve U.S. scheme of aggression in South-East Asia. They set up the dictatorial Ngo Dinh Diem regime and other puppet regimes through which they massacred, tortured, incapacitated and jailed hundreds of thousands of innocent people in South Vietnam.

They have brought troops and weapons to Saigon where a U.S. military command was set up, and waged a most atrocious undeclared war in South Vietnam, using the southern part of our Fatherland as a testing ground for U.S. "special warfare". They have herded millions of people into concentration camps disguised as "prosperity zones", "strategic hamlets" or "new life hamlets". They have resorted to poisonous chemicals as means of war, using our countrymen and the beautiful and luxuriant fields and gardens of South Vietnam for testing new U.S. - made weapons. They have sent spy commandos to the North in an attempt to carry out sabotage and to step up the preparation for an aggression against the North. They have sabotaged all the Geneva Agreements on Laos and have repeatedly rekindled the war of aggression and overthrown several Laotian Governments. They have persistently tried to undermine Cambodia's independence and neutrality, violated Cambodian territory and massacred Khmer people...

Most serious is the new, *extremely dangerous step the American imperialists have taken in their military adventure in South Vietnam and in other parts of Indo-China.*

— During the last few months alone the U.S. Government has several times sent to South Vietnam its Defence Secretary, State Secretary and many generals, held conferences of high-ranking officers and diplomats in Honolulu to discuss measures to intensify the war in South Vietnam, accelerate preparations for an aggression against North Vietnam and to

rekindle war in Laos. The U.S. imperialists have also made pressing appeals to their allies in the N.A.T.O. and S.E.A.T.O. blocs for help to intensify the war in South Vietnam.

— The situation in South Vietnam is becoming increasingly serious as the U.S. imperialists have frantically increased their aid to the puppet regime, sent to South Vietnam thousands of fresh troops, hundreds of bombers and jet helicopters, a large additional number of guns, tanks and other means of war. The air force in South Vietnam at present is essentially a U.S. air force. This is a main U.S. combat force placed directly under the Saigon U.S. military command. From the beginning of 1963 up to now alone, U.S. planes have already made over ten thousand sorties, according to statistics released by U.S. military bodies. From these very planes, U.S. army-men have dropped bombs, sprayed poisonous chemicals on the villages and fields of South Vietnam, causing untold miseries to hundreds of thousands of people.

— With regard to North Vietnam, the U.S. imperialists and their agents have increased violations of our air space, territorial waters and made incursions into regions on our western border. They have stepped up the training of their "special forces" which are in fact made up of commando groups trained and equipped by the U.S. for the purpose of carrying out sabotage in the North. Recently, the U.S. imperialists brazenly announced that they had not given up their plan to carry the war to North Vietnam.

— Pursuing their policy of extending aggression and sabotaging peace in Indo-China, the U.S.

imperialists have organized a coup d'état to overthrow the neutralist coalition government in Laos, used U.S. planes to bomb several regions controlled by the Pathet Lao and the neutralist patriotic forces. They have continually violated Cambodian territory, massacred Khmer people, and brought in the so-called "U. N. investigation team" to engage in activities along the Vietnam-Cambodian border in an attempt to screen U. S. imperialists' crimes.

The activities mentioned above show that the U.S. imperialists have taken a further extremely dangerous step in their military adventure in South Vietnam and in Indo-China, thereby creating a most serious situation in this area and directly jeopardizing peace in South-East Asia.

Dear Comrade deputies,

To cover up their aggressive activities, and deceive world opinion, the U.S. imperialists are doing their utmost in their campaign of calumny against North Vietnam, alleging that the North has undertaken an aggression while the U.S. which has "to respect its commitments" to South Vietnam and "preserve peace" in Indo-China, has been obliged to intervene in South Vietnam and to attack Laos!

This is no doubt artful propaganda by the U.S. imperialists whose customary trick it is to cry "stop thief!" while they themselves are committing the theft. Now, if the U.S. imperialists were no aggressors, why the puppet administration has continuously sabotaged the Geneva Agreements ever since July 1954 and refused to enter into consultations with the North

with a view to holding general elections for the peaceful reunification of Vietnam? The 1954 Geneva Agreements have recognized the sovereignty, unity, independence and territorial integrity of Vietnam, forbidden the introduction of military personnel, arms and munitions into South Vietnam and the setting up by foreign powers of military bases in South Vietnam, why then have the U.S. imperialists turned South Vietnam into a U.S. colony and a military base? Why have they brought into South Vietnam tens of thousands of troops and hundreds of thousands of tons of arms and munitions and numerous other war materials? The Geneva Agreements have stipulated that peace, freedom and democracy shall be respected, why then are the U.S. imperialists directly commanding the puppet troops, launching campaign after campaign to kill hundreds of thousands of innocent people and made reprisals on former Resistance members in South Vietnam? Why have they during the last three years brought U.S. troops into South Vietnam, set up a U.S. military command in Saigon to conduct an unjust "dirty", bloody war? If the U.S. imperialists had no aggressive designs in mind, why should they have announced their choice of South Vietnam as a testing ground for their "special warfare", to draw experience for the purpose of carrying out aggression against many other countries in the world?

The U.S. imperialists have falsely accused North Vietnam of aggression against South Vietnam. U.S. Senator Morse has provided an answer to this calumnious charge. He said that U.S. troops were the only foreign troops to be found in South Vietnam, that the

U.S. was waging a colonial war in South Vietnam. The U.S. *Militant* wrote on February 2, 1964 that it was a crude and brazen slander to say that North Vietnam was implicated in the war in South Vietnam.

“And Johnson spoke of the United States’ aim of preserving peace in South-East Asia! But the whole world knows that the U.S. imperialists are the chief peace-breaker and the cruellest war criminal in South-East Asia. It was the U.S. imperialists who formerly helped the French imperialists prolong their war in Indo-China, created the S.E.A.T.O. aggressive bloc, committed armed aggression against South Vietnam, provoked North Vietnam, rekindled war in Laos, violated Cambodian territory and plotted a coup d’état in Cambodia.

It is precisely because the U.S. imperialists are the aggressors that the people of South Vietnam have resolutely stood up and fought against them to liberate themselves. It is because the U.S. is the aggressor that none of the puppet regimes set up by the U.S. in South Vietnam has won the support of the people, and the U.S. had to stage successive coups d’état to replace the regimes which proved incapable of carrying out the U.S. scheme of aggression. It is because the U.S. is the aggressor that the puppet troops’ morale is sinking deeper and deeper, their organization is disintegrating as they are reluctant to kill their own countrymen and to be killed for the U.S. imperialists. It is because the U.S. imperialists are the aggressors that the peoples all over the world are supporting the South Vietnam Liberation National Front.

It is because the U.S. imperialists are the aggressors that even the American people are resolutely opposing the "dirty war" in South Vietnam, that most of the countries members of the S.E.A.T.O. and N.A.T.O. also are lukewarm to the United States' appeal for intervention in the war in South Vietnam. Lastly, it is because the U.S. is the aggressor that, despite the pouring in of U.S. dollars, weapons and troops, despite their absolute superiority in air planes, guns, tanks, warships, etc. the U.S. imperialists have not been able to defeat our countrymen in the South who, with only primitive weapons, have stood up and fought against the aggressors, and have been winning more and more brilliant victories

2. The heroic people of South Vietnam, the people of all Vietnam, united in struggle, strongly supported by the peoples of the world, will certainly smash the U.S. Imperialists' scheme of aggression.

Dear Comrade deputies,

The last ten years were ten years of U.S. imperialists' crime and aggression, and also ten years of our southern countrymen's extremely arduous, heroic and victorious struggle, ten years of our entire people's determined struggle for the peaceful reunification of the country, the preservation of peace in Indo-China and South-East Asia.

— For ten years, the south of our Fatherland has been changed into a hell by the U.S. imperialists and their agents. Everywhere there is fire and sword, everywhere there are people tortured, massacred and poisoned, mutilated, disembowelled, everywhere resound the woeful cries and angry shouts of our fourteen million fellow-countrymen in the South.

But the history of the people of Vietnam is the history of a people who never bowed to foreign aggressors and native traitors. Continuing to uphold the tradition of a heroic and indomitable people, our southern countrymen have relentlessly fought and made heroic sacrifices, showed great unity in struggle and firm confidence in their final victory, in the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China, and the brotherly countries of the socialist camp, in the peace-loving people of the world and our countrymen in the South *have been able to hold their own and overcome great difficulties during the first darkest years of the U.S.-Diem fascist regime.*

— Faced with blood and iron our southern countrymen could not but stand up and fight to defend their lives and property. Guided by *a correct line of national-liberation revolution* they have stood up, fought fiercely by all means and ways and broken up the puppet administration in numerous vast mountainous regions and rural areas and *initiated an extremely powerful upsurge of national salvation.*

— During the last few years, our countrymen in the South *have succeeded in setting up a broad national united front*, the South Vietnam Liberation National Front, the banner of solidarity and glorious struggle of the entire patriotic people of South Vietnam, and in building up *a revolutionary armed force and a firm and strong political organization of the masses.* This is the force which will be victorious in the struggle waged by our 14 million countrymen in the heroic South.

— Valiantly opposing the U.S. imperialists' armed aggression, our southern countrymen *have frustrated the Staley-Taylor plan*, foiling their scheme to attack swiftly and win swiftly and to pacify South Vietnam within 18 months, they have smashed many strategies and tactics used in "special warfare", destroyed most of "strategic hamlets", annihilated hundreds of enemy troops including many Americans, and liberated the greater part of South Vietnam territory and population.

In the liberated areas, the South Vietnam Liberation National Front is endeavouring to carry out its program of improving the people's living conditions, *ensuring the fundamental democratic rights for the people, especially the Front has distributed millions of hectares of land to poor peasants*, reduced land rent on a large scale and, at the same time, stepped up the movement to increase production, developed the health service, cultural and educational work, and improved all aspects of the people's life which is now quite different from the miserable, deprived life in enemy-occupied areas.

In the course of the struggle against the U.S. imperialists and their agents the patriotic forces in South Vietnam are continuously increasing their strength in every aspect; at home and abroad the prestige of the South Vietnam Liberation National Front is growing, the people's armed forces are growing bigger and bigger, the liberated zones are expanding, the determination to fight and to win is becoming stronger and stronger and cannot be crushed by any aggressive reactionary force.

These are the great victories achieved by our southern countrymen during the last ten years.

The liberation war in South Vietnam is *an all-out, protracted war waged by the entire people*. In this war, they oppose their weak force to a stronger enemy. With their profound patriotism, extraordinary courage, their unity and high political consciousness, and with primitive weapons and arms captured from the enemy, they have fought U.S. imperialists who are the leading, the strongest and most ferocious imperialists armed with modern weapons. This is a people's war in which the resistance against the enemy assumes a great many forms: millions of brains among the patriotic masses are unceasingly working trying to find, to invent all ways and means of struggle to resist the enemy and save their country and their homes.

Since the beginning of this year, *the Liberation Army and the people of South Vietnam have won many great victories*, in extremely difficult circumstances. The resounding successes scored by the Liberation Army at Ca Mau, Rach Gia, Can Tho, Chau Doc, Ben Tre, My Tho, Tan An, Saigon, Thu Dau Mot, Bien Hoa, Binh Dinh, Quang Ngai, Kontum, Quang Tri, together with the achievements of the guerillas everywhere have put out of action many companies and battalions of enemy regular forces, shot down hundreds of enemy planes, destroyed many tanks and sunk several warships, the largest of which was the aircraft carrier "Card", right in Saigon harbour, wiped out thousands of military posts and sub-sectors, destroyed thousands of "strategic hamlets", killed, wounded and disbanded hundreds of thousands of

enemy troops, and captured tens of thousands of weapons. In many areas for long in the enemy's grip the people have stood up and fought, destroying a large number of "strategic hamlets". All strata of population in the cities, workers, labouring people, students, school-children, intellectuals, capitalists, Buddhists, Christians and believers of other creeds, have also risen up against the harsh policies of the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys. Millions of people from the countryside have clamorously marched into the cities and in co-ordination with the townsfolk, held demonstrations demanding the U.S. imperialists and their agents to stop the war, the U.S. to withdraw its troops and urging for peace, neutrality, independence, democracy in South Vietnam.

In the Government report to the National Assembly Premier Pham Van Dong has very correctly mentioned the factors accounting for the South Vietnam people's great victories in the patriotic war. One of these factors is: "In our time, the people of South Vietnam and the peoples of oppressed countries have found out and know how to handle a weapon which can defeat any imperialist aggressor however bellicose and powerful he may be including U.S. imperialists: the people's revolutionary war. The people now know how to achieve a monolithic unity to make use of their military and political force, and thoroughly grasp the law of development of these invincible forces to defeat the aggressors".

Dear Comrade deputies,

The South Vietnam people's great victories have directly led the puppet regime of the U.S. imperialists

in the South to a severe crisis and have aggravated the contradictions within their ranks.

After successive setbacks, the U.S. imperialists were compelled to "change horses" three times in South Vietnam. But if they keep going further into the "tunnel with no end in sight", they will not be able to escape final defeat, despite all the replacements of lackeys. McNamara who only a few months ago boasted that the situation in South Vietnam was very encouraging, the U. S. was winning and would win in the South, had to admit recently that the situation in South Vietnam was definitely bad.

The failures of the U.S. imperialists in South Vietnam spring from their political failures. Unable to check their repeated defeats and bewildered by the South Vietnam people's ever stronger resistance, the U.S. imperialists pretended that they had just discovered the key to an imaginary success: a huge quantity of weapons, aggressiveness of the puppet troops and greater interest in national question! But ironically enough, the U.S. imperialists in South Vietnam lack nothing but a banner of nationalism and democracy! The banner of nationalism and democracy, the banner of peace and of a just cause will forever remain in the hands of the South Vietnam people. Therefore a total defeat for the U.S. imperialists is inevitable.

The reverses suffered by the U.S. imperialists have led to a severe political crisis within the ranks of their lackeys: the puppet troops are war-weary and unwilling to die for the Americans, the contradiction of interests between the various military and political

groups in power, and between the opposition parties and groups and those in power, and the internal contradictions within the U. S. ruling circles are growing more and more acute. The bellicose U. S. imperialists are now faced with a two-horn dilemma: to prolong the war will lead to their defeat, to extend the war will result in their destruction, to withdraw would be the best course of action, but they fear it would mean a loss of face and the loss of foothold in South-East Asia.

Reporting on the troubled situation in South Vietnam, American A.P. cabled on June 7, 1964, that the last year's current crisis was even more confusing than the Buddhist crisis and it reflected the confusion in the religious and political situation. According to A.P. a number of politicians in South Vietnam denounced the government as a military dictatorship, while several ministers publicly criticized Khanh as a power-hungry and irresponsible man, and the generals were hatching another coup...

In such a situation, where could the "McNamara-Nguyen Khanh plan" to pacify South Vietnam within one or two years, and the substantially increase in U.S. aid lead the American imperialists and their lackeys to? These are only desperate efforts on their part to escape the encirclement of the people which is closing in around them.

The failure of the Staley-Taylor plan, the death of Ngo brothers, the collapse of successive puppet regimes, the recall of Paul Harkins and Cabot Lodge, are the tragic steps taken by the U.S. imperialists

in "the tunnel with no end in sight" in South Vietnam, which are leading them nearer and nearer to their utter failure.

The replacement of Cabot Lodge by Gen. Maxwell Taylor, Chairman of Joint-Chiefs of Staffs and of Gen. Paul D. Harkins by Gen. Westmoreland will not solve anything. Gen. Taylor is the promoter of the U. S. "flexible reaction" strategy with three forms of warfare, and the father of "special warfare". His name is associated with the Staley plan. But "special warfare" and the Staley plan have been responsible for the loss of considerable sums of money and large numbers of American lives, and the loss of the United States' honour. If the U. S. imperialists do not change their policy and withdraw from South Vietnam, no arms however strong nor any general however clever can save them from a downright defeat.

Dear comrade deputies,

As the South Vietnam people's patriotic war is a struggle for a just cause, *it enjoys the sympathy and support of the peoples of socialist countries, of the oppressed peoples, of the working class and of peace-loving peoples throughout the world.*

Our countrymen in the North have shown great patriotism and deep attachment for socialism. In their selfless labour to build socialism they have displayed great solidarity, identity of mind and high vigilance, they are zealously building and defending the North and at the same time are actively supporting our southern countrymen's patriotic struggle. The movement for increased support to our southern compatriots on last year's anniversary of July 20th testified

to our northern Vietnamese people's great patriotism and determination to resist the U.S. imperialists. Following the recent Special Political Conference called by President Ho Chi Minh all the northern people and our southern countrymen regrouped to the North are drawn into the "Everyone redoubles his efforts" movement, in a stirring atmosphere of enthusiastic emulation.

Of late all the people's organizations in the socialist countries, all the progressive Asian and African people's organizations, all the progressive trade unions and people's organizations in the world, especially many U. S. progressive youth, student and people's organizations, many scientists, intellectuals, clergymen and individuals belonging to all strata of U. S. population, have voiced their opposition to the U. S. imperialists' war of aggression in South Vietnam and their strong support for the South Vietnam people's struggle. The slogans demanding that "the U.S. imperialists withdraw their troops, put an end to the war of aggression in South Vietnam, implement the 1954 Geneva Agreement on Vietnam, and peace be restored in Indo-China" have become the one slogan for the common struggle of the peoples all over the world.

3. The only solution to the question of South Vietnam

Dear comrade deputies,

The more serious the U.S. imperialists' failures are, the more they think of pouring in more money, troops and weapons, in an attempt to extricate themselves from the present deadlock in South Vietnam, the more they think of engaging in dangerous adventures,

clamouring for "a March Northward", the more they expand their war of aggression in Laos. But these acts only give clear evidence of U.S. imperialists' weakness and perplexity, and forebode their eventual failure.

Promoting the heroic and indomitable traditions of the whole nation our southern countrymen would rather sacrifice everything than become U.S. imperialists' slaves, and are determined to reconquer independence and freedom at all costs. Whatever efforts the U.S. imperialists may make, this will certainly happen. The longer the U.S. imperialists fight, the more reverses they will suffer, the longer the South Vietnamese fight, the greater their strength will be and the more victories they will gain and final victory will certainly be won by the heroic people of South Vietnam.

As to the scheme of the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys to expand the war to the North, President Ho Chi Minh has said (in his answer to Australian correspondent W. Burchett): "The U.S. imperialists and the Nguyen Khanh clique are like a fox with two feet caught in a trap but still trying to jump into another trap, and when they speak of expanding the war to the North, the U.S. imperialists and their puppets should know that the Democratic Republic of Vietnam has enough power and is ready to fight, and it also has powerful friendly countries ready to help it and the forces of peace in the world warmly supporting it."

We sternly warn the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys: if they rashly expand the war to the North

they will be defeated by the Vietnamese people as a whole, united like one man in the struggle. In our time, all attempts of aggression and expansion of war by imperialists of any country, even U.S. imperialists, will certainly meet with adequate force, will certainly be completely frustrated. The peoples of South Vietnam, Laos, Cuba, etc. have defeated and are defeating U.S. armed aggression. About the scheme of the U.S. imperialists and their agents to expand the war to North Vietnam, U.S. Senator Genge Aiken himself said on June 6, 1960 that those who advocate an extension of military operations to other countries seem to have short memory, far shorter memory than the French who learned much at Dien Bien Phu.

Speaking of the war in South Vietnam and the solution to it, President Ho Chi Minh stated in unequivocal terms in his report to the March 27-28, 1964 Special Political Conference:

"The present situation in South Vietnam very clearly portends the unavoidable defeat the U.S. imperialists will suffer in this 'special warfare'. Once their 'special warfare' has met with failure in South Vietnam, it will fail in any other country. This is the international significance of our southern countrymen's patriotic struggle in relation to the national-liberation movement in the world.

... On our part, we have always held that the only correct solution to the question of South Vietnam is strict implementation of the fundamental provisions of the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Indo-China; the countries members of the Geneva Conference, including the United States, should live up to their undertaking

to respect the sovereignty, independence, unity and territorial integrity of Vietnam, refrain from intervening in the internal affairs of Vietnam. Like the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam the South Vietnam administration must strictly implement these very important provisions of the Geneva Agreements: to abstain from military alliance with a foreign power; not to allow a foreign power to set up a military base; not to accept foreign military personnel on one's territory.

We fully support the very just demands of the South Vietnam Liberation National Front for the ending of U.S. imperialists' intervention in South Vietnam, for the withdrawal of U.S. troops and weapons from South Vietnam, for the South Vietnam people settling their own affairs by themselves, along the line set forth by the Liberation Front.

With respect to the peaceful reunification of Vietnam, our Government has repeatedly made clear its view and attitude which are in accordance with the programme of the Vietnam Fatherland Front and the programme of the South Vietnam Liberation National Front: 'The urgent need of the entire people is peaceful reunification of the Fatherland. We stand for gradual reunification of the country by peaceful means, on the principle of the two zones negotiating, discussing together all forms and measures beneficial to the nation, to the Vietnam Fatherland.'

In a word, the only solution to the war in South Vietnam is this: the U.S. imperialists must withdraw their troops, respect and implement the Geneva Agreements, and let the people of South Vietnam

settle their own affairs by themselves ; peace, independence, democracy, neutrality should be ensured in South Vietnam, and peaceful reunification of Vietnam should be eventually achieved. All troubles in South Vietnam and in Indo-China have been fomented by the U. S. imperialists. If only the U. S. imperialists withdraw from South Vietnam everything will be settled.

Over the past few years, our northern countrymen have shown great patriotism, deep attachment for socialism, and have set forth brilliant examples of patriotism and proletarian internationalism. Now we must endeavour to realize the slogan set forth by President Ho Chi Minh: "Everyone redoubles his efforts to show our gratitude to our southern kiths and kins", we must be vigilant to the utmost, ready to thwart all schemes of the U. S. imperialists and their lackeys and foil their provocative acts against the North, support the struggle of our southern countrymen with all our solidarity with, and increase our support for the Laotian people and the Cambodian people in their struggle for the defence of their independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, oppose all intervention and aggression of the U. S. imperialists, thereby making a positive contribution to the preservation of peace in Indo-China and in South-East Asia.

During the last ten years, our southern countrymen have added most glorious pages to the history of the entire nation, have summed up extremely diverse experiences in the struggle of a small and weak nation against the U. S. imperialists' "special warfare"

and neo-colonialism, our southern countrymen's struggle has brought glory to our nation as a whole and constitutes a great encouragement to the liberation struggles of all oppressed peoples in Asia, Africa and Latin America and to the active struggle of the peace-loving people the world over. Although there are still many difficulties and hardships ahead our valiant southern countrymen will struggle with still greater determination and perseverance, and will certainly inflict still heavier defeats on the U. S. imperialists and their lackeys, and will certainly win final victory.

The U.S. imperialists will continue to intensify their great war efforts in South Vietnam and scheme to carry out their subversive activities in North Vietnam, their aggression against Laos, to undermine Cambodia's independence and neutrality, to sabotage peace in Indo-China and in South-East Asia. We earnestly call on the peoples of all countries, the oppressed peoples, the working class and peace-loving people in the world, the people of the United States to act in the interests of peace, national independence and social progress and to take every firm step to stay the hands of the aggressive, warmongering U.S. imperialists in South Vietnam, to demand withdrawal of U.S. troops from South Vietnam and strict and full implementation of the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Indo-China.

The U.S. imperialists in South Vietnam, Indo-China and other parts of the world have not laid down their murderous daggers. But the volcano of patriotic movement in South Vietnam is erupting and blazing

under their feet, the revolutionary storm in Asia, Africa and Latin America is shaking their empire and their fortresses; the might of the socialist camp, the citadel of world revolution and peace, is overcoming them. They will certainly meet with utter failure in South Vietnam, in Indo-China and everywhere in the world.

The southern part of our Fatherland will certainly be liberated. The goal of our struggle, which is to build a peaceful, united, independent, democratic and prosperous Vietnam, will certainly be attained. The struggle of the people of the world for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism will certainly win complete victory.

**PRESIDENT
HO CHI MINH'S SPEECH
at the closing session**

Comrade deputies,

While our entire people are enthusiastically engaged in the "Let everybody redouble his efforts" emulation drive for the sake of socialism and national reunification, the First Meeting of our National Assembly, Third Legislature, has worked with a great sense of urgency and recorded good success.

On behalf of the comrades elected to the state leading organs, I thank the National Assembly for the trust bestowed upon us. I make the following pledge before the National Assembly: For the sake of our Fatherland and our people we shall unrelentingly strive to fulfil our duty and do our best to merit the confidence of our compatriots and of the National Assembly.

For my part,

*Though seventy-four I feel by no means old,
And shall always strive to fulfil my duty,
When North and South are reunified
And our country prosperous and strong,
Then I shall feel very happy.*

Comrades,

The Government report delivered by Premier Pham Van Dong and all the papers read by the other deputies have highlighted our people's great endeavours and achievements in all fields. At present the

situation is most heartening. To build socialism is an extremely glorious task but it requires time and entails hardships. Our people must display perseverance and a strong determination to overcome all difficulties in order to win still more brilliant successes.

I suggest that our comrade deputies will conduct a vigorous and thorough campaign among our entire people to make them firmly grasp the spirit of collective mastership, eagerly emulate one another to fulfil the 1964 state plan, resolutely strive to secure a bumper autumn crop and make good preparations to bring the first five-year plan to a successful completion in 1965. We must work hard, enhance production, practise economy to raise our people's living standard still further.

For ten years now, our South Vietnamese compatriots have undergone an atrocious war unleashed by the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen.

But they have not been subdued and never shall be. Holding high the liberation banner, they have waged an extremely valiant struggle and are winning glorious victories. Fighting for independence, freedom and justice, our compatriots have upheld the spirit of our people — a heroic people determined not to be enslaved!

The successes recorded by our compatriots in the South show that the U.S. imperialists, no matter how many modern weapons they may have, are not to be feared. A people, united closely and struggling persistently, can completely defeat them.

I propose to our National Assembly to warmly hail our heroic compatriots in South Vietnam, warmly hail the valiant South Vietnamese fighters.

U.S. President Johnson has been talking glibly about "peace" and "freedom". I ask him: Is it for peace that U.S. troops, U.S. police dogs, U.S. bombs and bullets, and U.S. poisons have been sent to South Vietnam? Is it for freedom that the U.S. has been sabotaging the Geneva Agreements, interfering in Vietnam's internal affairs, and supporting the traitors in an attempt to prolong the partition of Vietnam? Your aggressive policy is contrary to justice and humanity and at variance with the U.S. Constitution. Please answer the above questions before the Vietnamese people, the American people and the world's people.

The threats made by the U.S. imperialists only arouse high indignation among our people in North Vietnam and make them heighten further their vigilance and stand ready to smash all provocative and sabotage acts of the U.S. to defend the Fatherland!

The U.S. aggressors ought to know that they have no other alternative than stopping their dirty war in South Vietnam. They must correctly implement the Geneva Agreements, withdraw all U.S. troops and weapons from South Vietnam, and leave the South Vietnamese people to settle their own affairs by themselves. This is a "fair solution", one that would allow the U.S. not to lose face.

On this occasion, on behalf of our people and our National Assembly, I express sincere thanks to the

brother countries, first of all the Soviet Union and China, and to the world's people including the American people for their wholehearted support of the patriotic struggle of the South Vietnamese people and of the whole Vietnamese people's struggle for the peaceful reunification of Vietnam.

The U.S. imperialists, who are invading South Vietnam, are at the same time using their lackeys to engineer a fratricidal war in Laos and sabotage the independence, peace and neutrality of that country: they are also constantly engaged in provocations against and threatening the independence, frontiers and territory of Cambodia. The people and Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam resolutely support the valiant struggle waged by the Laotian people, and the people and Government of Cambodia against the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys to defend their policy of peace and neutrality.

The Vietnamese people and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam resolutely support the people and Government of Indonesia in their struggle against neo-colonialism which is scheming to set up the "Malaysian Federation".

The people and Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam resolutely support the Asian, African and Latin American peoples who are courageously struggling against imperialism to wrest back and safeguard their independence and freedom.

Comrade deputies,

The revolutionary cause of our people is a truly heavy but at the same time very glorious task.

With the unity of mind of our National Assembly, the valiant struggle of our people and the exemplary spirit of our cadres who constantly volunteer for difficult tasks, we will certainly win complete victory.

Long live a peaceful, unified, independent, democratic, rich and strong Vietnam!

Long live the Vietnam Workers' Party!

Long live world peace!

STATEMENT
OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY
of the Democratic Republic of Viet-
nam (Third Legislature, First Session)

For ten years now, the U.S. imperialists have carried out aggression in South Vietnam, grossly violating the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Indo-China. Our compatriots in South Vietnam with the tradition of persevering and indomitable struggle of our nation, have closely united in the South Vietnam Liberation National Front to wage an extremely valiant patriotic struggle and have won many great successes. The U.S. imperialist aggressors and their henchmen have sustained one setback after another.

Of late, the U.S. imperialists have taken a step further in their adventurous path in South Vietnam and Indo-China. They have increased their "aid", sent more troops, weapons and war material to South Vietnam, and made all-out efforts to involve a number of member countries of S.E.A.T.O. and N.A.T.O. blocs in their war in South Vietnam. Moreover the U.S. Government has just appointed General Maxwell Taylor U.S. Ambassador to South Vietnam to carry out perfidious measures in an attempt to save the situation.

With regard to North Vietnam, the U.S. imperialists have intensified their provocative and sabotage activities and threatened to extend their war there.

With regard to Laos, the U.S. imperialists have violated the 1962 Geneva Agreement, instigated their henchmen to stage a coup d'état in an attempt

to undermine the Laotian tripartite National Union Government and the peace and neutrality of the Kingdom of Laos and rekindle the civil war.

With regard to Cambodia, the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen have repeatedly violated her territory and tried to use the name of the United Nations to legalize U.S. intervention in the South Vietnam-Cambodia border question.

It is crystal clear that the U.S. imperialists are sabotaging peace in Indo-China and South-East Asia in an extremely serious way.

The National Assembly of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam declares that the U.S. imperialists are the very warmongers and aggressors who have been sabotaging the 1954 and 1962 Geneva Agreements respectively on Indo-China and Laos; and that the tense situation in Indo-China and South-East Asia at present has been created by the U.S. imperialists. Concerning the South Vietnam problem, the only fair and reasonable solution is, as President Ho Chi Minh and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam have pointed out, the following one :

1. The U.S. Government as well as the Governments of the countries which took part in the 1954 Geneva Conference on Indo-China must live up to their commitments: respect the sovereignty, independence, unity and territorial integrity of Vietnam, and refrain from interfering in her internal affairs.

As the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam has done, the South Vietnam administration must strictly implement the very important military

provisions of the Geneva Agreements: it must not enter into any military alliance with foreign countries, not allow any foreign country to establish military bases on its territory and not admit any foreign military personnel there.

2. The U.S. Government must put an end to its aggressive war in South Vietnam, withdraw all its troops and weapons from there, and leave the South Vietnamese people to settle by themselves their own internal affairs in accordance with the programme of South Vietnam Liberation National Front.

3. The peaceful reunification of Vietnam is an internal affair of the Vietnam people; it will be solved in accordance with the spirit of the political programme of the Vietnam Fatherland Front and the programme of the South Vietnam Liberation National Front.

On behalf of the Vietnamese people, the National Assembly of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam resolutely demands that the U.S. Government stops at once all its provocative and sabotage activities against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. Should the U.S. imperialists and their stooges be rash enough to extend their war to North Vietnam, the entire people of North Vietnam would stand up as one man, together with the people of the South, to defeat them, and the peoples of the socialist countries and the other peoples of the world, including the American people who have opposed the U.S. imperialists' policy of aggression, would give a still more active support to the Vietnamese people in this just struggle.

The National Assembly of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam wholeheartedly supports the South Vietnam Liberation National Front and firmly believes that the South Vietnamese people, who are closely united under the Front's banner and are ever heightening their determination to fight and to win, will inflict still more bitter failures on the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen in South Vietnam to bring peace, independence, democracy and neutrality to South Vietnam at an early date, and advance towards the peaceful reunification of Vietnam.

The National Assembly of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam calls on the people of the North to endeavour to carry out the slogan: "Let everyone redouble his efforts to be worthy of our kith-and-kin compatriots in the South", so as to successfully fulfil the State plans, to constantly heighten their vigilance, resolutely check and annihilate all spies, commandos and saboteurs, and make all-out efforts to consolidate the North and support the liberation struggle of our compatriots in the South.

The National Assembly of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam calls on the peoples of the world, including the American people, for the sake of peace and justice, to broaden their struggle against the aggressive war of the U.S. imperialists in South Vietnam, and demand that the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Indo-China be strictly implemented.

With the close solidarity and the spirit of undaunted struggle of our people throughout the country, with the powerful support of the peoples of the brother

socialist countries, of the national liberation movement, and of the forces of peace and democracy throughout the world, *the Vietnamese people will certainly smash all schemes of the U.S. imperialists; South Vietnam will certainly be liberated, and we will certainly succeed in building a peaceful, unified, independent, democratic, rich and strong Vietnam.*

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