

produce for the local market as well as lead to the development of a flourishing food and agri-industry, yielding a supply for foreign exchange producing exports.

Industry will primarily be concentrated in the north where an industrial infrastructure now exists and in urban centers in the south. Although light industry will be promoted in the transitional period of the plan, it is seen as insufficient. "There are two tasks that are both fundamental and urgent. To ensure the minimum needs of the people's life while carrying out accumulation at the necessary tempo to build the material and technical bases of socialism." The political report asserts that a "great leap forward" in agriculture as well as industry will not be possible without augmenting "labor productivity." Here the task of industry will be located, to supply the tractors, earthmoving equipment, cement and steel required to expand irrigation and mechanization of agriculture and heavy industry.

To further this, Le Duan called for rapid expansion of trade and economic ties with all industrial nations; socialist and capitalist alike. The conference is reportedly to put forward the intensification of economic relations between Vietnam and Japan as a model for Western Europe and the United States. Japan is now a major trade partner of Vietnam and has negotiated its war debts in the form of multi-million dollar reconstruction aid and is participating in a variety of industrial projects.

This move by Vietnam towards the non-socialist west for economic cooperation and transfer of industrial technology, is a reminder to the United States of its obligation in "healing the wounds of war" as stipulated in Article 21 of the Paris Peace Accords. The Vietnamese have made informal negotiations with U.S. oil companies who held concessions under the old Saigon regime. British Petroleum, Aquitaine of France, and Norwegian and Japanese oil companies are now in active negotiations with Vietnam.

Daily Political Report to Vietnam Congress

Dec. 16 — The following are excerpts from the Draft Political Report to the Fourth Vietnam Workers Party Congress:

Preamble

The fourth party congress is held after our people's anti-U.S. war of resistance for national salvation has recorded total victory, the south has been liberated and our fatherland is independent and unified and is advancing toward socialism. The historical duties set forth by the third party congress have been fulfilled. Our glorious party — the party of the Vietnamese working class which was founded, led and trained by President Ho Chi Minh — has fulfilled its historic mission in an outstanding manner and is advancing toward its fourth congress with the big steps toward maturity and with organization (doij ngux) stronger and firmer than ever.

Part I: Great Victory, Historic Turning Point

Mid-1954 to May 1975 was the period of the extremely glorious and diversified revolutionary struggle of the Vietnamese people. This was the period when our people in the entire country, under the leadership of our party, simultaneously carried out two strategic tasks — achieving the national people's democratic revolution throughout the country and carrying out the socialist revolution in the north.

Liberating the South Unifying the Fatherland

1. After World War II, the world situation was changed greatly. The system of socialist countries was born; the national independence movement vigorously surged forward; the imperialist forces were seriously weakened; the United States became an international gendarme pursuing a counterrevolutionary global strategy. Waging the war of aggression against Vietnam; the U.S. imperialists attempted to impose

U.S.-style neocolonialism on our country, sabotage our people's cause of socialist revolution and at the same time check the national independence and socialist movement in Southeast Asia and the rest of the world. To carry out this scheme, the United States mobilized a very large military force and used numerous strategies, tactics and modern weapons coupled with several crafty diplomatic tricks.

2. Under the leadership of the party, our army and people fought extremely valiantly, successively defeating the U.S. strategies and advancing from one victory to another and ultimately to total victory...

With the total victory of the anti-U.S. national salvation resistance, the yoke of neocolonialist domination was broken forever in our country, and our fatherland became completely independent and unified. This victory foiled the biggest war effort mounted by the archimperialists since World War II, upset the global strategy of U.S. imperialism and drove it into an unprecedented difficult situation, limited and weakened the imperialist system, consolidated the outpost of socialism in Southeast Asia, expanded and strengthened the socialist system, and bolstered the strength and offensive position of the revolutionary forces in the world.

3. The great victory of the anti-U.S. national salvation resistance was a victory of the correct and clear-sighted leadership of our party; a victory in a struggle replete with difficulties, hardships and sacrifices, but an extremely courageous struggle of our people and army and tens of millions of patriotic compatriots in the south who set examples of heroism, displayed an indomitable spirit and persistently and continuously struggled for more than 30 years; a victory of the socialist regime in the north — the firm base area of the revolution in the

whole country; a victory of the unshakable solidarity among the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia; and a victory of the forces of socialism, national independence, democracy and peace in the world....

Our victory proves that in today's era, when the world's revolutionary forces are on the offense, a nation small in size and with a small population is fully capable of defeating the aggressive forces of imperialism, even those of archimperialism, if it stays closely united and resolutely struggles under the leadership of a Marxist-Leninist party which adopts correct revolutionary lines and methods and which upholds the two banners of national independence and socialism, and if it enjoys the sympathy, support and assistance of the socialist countries and revolutionary forces and progressive people in the world.

Part II: The Line of the Socialist Revolution in Vietnam

1. The essential features of the Vietnamese revolution in the new stage:

A. The major consideration is that Vietnam is still advancing directly from a decentralized economy of small scale production to large scale socialist production without going through the capitalist state of development. Small scale production is apparent in many aspects: the majority of the labor force is involved in handicrafts; the industrial base is still small; industry and agriculture have not been integrated into a single structure; social labor productivity is still low; organization and management are still fragmented....

C. Our country is carrying out the socialist revolution under favorable international conditions: the three revolutionary trends in the world continue to gain momentum and are in an offensive position; Imperialism is drowning in the general crisis and is being increasingly weakened; a new scientific and technological revolution is taking place in the world, and with our victory over U.S. imperialism our country has earned great prestige in the international arena.

On the other hand, the struggle between socialism and capitalism to solve the question of "which will win" is acute and complex.

2. These characteristics, particularly the direct advance from small scale production to large scale socialist production which determines the content and steps to be taken to develop the revolution, require that the socialist revolution in our country be highly self-conscious, always take the initiative and be very creative. The first decisive requirement to assure victory for the revolutionary cause is to constantly bring into full play the working people's right to be the masters of society.

The socialist revolution in our country is a process of continuous and comprehensive revolutionary changes; of combining transformation and construction by abolishing the old things and creating new ones. This is a process of arduous and complicated class struggle, of carrying out the three resolutions — the revolution in production relations, the scientific and technical revolution, and the cultural and ideological revolution, with the scientific and technical revolution as the

keystone — in order to build step by step the system of socialist collective and a new socialist man...

We must constantly bear in mind that a characteristic of the advance from small scale production to large scale socialist production is an organic combination of the production relations revolution, the scientific and technical revolution and the ideological and cultural revolution. This advance calls for close interaction and stimulation between production relations, the productive forces and the laboring man. Large scale socialist production can also be conscious and planned. Planning is the main ingredient in managing and directing the advance from small scale production to large scale socialist production. We must attach importance to use value and must proceed from the overall standpoint of collective masters to give full play to and to rationally apply the use value of labor, tools and lands.

We must have a good plan to make rational use of the labor force on a national scale as well as in each locality and each base and must organize the whole country and each locality to become a construction site. Meanwhile, we must attach importance to value and the law of value...

Part VI: The World Situation the International Obligation and Foreign Policy of Our Party

1. The victory of the October Socialist Revolution was the first great leap opening a new era, an era of transition for mankind to socialism. After World War II, the victory of the Soviet Union and of the other revolutionary progressive forces in the antifascist war opened a new period in the great development of the world revolution. The great victory of the revolution in China placed the balance of forces on the revolutionary side. Socialism has bypassed all the boundaries of individual states to become a world system. Over the past 30 years, the socialist countries have developed vigorously and outstandingly.

With its great successes in all respects, the world socialist system has today acquired a combined force clearly stronger than that of imperialism. The quick and continuous development of the socialist countries stems from the superiority of socialism. It permits the successful exploration of all the potential for production and natural resources in a country at high speed and the building of a beautiful and happy life. Life proves with each passing day that the world socialist system is continuing to develop its role as a factor determining the development of human society. It is a strong fortress of the world proletarian revolution and a firm base of the struggle movement of the world's people for peace, national independence, democracy and social progress.

2. The revolutionary storms which have shaken the Asian, African and Latin American continents, and which have attracted 2 billion people to the struggle movement for national independence, constitute the second event of our era following the formation of the world socialist system. The movement for national independence has taken place under various forms. The Dien Bien Phu victory of our people began with the collapse of old neocolonialism. A number of countries, in

regaining their independence to varying degrees, have gradually gained importance in international political area. They have continued to struggle to achieve and consolidate their political independence and to develop their national independent and sovereign economics. One of the characteristics of today's movement for national independence is that it tends to be linked with socialism. For this reason, the movement for national liberation and national independence plays a revolutionary and extremely important role in the transition to socialism throughout the world.

3. The workers' movement in the capitalist countries is a direct attack launched against world imperialism in its very lairs. The workers' movement which is being developed with each passing day in a broad and well-organized manner, with a rich meaning and under lively forms, has highlighted the very great capabilities of the laboring class. Together with other democratic forces, it has directly dealt harsh blows at the capitalist monopolist class. It proves that the laboring class will certainly defeat all reactionary forces and sooner or later will eliminate capitalism from social life forever.

These joint currents, which form a great revolutionary movement in the world, will continuously launch an attack against imperialism from all directions.

4. To face the world revolutionary movement and to save the moribund capitalist regime, capitalism is being transformed into a state monopolist capitalism at a very urgent speed. Imperialism led by the United States, has worked to prepare for a new world war and has sought every means possible to counterattack the revolutionary movement in the hope of restoring the positions it lost and of checking the development of socialism. It has carried out neocolonialism by various ruthless and perfidious measures. It has plotted to lure all the newly independent countries to the capitalist orbit and to dispute and maintain the markets, the resources of raw materials and oil and the regions of advantageous investment. This is the basic policy of the U.S. imperialists, aimed at realizing their role of international gendarme and their ambition of world hegemony. The U.S. imperialists have plotted to repel the revolution and then to reverse the general situation of the world.

However, after 20 years of involvement in Vietnam — during almost 10 years of which the U.S. expeditionary troops participated directly in the fighting — U.S. imperialism has been utterly beaten and forced to accept defeat and withdraw its troops.

The total U.S. defeat in the war of aggression in Vietnam marked a downhill turn of U.S. imperialism, which has lost much of its superiority in military, political and economic strength. The capitalist world has sunk even more deeply into its drawn-out period of irreversible general crisis.

5. Thirty years after World War II, especially since the end of the Vietnam war, the world has witnessed a new change in the balance of forces favorable for the revolution and a new developmental step in the struggle of the world's people for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

The reality of life has increasingly demonstrated the realistic character of the capability of nations to prevent another world war and maintain lasting peace. Peace is not only a result of the democratic and antiwar movement, but also chiefly a result of the revolutionary struggle of all anti-imperialist forces, of the offensive strategy to repel imperialism step by step and overthrow it piece by piece, to render the war policy bankrupt and to advance toward completely frustrating its warmongering policy.

Naturally, imperialism will not give up its policy of using force. It has never reduced the arms race but has instead accelerated it. The nature of imperialism has not changed. This situation requires that the revolutionary forces constantly heighten their vigilance, persist in their struggle, and organize and train the masses in revolutionary struggle in order to foil all imperialist schemes of war provocation and aggression.

National independence is the first objective of the people in many countries. As long as imperialism continues to exist, the issue of struggling to liberate nations, defend independence and freedom, implement the right to self-determination and achieve equality among nations continues to be a primary point in the program of action of the revolutionary forces.

At the present time in particular — when, through its neocolonialist policy and its counterrevolutionary global strategy, U.S. imperialism continues its efforts to maintain its colonialist positions, violate the sovereignty of nations and seek ways to divide and undermine the socialist countries — national independence has become a foremost revolutionary slogan which fully meets the urgent demands of all nations in the world.

Democracy is also an urgent demand closely linked with national independence and socialism. Democracy is a basic factor for mobilizing the masses of people to rise up against imperialism and its lackeys. Therefore, democracy must be, first of all, democracy for the workers, the main force in the struggle for national independence.

In the capitalist and imperialist countries, democracy is a slogan of revolutionary struggle aimed at repelling state monopolist capitalism step by step and winning victory step by step, thus creating the premises and conditions to advance toward winning victory for socialism.

In the present historic conditions, socialism has become the direct goal of struggle of the peoples in all countries. Never before has the socialist revolution achieved such capabilities for vigorous development as today. All movements for national independence and democracy are linked with socialism and are changing their course toward socialism. The road to socialism is the guarantee of genuine independence and democracy for all nations.

The present scientific and technical revolution in the world is creating great possibilities for the socialist countries to scale new heights on the road to conquering nature with a view to successfully building socialism and communism. At the same time, this revolution is creating conditions for underdeveloped countries to make use of the achievements of modern science and technology in order to rapidly do away with poverty and backwardness.

6. ...This struggle requires that attention be paid to building and developing the world people's front against warmongering imperialism headed by U.S. imperialism. This front is very large and broad. Its very basic forces are the socialist countries, the international communist and workers' movement and the national independence movement. This front is directed against the imperialist chieftain — U.S. imperialism. In the struggle to settle on a world scale the question of "who will win — socialism or capitalism," the restoration and consolidation of the solidarity of the socialist system and the international communist and workers' movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism is a question of paramount importance.

The total victory of our people in their anti-U.S. national salvation resistance is closely related to the wholehearted support and great assistance of our brothers and friends the world over. We express our profound gratitude to the Soviet Union, China and other fraternal socialist countries, to the peoples of Laos and Cambodia, to the communist and workers' parties and to progressive people throughout the world for this support and assistance. Our people's victory has made a worthy contribution to the common victory of nations and to the constant growth of the world revolutionary forces. It has also created new advantages for our party, state and people to continue fulfilling their international obligations.

Following are the basic objectives of our foreign policy:

- A. To endeavor to consolidate and strengthen the militant solidarity and cooperation between our country and all fraternal socialist countries, and to do our best to contribute together with the international communist and workers' movement to restoring and consolidating solidarity and strengthening mutual support and assistance on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism in a way compatible with both sentiment and reason.
- B. To endeavor to defend and develop the special relations between the Vietnamese people and the peoples of Laos and Cambodia; to strengthen militant solidarity, mutual trust and long-term cooperation and mutual assistance in all fields between our country and fraternal Laos and Cambodia on the principle of complete equality,

respect for each other's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, and respect for each other's legitimate interests so that the three countries may be forever bound together in the common cause of national construction and defense.

- C. To fully support the just cause of the peoples of Southeast Asia for national independence, democracy, peace and genuine neutrality, without foreign military bases and troops on their lands; to stand ready to establish and develop relations of friendship and cooperation with the countries of Southeast Asia.
- D. To fully support the struggle of the peoples in Asia, Africa and Latin America against imperialism, old and new colonialism and racial discrimination, for national independence, democracy and social progress; to strengthen the solidarity, friendship and cooperation and mutual assistance in all fields between our country and the developing countries; and to actively contribute to the struggle of the movement of non-aligned countries against the aggressive and monopolistic policy of imperialism.
- E. To fully support the just cause of the working class and laboring people in the capitalist countries, who are forming a broad, unified front to direct their struggle at the ringleaders of domestic and foreign capital monopoly; to achieve victory step by step and to advance toward winning total victory for socialism.
- F. To establish and widen normal relations with all countries, irrespective of their social systems, on the basis of respect for each other's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity and of equality, mutual benefit and peaceful coexistence.
- G. To resolutely join forces with the fraternal socialist countries and progressives in the world in continuing the struggle against the aggressive and warmongering policy of the imperialists — headed by the U.S. imperialists — in order to maintain and consolidate world peace.

With its correct international line and with its nature as a Marxist-Leninist and internationalist party, our party will unceasingly educate its members and our people to be thoroughly imbued with the pure revolutionary sentiments of President Ho Chi Minh in order to successfully carry out these tasks and foreign policy....