

LE DUAN



**VIETNAM
SOCIAL
AND ECONOMIC
PROBLEMS
OF THE '80s**

FOREIGN LANGUAGES PUBLISHING HOUSE
HANOI — 1984

LE DUAN

Vietnam:

**SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC
PROBLEMS OF THE '80s**

FOREIGN LANGUAGES PUBLISHING HOUSE

Hanoi - 1984

CONTENTS

| | |
|---|-----|
| <i>Foreword</i> | 5 |
| Present Socio-Economic Tasks | 7 |
| Bring About Profound Socio-Economic Changes | 43 |
| The Vanguard Role of The Capital City | 76 |
| Our Building of Socialism Is Bound To Be A Success | 83 |
| Let Us Follow The Strategic Orientation That Has Been Charted | 98 |
| The District: The Base For The Three Revolutions | 109 |
| Agriculture, Forestry and Fishery To Be Closely Combined | 118 |
| All-Sided Economic Development Must Go Together With Consolidation of National Defence | 130 |
| The Trade Unions and Economic Transformation and Development | 142 |
| Let All Nationalities Unite To Build A New Life | 152 |

FOREWORD

After thirty years of war the Vietnamese people won complete independence and achieved national reunification.

However, ever since 1975 difficulties of all kinds have been piling up: in addition to the aftermaths of war there have been repeated natural calamities and unrelenting attacks by international reactionary forces, including armed aggression. After overcoming the effects of the serious upheavals of 1979 — 1981, the Vietnamese people have made new efforts and recorded initial results.

To help our readers achieve some understanding of problems facing Vietnam in the 1980's, especially the objectives and orientation she has set for herself in socio-economic development, this brochure is published. Between its covers are excerpts from the Political Report delivered at the Fifth

National Congress of the Communist Party of Vietnam (March 1982) and a number of writings and speeches by Party General Secretary Le Duan at central and regional conferences in the period extending from the conclusion of the Congress to March 1984.

Foreign Languages Publishing House
Hanoi

PRESENT SOCIO — ECONOMIC TASKS*

The experience of the five years 1976-80 spells out the need to put into practice the Party's lines — the overall line of socialist revolution and the line of building a socialist economy in our country — and to map out a socio-economic strategy for the first stage of socialist industrialization. To lay the basis for such a strategy, this Congress must define the economic and social objectives together with the main policy measures to achieve them.

Basing ourselves on the Party's policies and proceeding from the present state of our national economy, we define the overall economic and social objectives of the eighties as follows:

1. To meet the most pressing and essential requirements of everyday life, gradually stabilizing, and eventually improving to some extent the people's material and cultural livelihood. First of all, we must end the grain and foodstuffs shortage, and make efforts to meet the requirements in clothing, study, medical care, housing, transport, child care, and other essential consumer needs.

* Excerpts from the Political Report presented at the 5th National Congress of the Communist Party of Vietnam in March 1982.

2. To continue building the material and technological infrastructure of socialism, with the emphasis on boosting agriculture, consumer goods production and exports, while at the same time improving the technical basis of the other economic branches, and making preparations for a more vigorous development of heavy industry in the next stage.

3. To complete the socialist transformation in the southern provinces; to continue perfecting the socialist relations of production in the North; and to consolidate the socialist relations of production in the whole country.

4. To meet the requirements of national defence and to maintain security and order.

Implementing these four overall objectives requires a fundamental change in the present state of our economy:

First, the gross national product must expand in order to meet the demands of social consumption and ensure accumulation from within the economy, both of which tasks it fails to achieve at present.

Second, the gross national product must improve in both volume and structure from the present position where it remains too low and unbalanced, in order to meet an important part of the country's needs, including the import of articles unavailable or in short supply at home, to be paid with the income from exports.

To bring about a fundamental change in the present state of the economy, we must create new productive forces and improve social labour productivity, even in the absence of a developed industrial base. To this end, we must *carefully decide which economic and social policy measures to adopt*.

1. The first and most decisive factor is a *correct combination of industry and agriculture*.

Our most valuable asset is *labour*; the greatest potential resource which can be immediately tapped and which is also the most labour-intensive, is the *land* (including the forests and the sea); a large productive capacity is available in the *local industries and trades* (including side-line occupations in the countryside, handicrafts, small industries, and consumer goods industries) which have plenty of scope to expand and which can employ a large labour force. Our main mobilizing strength lies in the *socialist collective mastery system* which makes it possible to combine social labour with land, to ensure a vigorous expansion of local industries and trades, and to rapidly create new productive forces.

Thus the most important task, which can and must come first is to *achieve collective mastery in the interest of a rational and effective use of labour and land, and a vigorous expansion of local industries and trades* at all points of production, in every locality, and throughout the country; the purpose is to provide jobs for all working people, to exploit all available land, to develop all branches and trades in both quantity and scope, to achieve better social labour productivity, a higher gross national product, and a wider variety of products. To this end, we must concentrate our forces on a vigorous development of agriculture, *take it a further step towards large-scale socialist production* in a structure closely combining agriculture, consumer goods industries, and heavy industry.

Taking agriculture a step further towards large-scale socialist production in the eighties requires the following main orientation:

Firstly, agricultural production work and the distribution of agricultural produce must proceed in accordance with the plans of the whole country. Under these plans, agriculture must strive to fulfil three tasks: to ensure food supplies for the whole of society, to supply agricultural produce as raw materials for consumer goods industries, and to create an important source of export items. The use of labour and land must be geared toward intensive cultivation, crop specialization and overall diversification in order to expand crops, livestock breeding, food processing, and other branches and trades in the countryside. Rational and scientifically based decisions must be taken regarding the structure of crops, livestock, local industries and trades to put both agricultural and forest lands to maximum use, so that the environment is well protected, every hectare of land is exploited with high economic effectiveness, and all local industries and trades can yield high incomes. A rational division of labour must be achieved in each establishment and each locality to spur intensive farming and crop multiplication. At the same time, the work force must be redistributed on a nation-wide scale to expand farming areas with the same zeal as in the fight against the enemy, under close guidance, and following practical plans drawn up on the basis of past experience in land clearance to ensure their effectiveness. We must strive to reclaim within three five-year plans all ten million

hectares of agricultural land and fifteen million hectares of forest land, and to grow an average of two crops a year on arable land.

Secondly, step up the scientific and technological revolution in agriculture, actively build material and technical facilities, and make further advances in modernizing agriculture. Step up the building of water conservancy projects, both for irrigation and drainage; improve the soil and equip the land, widely applying achievements in biology to crops and stockbreeding; broaden the use of chemicals; make the most available sources of organic fertilizers while trying by every means to secure more chemical fertilizers and improve our performance in the fight against pests and epizootic diseases; mechanize agriculture in a way suitable to each locality, properly combining mechanized means with manual methods and semi-mechanized means, in order to maximize economic effectiveness; develop the processing industry, ensure good storage and timely transportation. To this end, we must bring into play our country's material and intellectual potentialities especially in heavy industry, and at the same time import technical equipment unavailable or lacking at home, to be paid for by exports.

Thirdly, complete the socialist transformation of agriculture in a correct manner. Strive to perfect the cooperatives and production collectives, raise the quality of the collective economic sector, encourage the development of the household economy in the right direction. Achieve a steady development of the State sector in appropriate areas, expand business in crop plants and animals for breeding, and develop suitable outlets for agriculture.

Stress the consolidation of the State farms whose productivity, quality and effectiveness are to be increased, to make them true models of production and management. Establish and broaden socialist economic relations between the State and cooperatives, production collectives, and individual peasants and relations between industry and agriculture, town and country. This will be achieved through State plans, economic contracts, State purchase of agricultural produce and sale of industrial articles, and various forms of production and business association.

Fourthly, the district will become the main level carrying out the three previous orientations. The grassroots of the district's economic structure is made up of cooperatives, agricultural production collectives, small industrial enterprises, and includes State farms, district afforestation centres, and other production units. We must actively build the districts by combining agriculture and industry (or forestry, agriculture and industry, or fishery, agriculture and industry, depending on the specific conditions of each district) that is to say, take the district as the basic unit for the division of labour and reorganization of production, put labour land forest and sea to good use, introduce intensive farming, crop specialization, expand crops and stockbreeding, develop local industries and trades. Finally we must reorganize the association of cooperative farms, handicraft units, small industrial establishments, and other production units jointly set up by the cooperatives, along with a number of State-run production establishments, technical stations, equipment stores, exchange counters purchasing agricultural produce and selling

consumer goods. The economic structure of each district will be shaped by its economic conditions, its choice of production activities, specialization and trading links, and by the requirements and possibilities of the cooperative farms and agricultural production collectives. At the same time, building the district's economic structure must be linked to the provincial and national programmes of economic development. On the other hand, building the district cannot be divorced from building and strengthening the cooperatives and agricultural production collectives, but must aim at meeting the requirements of the local population, developing exports and contributing to national construction. Along with economic expansion, it is necessary to develop education, culture, medical care, physical education and sports, etc., to properly organize the material and cultural life of the population, and develop a new type of countryside. We must combine the economy and national defence, and turn the districts into powerful defence units. Developing the districts in this way is the responsibility of the State, of economic and cultural establishments, and of the entire population of each district. In all fields, we must strictly adhere to the policy of "joint efforts by the State and the people." Active contributions by the people in labour, ideas and talent, materials and capital will play an extremely important role. We must take steps to review our work in the districts, draw experience from it, while giving priority as far as State help is concerned to the districts in key areas regarding grain, foodstuffs, important industrial crops and crops with high yields of marketable produce, especially

export items. We must also attach great importance to the training of cadres for the districts.

Taking agriculture towards large-scale socialist production does not mean in any way developing agriculture in isolation, but as part of a structure which closely and correctly combines agriculture with industry. The development of agriculture must be combined with that of consumer goods industries, in both extent and scope, from food-processing and light industries to small industry and handicrafts in the towns and the countryside. To boost consumer goods production is crucial policy orientation to meet the material and cultural needs of society, broaden the domestic market, create an important source of exports, and expand the market abroad. To boost consumer goods production is to increase the value of agricultural produce, provide the State with commodities for exchange with the peasants, stimulate agricultural production; broaden the division of labour, create more jobs, develop the economy, increase social labour productivity, the national product and national income in the present stage. We must classify all branches and trades, achieve a rational division of labour and cooperation in the whole country, bring into play the capacity of central and local industries, small industry, handicrafts, and use each individual craft worker with a view to developing production in major cities, provincial capitals and rural areas. *Small industry and handicrafts* in our country have great potential as an important section of the consumer goods industry. They are being transformed and reorganized into a component of the socialist economy, and will hold an important position in the national economy over a

long period, especially in this first stage. As an immediate step, we should pay due attention to increasing supplies of equipment, improving techniques, producing and supplying raw materials, using economic incentives, giving appropriate encouragement to groups and individual working people, in order to achieve a vigorous development of small industry and handicrafts from traditional trades to those recently created.

To develop agriculture and consumer goods production is to lay the foundations for the development of heavy industry. On the other hand, to develop agriculture and consumer goods production, we must fully use available industrial capabilities, build in a rational way the essential heavy industries to supply electric power, coal, petrol, fertilizers, insecticides, basic chemicals, ordinary tools, semi-mechanized and mechanized tools, building materials, etc. At the same time we must boost other areas of heavy industry so as to increase the sources of materials and export goods, and supply additional technical equipment to other economic branches and to heavy industry itself. Goods which our heavy industry cannot supply to agriculture and light industry must be imported and paid by exports from agriculture, light and heavy industries.

While developing heavy industry principally and primarily with the purpose of boosting agriculture and consumer good industries, we should make preparations — especially conduct more intensive geological surveys — so that when favourable conditions obtain, we can start the construction of a number of key heavy industrial projects, especially in engineering and metallurgy. For

we should not lose sight of the fact that the material-technological basis of socialism remains mechanized heavy industry capable of transforming agriculture and providing new technical equipment to the whole economy.

To further the development of agriculture, the consumer goods industry and heavy industry, to meet the requirements of production, construction, national defence, security, and the people's life, *communication and transport* must be improved in all respects: organization, management, guidance, material facilities, technical equipment, unloading and transportation means; the *postal communication* network must be expanded and improved.

Thus, in the five years 1981-85 and in the eighties as a whole, it is necessary to concentrate on a vigorous development of agriculture, to regard it as a priority, to take it a step further to large-scale socialist production, to strive to boost consumer goods production and to carry on the building of a number of important branches of heavy industry; to combine agriculture, consumer goods industry and heavy industry in a rational agro-industrial structure. These are main orientations of socialist industrialization in the coming stage.

That is precisely "to give priority to the rational development of heavy industry on the basis of developing agriculture and light industry", and to create a new productive force in this first stage. This is also to lay the basis for later stepping up socialist industrialization. At this later stage the main aim will be to build a modern agro-industrial structure with a comparatively developed heavy industry as its core.

TO THE PEOPLE

2. ~~Correctly combine~~ the building of the central economy with a vigorous development of local economies in a unified national economic structure. For good results in this respect, it is necessary to draw up an overall plan of development and distribution of productive forces. What should be stressed at present is the need to overcome obstacles at an early date, define a rational structure for local economies, achieve a smooth coordination of central and local economies, and properly combine branch-based management with local and area-based management. We must extend the scope for initiative and responsibility of the local authorities in the areas of planning, budget, materials, labour, personnel, organization, etc. The relationship between the central and local levels must correctly embody the principle of democratic centralism with the higher and lower levels being closely linked together to eliminate bureaucratic centralization and organisational paralysis. All this aims at creating the conditions for a vigorous development of local economies and a constant strengthening of the economic and technical branches.

We must step up the transformation and expansion of Hanoi, the political centre of the country, and Ho Chi Minh City into large economic, cultural, scientific, technological and foreign trading centres. The building of these two centres must rely on the efforts of the two cities themselves; at the same time, it must feature as an important task in the State plan, on the agenda of the Council of Ministers. The building of the capital city in particular is the joint responsibility of the whole country, and all branches, all forces must be involved. We should rely on the strong points of the two cities

regarding skilled and educated workers, available material-technical facilities and scientific and technological potentialities to develop industry, small industry and handicrafts, and turn out large amounts of consumer goods and technical products, with a view to meeting the needs of the whole country and boosting exports.

Efforts should be made to achieve rapid progress in *the mountain provinces and districts* in the North, the Tay Nguyen and the central coastal provinces. To this effect, we should make the most of the local work force in combination with labour imported from other areas. Combine the development of agriculture with that of forestry and the gradual building of industry, attach particular importance to expanding communications and transport and developing education, medical care, and culture in order to raise the material and cultural living standards of the various ethnic groups; combine economic development with national defence and maintaining security. For this purpose, we must complete the handing over of forest and forest land to the districts for management, and to cooperatives for exploitation according to State plans and regulations. The mountainous provinces and districts must turn to good account their strong points, base their development on agriculture and forestry, use the land to combine agriculture and forestry, organize specialized production along with trading operations, and economic autarky, expand economic relations between the highlands and the lowlands, boost trade, thereby meeting the food, clothing and other daily needs of the local population, and increasing their contributions to national construction and defence. These orientations will limit, and eventually

put an end to forest destructions and bring about conditions to really achieve sedentary abode and farming for the local population. In its investment policy, the State must pay due attention to the mountain provinces and districts; at the same time, it is necessary to issue and enforce other policies where appropriate to resolve particular problems of the mountain areas such as environmental protection, full use of the labour force, exploitation of special products, development of communications, cultural development, training, deployment and remuneration of cadres, etc.

3. *To ensure a good correspondence between productive forces and relations of production*, constantly and closely combine the transformation of the relations of production with the reorganization and development of production.

Continue the movement of agricultural cooperativization in the Mekong delta provinces, and gradually take agriculture towards large-scale socialist production. Overcome sluggishness, hesitation, inaction in directing the cooperativization movement; on the other hand, avoid hastiness, oversimplification, overambitious and purely formal undertakings. Carry out land readjustments so that all working peasants have land to till; in those places not yet earmarked for transformation, such readjustments are to be conducted at once with a view to creating preconditions for cooperativization. Along with setting up production collectives and cooperative farms, develop marketing and credit cooperatives.

In building the cooperatives and production collectives, we must sum up and popularize in good time the experience of advanced units in consolidating the social ownership system and improving management and distribution. Achieve good management of the farm land, decide upon a suitable size for cooperative farms and production collectives, carry out adequate size readjustments where absolutely necessary, widely apply and perfect the product-based contract system for groups and individuals. Assist average and weak units to enable them to catch up with advanced ones.

Reorganize and consolidate fishing cooperatives in the North, and set up fishing collectives and fishing cooperatives in the South.

With regard to private capitalist industry, we must work out suitable policies to move towards joint State-private enterprises or other forms. The capitalist component is to be radically eliminated in trade. With regard to small industry, handicrafts and service branches, we shall resort to collective forms of operation or maintain individual ownership depending on the particular features of each trade.

Gradually shift excess small traders to production and other service activities. For a long period ahead, there will coexist three economic sectors in the North (State-run, collective and individual), and five in the South (State-run, collective, joint State-private, individual, and private capitalist).

The State must unceasingly consolidate the State economy, and support, encourage and strengthen the collective economy as much as possible. With appropriate policies and organizational forms of production,

it must strengthen its close ties with collective and individual economic organizations, and take care to associate the different economic components under the direction of the State economy in furtherance of the interests of socialist construction and socialist transformation along the lines laid down in the State plans.

In the process of economic transformation and construction we must correctly define the relationship between large, medium and small-scale economies, between mechanized, semi-mechanized and manual techniques; achieve a combination of these suitable to each branch, trade and locality; ensure a rational size and appropriate techniques for each unit; and attach greater importance to medium and small-scale industry, and to semi-mechanized and manual techniques.

4. *Combine economic construction with national defence* according to a basic and long-term plan, and at the same time, provide in advance for timely and appropriate contingency plans. We must work out a mobilization plan so that the national economy is prepared in case of further aggression.

The planning of economic zones, the redistribution of labour and productive forces, the building of economic-technical branches, and the development of local economies must aim at bringing about a unified strategic set-up in both the economy and national defence, on a nation-wide and a local basis. Both the central and local economies should try to provide on-the-spot logistics support.

Develop the defence industry in an appropriate manner; and at the same time, turn to account its capacity to contribute to economic development.

While constantly increasing their fighting capacity and combat-readiness, the army must engage in production to provide for part of their needs, at least in those units in a position to do so. At the same time the defence industry must participate in appropriate economic activities, and use part of its capacity to take on the building of a number of projects. While participating in economic construction, the army must learn production and management techniques so as to ensure productivity and effectiveness.

5. Combine economic development at home with the *expansion of economic relations with foreign countries*. In view of their special importance, external economic relations must be strengthened. Firmly grasp the leading principle in foreign trade, namely broaden and strengthen all-round cooperation with the Soviet Union, develop cooperation with the other members of COMECON in the direction of socialist economic integration, take an active part in the process of international division of labour, in specialization and cooperation in production in appropriate fields; broaden all-round cooperation and mutual assistance with Laos and Kampuchea in order to develop the economic potentialities of each country; at the same time, expand in an appropriate way our economic relations with countries outside the socialist community. Attach the utmost importance to economic effectiveness; make good use of foreign loans and aid; strive to bring into play the full effect of the assistance extended by the Soviet Union and the other friendly countries, endeavour to fulfil our obligations, promote our international

credibility; resolutely overcome any tendency to wait for, and rely upon external aid.

In all our economic activities, a task of strategic significance for our entire Party and people is to strive to *increase exports for the purpose of imports*. We must promote exports to import technology, equipment, machinery, spare parts, and materials for the scientific-technological revolution and industrialization. Exports must effectively contribute to creating a new balance in the economy, a new economic structure, and as an immediate step, gradually provide for the requirements of production and daily life. We must strive for a rapid increase of export turnover, gradually narrowing down the gap between exports and imports, and eventually balancing them. We must try by every means to use our abundant workforce and exploit all possibilities regarding land, forest, sea resources, branches and trades, material and technical facilities with the aim to rapidly increase the sources of export items. We must pay special attention to tropical agricultural produce, forestry, sea and animal husbandry products, some items of consumer goods, some products of heavy industry, and a number of minerals. In addition, we must try to widen tourism and other services to earn foreign currencies. We must pursue a policy of thrift in home consumption in order to increase exports. While seeking an all-round development of exports, we must strive to produce leading export items of high value, in large and stable quantities, with steady markets.

Our policy is one of State monopoly over foreign trade and unified trade management by the central authorities. According to this principle, every branch, locality,

establishment with a responsibility for export must strive to provide by its own means for its import requirements, and contribute foreign currency to the central authority. The various branches, localities, major economic organizations (such as companies and industrial combines) are entitled to conduct export-import transaction in accordance with the principles, policies, and unified management regulations of the State. In this spirit, the State should enact appropriate policies and regulations to encourage the expansion of export-import activities and ensure their good handling. An important area for the State is to organize effective cooperation with foreign countries in order to quickly increase our export capacity.

6. *Extend the division of labour, redistribute and redeploy the work force in the whole country to increase labour productivity.* This is a requirement and also a leading orientation of all socio-economic plans. To achieve an extended division of labour on a local basis, along with a redistribution of the work force, on a nation-wide basis, combine labour with land natural resources and other means of production available, achieve a vigorous expansion of trades and professions, with a view to providing jobs for all working people and quickly creating a larger volume of products. To encourage all workers in every establishment, to enhance their revolutionary ardour and sense of collective mastery, improve their skills, promote initiatives, rationalize production, improve techniques; and strive to turn out more and better products with an equal or even reduced material input. Rely on the strength of collective mastery, on correct planning, on

the use of appropriate incentive policies, and effective measures of organization and mobilization, and in particular a stronger *socialist emulation movement*, to bring about a drastic change in individual and social labour productivity.

In the years 1981-85 we must extend the division of labour, make full use of the work force available at district level, and move large numbers of workers from densely-populated areas, towns and cities, to sparsely-populated districts to join the local population in production, to set up new economic zones in agriculture and forestry, and build important water conservancy, communications and industrial projects. Strive to achieve a marked increase in labour productivity in every economic establishment, especially in industry and agriculture. Resolutely streamline the State bodies, and redeploy an important section of higher level cadres and employees to reinforce the grassroots or to take part in production work.

The existing *technical work force* must be better managed and used; at the same time, we must strive for higher efficiency in training technicians and skilled workers, emphasizing higher quality and better integration in a more rational structure.

We must draw up and implement a correct *population policy*. One extremely important issue of strategic significance both economically and socially, requiring the utmost concern and direct attention of Party organizations and administrative bodies at all levels, is to improve the *family planning* campaign. After a number of specific policies and regulations which are no longer appropriate, amend and issue relevant policies and

exercise very tight and resolute guidance over their implementation in order to bring down the population increase rate to an acceptable level.

7. *Step up scientific and technological work.* This is an important area for the scientific-technological revolution, the kingpin of the three revolutions. Nowadays high scientific and technological standards, in particular the speedy application of scientific achievements, the creation of high technologies in production, constitute one of the factors determining the economic strength of a country. As far as Vietnam is concerned our requirements in productivity, quality and efficiency in economic construction and management, development, thrift, the manufacture of new products and substitutes, especially in the field of consumer goods, export items, engineering, metallurgy, chemicals, building materials, etc., are making huge demands on science (natural sciences, applied sciences, social sciences) and technology. To meet these demands, we must master those scientific and technological disciplines that are necessary for our country. We must work with the determination to master at any cost what the country requires.

We must link the scientific and technological activities to production, daily life and national defence; achieve a good performance in scientific research; bring into play in a fitting manner the role of every science; at the same time closely combine social sciences, natural sciences and applied sciences; attach great importance to the organization of collaboration and coordination between various sciences through inter-disciplinary activities for the purposes of joint research to resolve important scientific and technological problems. In

particular, progress is needed in widely and speedily applying scientific achievements and technical progress to production, management, and other aspects of socio-economic life.

Combine research work by the scientific and technological institutions with the experience of the broad masses of scientific workers, technicians, managerial cadres and working people in farms, factories, etc., with a view to carrying out integrated research programmes according to State objectives, especially in the field of agriculture, consumer goods production and exports. Scientific and technological progress must become a leading priority of socio-economic management and planning must be renovated to encourage the application of scientific and technological achievements; the scientific research institutes are to be re-arranged and perfected; the socio-economic effectiveness of scientific activities is to be enhanced. Make good use of the assistance of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries in the field of scientific and technology, and at the same time endeavour to establish relations in this field with countries outside the socialist community.

Generate powerful mass movement to master science and technology, quickly apply scientific achievements and technological progress, observe technical processes, procedures, standards and norms, introduce technical innovations and improvements, and raise professional knowledge and skills. Achieve a better performance in scientific and technological management; take constant care to make good use of scientific workers, technicians and the millions of skilled workers, to promote their ability, and give them continued political and ideological

education and professional training. In this spirit, universal general education is not only a matter of raising the cultural living standards, it has become an increasing pressing economic requirement.

8. Correctly resolve the *relationship between accumulation and consumption*, in order to satisfy the present requirements of daily life and national defence and security, and to build the material-technological basis of socialism in order to improve living conditions and meet the requirements of national defence and security at a higher level in the future. For a satisfactory combination of consumption and accumulation, which are now equally pressing requirements, the basic task is to boost production, increase labour productivity, and practise thrift.

To practise thrift is a major and long-term national policy which should be made the subject of specific policies, regulations, target figures and measures. Practise thrift in all fields: capital construction, production, daily life, national defence and security spendings, and administrative expenses. Practise thrift in all respects; capital, materials, energy, raw materials, equipment, machinery, consumer goods, time and labour. Practise thrift in social and individual consumption and in the spendings of the State, collectives and people. Although the living standards of our working people are still low, we should clearly realize that we are consuming beyond what we can produce. This is unacceptable. *We must live by the fruit of our own labour, and refrain from consuming beyond the limits permitted by production.* We must ensure the basic requirements of daily life but we must be prepared to endure

difficulties to safeguard national independence and freedom, and set aside an appropriate amount for accumulation in order to achieve enlarged reproduction and build the material and technological infrastructure of socialism.

Each establishment, each locality, each branch must strive to accumulate, to mobilize and put to good use all source of capital, all accumulation possibilities of the central, local and grassroots levels, of the State and the people, and concentrate capital in key branches, key areas, key projects as specified in the socio-economic strategy and the State plans.

9. To establish a new socialist order in goods distribution and circulation so as to help stabilize living conditions, boost production, bring about a turn for the better in the economic and social situation. Bring into play the action of distribution and circulation as a lever and a bridge between agriculture and industry, town and country, State enterprises, collectives and individuals, central, local, and grassroots levels. Highlight the active role of distribution and circulation in stimulating production and serving consumption. Distribution and circulation must play an effective part in the struggle between the two paths, expanding the positions of socialism, rolling back those of spontaneous capitalism, regulating the incomes of the various strata of people in a fair and rational way. It is necessary to closely combine economic, administrative and educational incentives with economic incentives at the centre.

A problem of prime importance is to increase the circulation of commodities, and concentrate goods, primarily essential goods, into the hands of the State.

To this end, the State sector must be strengthened and the State-run enterprises must vigorously develop production and strictly abide by regulations in handing over their produce to the State. The State must boost production and extend its control over goods from the collective and individual economic sectors through taxation in kind, purchases of mandatory quotas, and mutual contracts; all branches, all levels must constantly fight against theft and waste of State commodities and materials.

We must adopt at an early date an active *financial and monetary* policy suited to the current stage. The State must use finance and money as effective instruments for economic transformation and development, bring into play the role of the financial and banking services in supervising and controlling economic activities, and raising the effectiveness of investment and production capital. The State must expand and put to work the sources of financial revenues from the State-owned, collective and other economic sectors, keep strict control of financial revenues and expenditures; it must keep a tight hold on the currency, improve monetary circulation, improve bank credit and accounting services, balance the budget, gradually narrow down and eventually put an end to overspending.

Continue the readjustments in the pricing system in a timely and steady manner so as to bring prices into play in boosting production, reorganising the economy, and stabilizing living conditions. Through re-adjustments rationally succeeding one another based on careful studies, and through the implementation of comprehensive policy plan, we shall step by step bring about a

new pricing system, carry out a price reform in line with the domestic and international situation at present and in the coming period. While there still is an imbalance between supply and demand, we must apply a mechanism of both stable and flexible prices. Define responsibilities in the management of the pricing system throughout the country; highlight to the utmost the need for discipline in setting prices.

Continue improving the *wages system*. Urgently study various alternatives and actively create conditions for a wage reform in close connection with the price reform and the improvement of other links in distribution and circulation on the basis of progress in production. As an immediate step, strive to protect *real wages*, apply the *principle of distribution* according to labour, closely link wages with labour productivity, correctly extend the system of job work, piece work and productivity incentives along with the supply of rations stipulated by the State for essential items.

Improve the system of *State trading services* and marketing cooperatives, and eventually achieve a strong command of the market, controlling the major part of the wholesale trade, occupying a dominant position in retail trade, improving catering and other services. To improve material supplies, ensure integrated and timely supplies for production, giving priority to the most important areas, and ensure an economical and efficient use of materials. Strengthen market management, check and punish speculation, illegal price increases, trafficking, tax evasion and all activities which may upset the market.

10. Establish a correct managerial and planning system renovating the existing system. To abolish the mechanism of administrative bureaucratic management based on the state-financing system, overcome slackness, conservatism, irresponsibility, indiscipline, bring into play collective mastery as a motive force, promote creative initiatives, a sense of responsibility and discipline.

Throughout the process of expanding and running the economy, expanding material and technical facilities, and developing production, we must pay constant attention to qualitative development and seek to make good use of existing productive cities and material facilities using whatever measures are suitable: developing an integrated approach, transformation, expansion and improvement. In every branch, locality, unit and in all cases, policies, plans, and measures, we must attach importance to productivity, quality and effectiveness.

During the transition to socialism, we must ensure without fail that all management levels — central, local, grassroots — are really working to plan, i.e., that each level actually works out, balances, and carries into effect its own plan, planning must be carried out at the grassroots; the plans must embody the principle of *cost-accounting and socialist business operations*. This conforms to the system of collective mastery, and represents one of its main aspects, namely to bring into play the combined strength of the community and the individual. It also involves achieving unity of the three interests, guaranteeing those of society and the collective and paying due attention to the personal interests of working

people. To do so is to hold firmly to use-value while attaching great importance to labour value and the law of value.

At the central level, the State plan must direct the development of the whole national economy in accordance with the Party's policy and socio-economic strategy, and lay down the overall development tasks of the various branches and localities. Basing itself on a synthesis of the main features of local and branch plans, the State plan must ensure that the central authority holds firmly under control the commanding heights of the economy, the major economic indicators, the main target figures, the leading projects and products of the national economy. *Branch plans* must be worked out. The plan of each branch must embody an overall strategy for its implementation on a nation-wide scale, in keeping with the general socio-economic strategy; provide for a constant rise in scientific-technological standards; ensure, through good cost-accounting and socialist business operations its own enlarged reproduction, and contribute to the national economy and to satisfying social needs. On the basis of national policy and the State plan, *local plans* (including provincial and district plans) must aim at turning to account the possibilities and strong points of each locality, broadening exchanges with national services and other localities, providing through their own export — import trade for their requirements in production and daily life, and contributing to the wider revolutionary cause. The *plans of grassroots units* (enterprises or connected enterprises in industry, cooperatives and State farms in agriculture etc.), must show

creativeness and initiative in production and trade. Enjoying financial autonomy, every unit must cover production costs and plan for profits so as to increase its contribution to the country, ensure enlarged reproduction, provide better collective welfare and increased material incentives for its workers. Each planning level must bring into play its initiative, flexibility, keenness and knowledge of trade as Lenin put it, do away with reliance on others, passivity, attempts to preserve autarky within narrow confines. We must broaden the home market and expand foreign trade, thereby taking full advantage of the possibilities and strong points of each level, ensure a quick turnover of capital, extend the division of labour, broaden specialization and cooperation, and boost production.

We must give planning an increasingly scientific basis, pay full attention to fundamental surveys, economic social and scientific forecasting, long-term programming, economic zoning, drawing up overall development plans and labour distribution charts. We must draw up adequate techno-economic norms, define selection procedures for economic projects, draw up inter-branch progress charts and link economic — financial planning with scientific planning. We must strengthen the mandatory character of the plans on the basis of scientific and realistic planning.

As a matter of urgency we must study, issue, and correctly introduce *economic incentives* so as to stimulate and tightly control production and business activities. We must enhance the role of economic contracts in drawing up and implementing plans, and promote a sense of responsibility in the fulfilment of contracts.

Put to good use the commodity-money relationship and market relations, directing our main effort at using the organized market while striving to bring the free market to play a positive role.

Continue the reorganization of social production. Build and strengthen the *grassroots units* in all respects, and make the management of production and business operations a routine procedure. We must define at an early date organizational forms suitable to each type of grassroots unit in agriculture, forestry, fishing industry, communications, trading, material supplies, etc. Higher levels are duty-bound to assist the grassroots levels, and each unit must strive to ensure the material supplies required for a stable and continuous production process. We must rapidly promote a rational and flexible economic relationship with grassroots units, providing them with material supplies and finding outlets for their products. In each unit, care must be taken to protect the working people's health, improve their skills, and create favourable working conditions. While consolidating and strengthening the grassroots level, we must actively build *economic-technical branches*. We must make adequate preparations for and rationally organize specialized companies and corporations (national or regional), and other forms of association in production, construction, transport and circulation. The building of economic-technical branches must be combined with a stepped-up development of local economies.

Through *organizational adjustments*, we must bring the State apparatus in line with the requirements of the new managerial mechanism and eliminate cumbersome features and overlapping departments. We must

rapidly achieve a clear division of responsibility between the central and local levels, highlight the functions of the Council of Ministers in the unified management of the national economy, enhance the important role of both general and branch ministries. We shall strive to perfect the district levels, strengthen in a suitable manner the provincial and municipal levels and clarify the position of the wards and city precincts.

We must stress the importance of raising the working capacity and efficiency of the various managerial levels, ensuring good coordination, concentrating on the main tasks, using tight controls, giving due rewards and sanctions, summing up and popularizing useful experience in good time. The determining factor for successfully renovating the economic management system is a drastic change in cadre work. In particular, we must assign competent cadres to key positions in the major production and business establishments, in various localities, especially key areas, in various branches, particularly general branches and key economic-technical ones that still show weaknesses.

To carry out in an integrated way the overall policies mentioned above is to create a *combined strength* to bring about a fundamental turn in the actual situation of the national economy. However this combined strength is the result not only of implementing policies and these measures, but also of implementing the Party's overall line and economic line as a whole. The system of collective mastery, the new culture, and the new people are the goals of the socialist revolution, and also powerful motive forces for building large-scale socialist production. The people's feel and capacity for collective

mastery, their educational standards, their patriotism, their love of labour must become material forces enhancing the development of production. The mechanism of *Party leadership*, people's mastery, State management must be given a concrete expression in all branches, at all levels through correct relationships and appropriate methods of activity in order to generate a powerful revolutionary mass movement to successfully achieve the economic and social targets of the eighties.

In the five years 1981-85, we should concentrate our forces on the following main tasks:

1. *Revolve the most pressing problems to stabilize and improve to some extent the people's living conditions.* Ensure food supplies for society. Supply workers, public servants, and soldiers with adequate rations of grain and foodstuffs. Meet the minimum clothing needs of the whole people. Ensure an adequate supply of writing-paper and newsprint for schoolbooks and newspapers. Ensure adequate supplies of essential medicines. Achieve a better supply of household utensils and daily necessities. Expand the means of transport. Ease the housing shortage, and improve to some extent the living conditions of urban dwellers, especially through increased water supplies, a more reliable supply of electric power and better sanitary conditions. Improve the organization of the people's cultural and spiritual life.

2. *Develop and reorganize production.* Strive to turn to account all existing and latent possibilities in order to bring about a new balance in the economy. Concentrate on agriculture, stimulate the development of forestry and fishing; make every effort to develop consumer goods production; take the food industry and

light industry a step forward. Ensure a better supply of electric power, coal, engineering products, metals, chemicals, raw materials to various economic establishments in accordance with a central integrated plan and a rational priority order on the basis of careful consideration of overall economic effectiveness. Step up prospection for, and exploitation of, oil and gas. Develop local economies, make active efforts in building the districts. Redeploy the work force to suit the new arrangement in production and capital construction; consolidate the newly-built economic zones, and bring into play their role at an early date; extend the division and redistribution of social labour.

Improve management and increase material facilities, and technical equipment to enhance communications and transport capacity. Ensure the safe delivery of import goods and the transportation of export goods, North-South transport, transport to and from key economic and defence areas, transport for leading construction projects and for Laos and Kampuchea.

3. *Reorganize capital construction* to suit present conditions, with a view to improving the use of existing material and technical facilities in the pursuit of the most pressing economic and social objectives. Develop integrated structures, transform, expand and improve the existing facilities; resolutely drop or postpone those projects that cannot be finished or are not urgently needed; continue work on unfinished projects that can be completed and are badly needed; undertake the building on a selective basis and in keeping with our possibilities of a number of new and badly needed projects to meet the requirements of the 1981-85 five-

year plan and those of subsequent years. Increase the effectiveness of investments in capital construction.

4. *Improve circulation and distribution*, and take steps towards radical changes in this area. Steadily adjust the pricing system, making resolute efforts to control and eventually to stabilize prices. Guarantee the real wages of the workers and public servants, improve the wage system and prepare its reform, cater for collective welfare. Ensure satisfactory income to stimulate the peasants' ardour in production. Improve and strengthen State and collective trade, establish a strict control over the market throughout the country, resolutely clamp-down on speculation and trafficking. Ensure State control over an overwhelming proportion of marketable foodgrain, the whole output of the State-run economy, and a large part of other goods in society so as to ensure that distribution goes according to plan. Strive to balance the budget and to improve currency circulation.

5. Step up *socialist transformation* complete in the main agricultural cooperativization in the Mekong delta provinces with production collectives as the most common management form. Strive to complete in the main the transformation of trade, transport, industry, small industry and handicrafts in the South using appropriate measures and management forms. Consolidate the socialist relations of production throughout the country with regard to ownership, management and distribution.

6. Develop *economic cooperation* with the Soviet Union, Laos, Kampuchea and the other members of COMECON. Strive to achieve a major improvement

with regard to exports, and substantially reduce the gap between exports and imports.

7. Practise thrift, attaching particular importance to thrift in capital construction and production. We must save every work hour, every gram of raw materials or fuel we possibly can, make a rational use of equipment and machinery on the basis of advanced techno-economic norms. Use land in a rational and economical manner. Strive to save every year between 5 and 10 per cent of energy, materials and food. Put waste materials and faulty products to maximum use, and to initiate a broad movement to recycle discarded goods. Enhance a sense of responsibility in goods storage to avoid loss and deterioration. Enforce a strict ban on unauthorized spending by various offices and units. Conduct an active campaign for thrifty consumption among the people. Carry out a resolute struggle against wastage and loss; to mete out severe punishments for theft of commodities and materials belonging to the State.

8. *Rapidly and widely apply scientific discoveries and technological progress to production and daily life.* Develop key scientific and technological programmes, actively finalize leading economic projects for the 1981-85 five-year plan. Strengthen technical management in production and business operations, give the mass movement for innovations to improve techniques and rationalize production a further boost. Coordinate the activities of the various branches of the social and applied sciences in order to effectively contribute to the renovation of management and planning.

9. *Take step to renovate the economic management system.* Achieve a change in planning procedures by all

managerial levels — central, local and grassroots. Plan from the grassroots, linking planning with cost-accounting and socialist business operations. Attach great importance to improving the work to implement the plans and concentrate resources on key tasks and links. Achieve a close combination of economic, administrative and educational incentives, attaching major importance to economic measures. Enact urgently needed incentive policies with a view to encouraging production, increasing productivity, and ensuring the unity of the three interests. Re-adjust the organizational and managerial apparatus, improve working regulations, strengthen economic information work. Enhance the socialist emulation movement, making it a true and lasting mass movement.

10. *Step up cultural and public health activities in keeping with economic needs and possibilities.* Carry out the education reform in an active and steady way; attach utmost importance to improving the quality of education. Lay down a rational training scale, and continue the training of scientific workers, technicians, managerial cadres, and skilled workers. Strive to develop and improve cultural activities, information, physical education and sport. Improve health protection, hygiene, prophylaxis, medical treatment and environmental medicine. Wage a resolute struggle to eliminate all influences of reactionary, backward culture. Get rid of bad customs and superstitions.

11. *Strengthen social management,* wage a resolute struggle against law-breaking, social evils and other negative manifestations, stress discipline in State and economic management, maintain public order and social

safety. Root out and punish economic sabotage, undertake an effective struggle against enemy psychological warfare and espionage. Promote a healthy and happy socialist culture.

12. Meet the economic requirements of consolidating national defence and security, at the same time mobilizing the capacity of the defence industry, and making rational use of the military forces in suitable economic activities.

In the implementation of the socio-economic strategy in the stage ahead, the years 1981-85 will be a period of further development of the national economy, structural reorganization, and stepped-up socialist transformation. These three aspects are to be closely combined to stabilize in the main the economic and social situation, *to meet the most pressing and essential requirements of everyday life, reduce the most serious imbalances in the economy, take an important step towards overcoming the distortions which now prevail in distribution and circulation, lay the basis for a more vigorous advance in subsequent years.*

BRING ABOUT PROFOUND SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHANGES *

This Plenum has discussed two questions: first, it has examined and approved the orientation and tasks of our socio-economic plan for 1984 and the objectives we will strive to attain in 1985; second, it has studied and taken a number of decisions on the readjustment of goods distribution and circulation.

Assessment of the situation

The Central Committee has unanimously assessed our achievements and difficulties as stated in the draft resolution. It is essential to make a truly deep-going analysis of the causes of our achievements and non-achievements.

The progress recorded stems from the correct line charted at the Fourth Congress¹ and further concretized at the Fifth Congress² of the Party. This line has been ever better grasped and acted upon in a way congruent with the practical situation.

* Speech at the Fifth Plenum of the Party Central Committee, 7 December 1983.

1. December 1976.

2. March 1982.

It also stems from the very important fact that economic management, including planning and policies related to economic levers, has undergone changes. These are but initial steps, but their effect has been to encourage people to work harder and all levels of authority, all branches of activity, especially the regional and grassroots units, to display vigorous initiative and imagination in the exploitation of our economic potentialities. Without those changes there could not be any progress in the various fields.

Our achievements so far are the results of the efforts exerted and the aggregate strength displayed by the whole country in a vast mass movement for creative labour. The regions and grassroots units have shown vigorous exertion. The central departments have made great efforts in all fields, from agriculture to industry, from production to distribution, circulation and transport. Economic and scientific-technical cadres have made positive contributions. Every product, every kilogram of paddy and every watt-hour of electricity, is the result of efforts made in common. Every product whether agricultural or industrial springs not only from the sweat of workers, the brains of scientists, technicians, cultural and art workers, but also the blood of soldiers. Indeed the growth of each region and each grassroots unit is the result of this aggregate strength.

Our achievements also derive from international cooperation and assistance, first of all by the Soviet Union and other fraternal socialist countries.

For us, the fundamental lesson learnt from those achievements must be related to collective mastery and the use of aggregate strength.

Our economy has weathered the decline that followed the serious upheavals of 1979-80, gradually swung upward, attained step by step stability in successive fields, and is facing new prospects of vigorous development. However, great difficulties still lie ahead, in production, distribution and circulation, and also in the people's living conditions.

This situation originates from many objective and subjective causes which were analysed at the Third¹ and Fourth² Plenums of the Party Central Committee.

We must be fully aware of the difficulties which arise from the fact that our economy is on the whole one of small-scale production, from the sequels of long years of war and from the present multi-faceted sabotage by the enemy, particularly in the socio-economic field. The deep-lying cause of all difficulties is the fact that, starting from a small-scale production, we must simultaneously fulfil two strategic tasks: to build socialism and defend our homeland, being confronted in the former task with the necessity to ensure livelihood to the people while providing accumulation for the country's industrialization. Difficulties, great difficulties, will remain so long as we don't have large-scale production, large-scale industry. We cannot raise overnight labour productivity, product quality, and economic efficiency; the working people's living conditions cannot be improved immediately and visibly. In the last analysis, this is also explained by the above cause. And so we must have a clear view

1. December 1982.

2. August 1983.

of the key role played by socialist industrialization and be resolved to carry it out in order to make strong advances.

But we must also be fully aware of our subjective shortcomings.

They arise from an insufficient grasp of the Party line, an inadequate awareness of the intense struggle between us and the enemy, between the socialist path and the capitalist path.

They also arise from the deficiencies in the process of changing the mechanisms of our managerial and planning work. Socio-economic management is of course not a simple affair. Although the fraternal socialist countries have spent many years building socialism, they are still looking for more efficient methods of management, and seeking to perfect the mechanisms for management and first of all for planning. What must be pointed out is the fact that we have committed mistakes that were not inevitable and again and again displayed shortcomings that have been criticized and for which remedies have been worked out. We have been sluggish in changing outdated organizations and policies, in ridding ourselves of bureaucratic centralism and subsidy-based administration, and have not been quick to overcome manifestations of dispersal, compartmentalism, parochialism, anarchy and indiscipline.

The sense of responsibility, to the Party and the people requires that every level of authority and every branch of activity show the utmost severity to their mistakes and shortcomings. We must, however, see a very worthy accomplishment in the fact that our economy has stood

firmly on its feet and has even progressed in spite of the very difficult, indeed critical, situation of our country. This point must be strongly upheld and we must advance with vigorous strides on the basis of that momentum.

Socialist Collective Mastery

Here is our Party's line of socialist revolution: "To hold fast to proletarian dictatorship, promote the working people's right to collective mastery, carry out simultaneously the three revolutions, in which the kingpin is the scientific-technical revolution, accomplish socialist industrialization: such is the central task for the whole period of transition..."

Proletarian dictatorship is by nature the same as socialist collective mastery if viewed as a regime, i.e. if the question is to decide who is the master of society. Collective mastery is the aim of socialism and also a tremendous motive force for the building of socialism. Hence the necessity to grasp the viewpoint of collective mastery in the building, transformation and management of the economy and culture and in the planning of the national economy. This means that one must uphold the right to collective mastery of the working people, the real master of our regime; one must arouse the dynamism and creativeness of the millions and millions of people who directly control the socio-economic processes.

Our economic strategy in 1981 — 85 and the 1980's is also the main content of socialist industrialization in the stage ahead. It is as follows: "To concentrate our force for a vigorous development of agriculture, to regard it as the forefront of the battle, to take it one step forward to large-scale socialist production, to give a strong push

to the production of consumer goods and continue our efforts to build a number of important branches of heavy industry; to combine agriculture, the industry of consumer goods, and heavy industry in a rational industrial-agricultural structure."

What is the key to the accomplishment of that strategy?

It lies in collective mastery and the use of aggregate strength—the strength of the whole country, of all branches of activity and all levels of authority, the strength of all three levels which together will exercise mastery: the centre, the region, and the grassroots.

By means of that strength we must, right from the beginning, gain control over these precious sources of capital: labour and land. We must fully employ the 27 million people of working age and turn to the best account our seven million hectares of arable land, nearly 12 million hectares of forestland and nearly 13 million hectares of idle land (fields, alluvial strips, hillslopes, clearings). We must develop our agriculture all-sidedly, put food production in the forefront, exert the most strenuous efforts to give a steady solution to the food problem while giving a strong fillip to industrial crops (both fast-growing and perennial) and animal husbandry. Along with agricultural development there should be a corresponding advance of industry, especially the processing industry, in order to turn out large amounts of products for both consumption and export. Thus in this first stage when large-scale industry is still absent, if we know how to enforce the people's right to mastery and make good use of manpower, land and skills, we can

take our economy one step forward to large-scale production, meet the people's minimum requirements in food, clothing, housing, education and health protection, create ever more accumulation for industrialization, and meet our basic needs in national defence and security.

The right to collective mastery must be exercised at all three basic levels: national, regional (province, city, and district), and grassroots (commune and cooperative, enterprise, integrated complex...)

- This collective mastery operates according to a common mechanism: the Party leads, the people is the master, the State manages.

The basic principle governing this mastery is the following: the country is a whole and each region is a part of this unified whole; the regional economy is an organic part of this integrated whole.

The central administration represents the right to mastery of the whole country; it manages the whole of the socio-economic life of the nation through the agency of the various economic-technical branches of activity and through the economies of the various regions, the different parts of our territory. Concentration and unity in socio-economic management is a necessity. We must grasp this strong point of socialism in order to mobilize the strength of the whole country, build the national material and technical infrastructure, and solve the national socio-economic problems. When we say that planning is the kingpin in economic and social management, this means that the advantages of concentration and unity must be turned to account in controlling the socio-economic process in the whole country.

The regional administration represents the local people; at the same time it represents the central administration and directly controls the economy, culture and life in the region and look after problems of interest to the local people while contributing to national construction and the exercise of mastery over the whole country.

The relationships between the centre, the region and the grassroots constitute a problem which interests all socialist countries. In our conditions, however, our Party stresses the importance of the regional economy and seeks to promote the spirit of initiative and creativeness of the region and the grassroots in management. This is because we start from a small-scale production and only by promoting the initiative and creativeness of the region and the grassroots, the district in particular, can we make good use of manpower, land and skills, which are closely bound to each region not only territorially but also from the economic, technical, social and natural points of view. As we start from a small-scale production and while the division of labour is in progress and more trades and crafts are developed, the situation calls for local equilibriums which can only be achieved if local problems are resolved. Moreover, if the material and cultural life of the working people is to be well organized, this organization should take place at the local level.

Thus mastery at all three fundamental levels is a necessity. So is the division of responsibilities and the devolution of authority.

This point must be well understood: when we talk of mastery at all three fundamental levels, we don't mean that each level of authority is to exercise mastery at its own level. On the contrary, all three levels are to exercise mastery on each territorial unit, each region, each locality. The role played by the central administration with regard to the province and the city is a very important one. So is the role played by the province and the city with regard to the district; and that played by the district with regard to the ward and the commune. The working people have the right and duty to exercise mastery at all three levels, the most important one being the national level. Being masters at the grassroots and regional levels allows the working people to develop their capacity and exercise practical mastery in production, distribution, circulation and consumption. However, being master at the grassroots and regional levels does not mean that one is to care only for one's unit and region; one must also be concerned about the affairs of the whole country so as to exercise better mastery over it, to exercise mastery on a larger scale and in a more comprehensive and decisive way. And the better mastery is exercised over the whole country, the better it is enforced at the regional and grassroots levels.

In order to achieve a faster tempo of development in agriculture, one must step up the building of such key industrial branches as electricity, coal, oil and gas, mechanical engineering, metallurgy, transport and communications, chemicals, building materials. This requires large amounts of capital. Besides trading and cooperation with foreign countries, we must marshal contributions from the entire people.

The devolution of authority to the region and the grassroots is aimed at allowing them to better exploit the local potentials in manpower, land and crafts and trades, and step up basic accretion. However, accretion must go hand in hand with concentration, judicious concentration, if we are to gain accumulation for the building of socialism.

It is the responsibility of the regional level to ever more improve production and enterprise. If a locality is short of food it must strive to be self-reliant and then be able to accumulate surplus. If it has made some initial accumulation, it must increase it and make contributions corresponding to the investments it has received, so as to assist the central administration in its endeavour to industrialize the country, through an ever-increasing volume of accumulation. Capitalism grows by relying on exploitation. Socialism grows by means of industry and thrift. We shall consume only within the limits of our own production; we shall not go into debt for the sake of consumption. And in the use of the little we produce we must be thrifty and make ever greater savings in order to build up reserves, at the central and the other levels. Without accumulation one cannot build the material and technical infrastructure of socialism and carry out enlarged reproduction. Particular significance must be attached to having a judicious relationship between consumption and accumulation, both on the national level and in each region, each locality, each family.

That is the viewpoint from which we envisage the exercise of mastery at all three levels. It does absolutely not mean a partition of resources, interests and powers,

a partition of the national economy. We must draw a clear distinction between bureaucratic centralism in socio-economic management, which we oppose, and the concentrated and unified character of the national economy, which we must ensure, for it is part of the nature and the laws governing socialism.

Economic planning

Unlike capitalism which was born and developed in a spontaneous way through anarchic production and competition, the whole socialist regime as well as economy came into being in a planned fashion through socio-economic transformations that were planned right from the outset.

As soon as our country entered the transitional stage, our Party asserted that economic transformation and construction must be conducted using planning as the essential tool and that the socio-economic processes must be given leadership and operational guidance by, relying on the plan.

In accordance with the above-stated view on collective mastery, the planning of the national economy must be done at the three fundamental levels: the centre, the region, and the grassroots. The plan must make it possible for each level to turn to the best account its potentials and strong points on the basis of fundamental orientations and objectives set for the whole country. It is up to the centre to create favourable conditions for the region and the grassroots to achieve that aim.

Plans are worked out from the grassroots up. In industry, due attention must be paid to the plans of factories. In agriculture, the plan of the district

must receive due consideration for the district is the basic unit of large-scale socialist agriculture. The centre and the region, as management authorities, must give guidance to and cooperate with the grassroots in working out plans. The plans of the grassroots are to be amalgamated into plans for the region, the branch, and the whole country.

The centre has pointed out to the region and the grassroots four sources of possibilities to help them devise balanced plans. In this way conditions are created for them to exercise their right to mastery in planning work and to build socio-economic plans in an active and realistic way. The region and the grassroots have great potentialities. These lie in the full employment of manpower, land, machinery and equipment. They also lie in the economical use of every man-hour, every kilogram of paddy, every drop of petrol and lubricant, every kilogram of materials.

While highlighting the plans of the region and the grassroots, one should never forget that the plan of the centre plays the decisive role. It governs the essential economic relationships and balances, decides which products are to be the most important ones in the national economy, guarantees the operation of socio-economic law of socialism. On the basis of the plan of the centre, the region and the grassroots must take the initiative in exploiting their potentials and putting into effect the watchword: "Combined efforts by the centre and the region, by the State and the people", thereby getting additional resources to balance their plans. At

the same time they must make accurate and effective use of the equipment, materials and fuels supplied to them by the centre.

The delay in the conduct of socialist transformation over the recent years has had a bad influence on the pace of economic construction and development. We must hold the unqualified view that the socialist economy is to exercise absolute control over industry, agriculture and trade.

By 1985 we must complete in the main the collectivization of the southern peasantry by grouping them into solidarity for production teams, production collectives and farming cooperatives.

We must immediately abolish the commercial bourgeoisie, transform private capitalist industry in appropriate ways, reorganize small industry and handicrafts, reorganize the small traders along with the various lines of trade.

Transformation must go hand in hand with construction, which is the main point.

When we speak of the five components of the economy in the South, we mean that all these components must engage in production and turn out goods; in no way are they to be allowed to share among themselves control over money and goods. All the goods and all the money must come under the unified management of the State.

In the long run, the socialist economy will comprise only two components: the State sector and the collective sector; besides there will be the family economy and a small section of private individual economy.

We must do our utmost to consolidate the State economic sector, especially the State-run industry, for it to play to an ever greater extent the leading role in our economy. We are not satisfied with the slow progress made by the State economic sector, the central State-run industry in particular, in productivity, product quality, and economic efficiency. The State-run industry is only running at half its capacity, mainly owing to the shortage of energy and materials. Quite a few factories lack materials which should be available in the country, and this shortage is due to the absence of State control over production and also circulation.

It is the responsibility not only of the centre but also of the region and the grassroots to look after the State-run industry throughout the country. There is no reason why we should allow deficiencies in the division of responsibilities and devolution of authority to create a situation in which equipment and materials should lie idle in a region while centrally-run factories cannot operate owing to the shortage of those equipment and materials.

The socialist mode of enterprise

The socialist economy is an economy that develops in a planned way and aims at producing ever more material and cultural wealth in order to satisfy the ever-increasing requirements of the people on the basis of ever more advanced techniques. That is why our socio-economic plan puts top priority on use value and balances in kind while paying due consideration to value and

balances in value. For this reason the plan must be bound up with economic accounting and the socialist mode of enterprise.

The socialist mode of enterprise relies chiefly on the plan while keeping the initiative in handling commodity-money relationships in a way conducive to the satisfaction of all three fundamental interests: the interest of the whole of society, that of the collective, and that of the individual producer. Material incentive should go hand in hand with political and ideological education, leading to high economic efficiency. If we fail to handle the laws governing commodities and money we shall fall into bureaucracy and subsidy-based administration and shall certainly hinder production; but if we set too great store by them and allow them to regulate production, the market mechanisms will weaken our planning work.

Control by the State over commodities, money, market and prices must accord with economic laws, not be obtained through administrative orders. Economic measures are essential while education should be intensified and administrative measures be used when necessary. On the other hand, the plan cannot in practice encompass all possibilities; only in the course of business activities will new elements be discovered and stimulated and latent potentialities be turned into realities. Enterprise and economic accounting stimulate and foster dynamism and creativeness in the producer and the manager and heighten their sense of responsibility vis-à-vis the tasks set by the plan. Hence the socialist mode of enterprise becomes a motive force helping in the

fulfilment of the plan. That is why the plan must be combined with socialist enterprise and planning must necessarily include business activities. This also explains the very important role played by policies on prices, salaries, bonuses, and regulations on market activities and the exchange of goods and materials, etc.

The objective of the capitalist mode of enterprise is profit; its method is anarchic competition. The aim of the socialist mode of enterprise is to promote dynamism and creativeness in the producer and the manager and encourage them to turn to account all strong points and all potentialities in order to fulfil and overfulfil the targets of the State plan, and on that basis to safeguard the interests of the whole of society and of the collective and the individual producer as well. To lose sight of that fundamental objective will lead to shortcomings and mistakes. To do business does not mean to wheel and deal in the interest of one's own unit to the detriment of the common interest of society. To show initiative in doing business means to show initiative in applying the fundamental policies of the Party and the regulations of the State on production and distribution and circulation in order to turn out more products for society; it certainly does not mean that one can put forward policies and regulations of one's own making that are contrary to the common guidelines.

Socialist enterprise must go hand in hand with economic accounting in order to devise the best methods to turn out the most products at the least costs. To engage in economic activities in general, and especially to devise plans and conduct business activities, without due economic accounting will lead to failure to calculate

concrete economic operations, assess profits and losses, and evaluate economic efficiency. Without proper economic accounting one shall also be unable to determine the extent of adequate consumption and accumulation, the precise rights and duties of each level of management, the quality of the work done by each, the merits and defects of individuals... In other words, economic accounting will allow one to fully control the economic processes. It must be practised by every enterprise, construction site, State farm, cooperative, store...; by the district, the province, and all branches of activity. It must preside over the whole of our economy. Economic accounting should be done not only with regard to each unit, but also with regard to each product, each operation either in production, construction, transport or circulation. It should be effected even with regard to each individual worker. To make light of economic accounting and pay no heed to profits and losses and to economic efficiency—such is our major shortcoming in management over the past years.

Distribution and circulation

To hold control by means of planning and socialist enterprise means to hold control over the whole process, from production to distribution, circulation and consumption.

Through the initial improvement of managerial mechanisms, we have made one step forward in overcoming bureaucratism, subsidy-based administration; and gradually creating a mechanism in which planning is bound up with economic accounting and socialist enterprise. However, even before bureaucratism and subsidy-

based administration have been completely overcome, an unwholesome trend has set in: tailing after the mechanisms of the "free" market, weakening the foundations of the plan, allowing elements of the bourgeoisie and traffickers to go on the rampage allowing the private economy and the "free" market to expand and encroach on the socialist economy.

Can socialist order be restored on the front of distribution and circulation?

First of all, it must be asserted that the present abnormal situation is not due, as some say, to the weakness of socialism compared with capitalism. The socialist State (both the centre and the region) is holding control over the most essential economic forces, all the land and the manpower. The socialist economy in general and the State sector in particular turns out the overwhelming majority of the means of production and consumer goods of society and controls all sources of materials and all imported goods. This is an invincible force.

The difficulties we have encountered in the field of distribution and circulation are due in part to the slow progress in production, the low productivity, product quality, and economic efficiency, but essentially to our own mistakes and shortcomings, the most salient of which are our failure to get a firm hold on distribution and circulation in spite of our control of production, our slackening of proletarian dictatorship, our lack of vigilance in the struggle against the enemy, our failure to grasp the significance of the struggle between the socialist and the capitalist paths.

As said above, we may be the master of production; we may control labour, land, crafts and trades, and

organize and promote the development of production in a planned way. But in close connection with this mastery over production we must seize control of distribution, circulation and consumption in each unit at the grass-roots, in each commune, urban ward, district, province, city, and throughout the country.

Each unit must calculate and decide what to produce, in what quantity, at what cost in labour and materials; what to sell and what to buy; to conduct exchanges according to what system of prices. On this basis it will be able to compute its income, the part which can be consumed, and the part to be reserved for accumulation and enlarged reproduction.

While the centre, the region and the grassroots hold control over production in each territorial division and each unit, they must also hold control over the products and the market from the grassroots up, in each territorial division and each unit. It is not correct to say that because our production is still at a low level and our products not many, we cannot and should not hold tight control on goods and money. We must wage a resolute struggle in order for the State to seize hold of goods and money. This is the key issue in the struggle which will decide which side will win on the front of distribution and circulation at present.

The State (the centre and the region) must be the master of the market by conducting the division of responsibilities and devolution of authority in such a way as to achieve the unified management of business relating to essential goods. It must hold monopoly over food, over the overwhelming majority of important marketable farm products (whether from collective or

individual producers), over all the means of production and important consumer goods (from the State sector of the national economy and from import). It plans the distribution of commodity funds, organizes the planned exchanges between industry and agriculture, through the system of supply of means of production and through that of socialist trade according to State-fixed prices. We must quickly reform and manage the market, abolish the commercial bourgeoisie, eliminate the speculators, smugglers and those degenerate elements within the State apparatus and the State economic sector who have been acting in collusion with the traffickers and serving their interests. The only "free" market that is allowed to subsist is one in which only secondary goods, not controlled by the State, are exchanged between producers and consumers without going through intermediary speculators of any kind. And even that "free" market should be managed through appropriate methods.

In order to hold control over the market in particular and the front of distribution and circulation in general, six systems must be deployed down to the grassroots: collection and purchase, trade, supply of materials, transport, processing industry, credit. The decisive measure for seizing control of the goods in the period ahead is to quickly expand and consolidate socialist trade (comprising State trade and buying-and-selling cooperatives), expand and reorganize the system of supply of materials, clean up the ranks of public employees in trade and materials supply, and improve the mode of doing business.

Prices embody social relations; particularly important are relations between workers and peasants and between

consumption and accumulation. Being master of the whole process starting from production, we should be perfectly able to compute the amount of necessary social labour and relations of use value and on this basis set rational prices, first of all in exchanges of industrial goods for agricultural, forest and sea products.

By upholding the above premises—holding control over production and distribution—we can and we must strive for a unified management and a stabilization of prices. In the present circumstances, we must keep down the prices of necessities, and try to pull down prices that have been artificially raised as a result of enemy sabotage, anarchic competition in buying and selling, speculation, corruption, waste, collusion, bribery.

We must oppose the erroneous view that because prices on the "free" market have risen to several times those fixed by the State, one must, in order to "be able to buy and sell", jack up State-fixed prices to the level of, or close to the level of, prices on the "free" market. Instead one should develop socialist trade and regain control of the market.

The problem is posed in the following terms:

— Either we are to let the saboteurs, bourgeois elements, "free" marketeers, and private traders free to go on the rampage, compete with the State in buying and selling, collude with degenerate elements in State organs, factories and shops in order to get hold of goods from State stores, engage in smuggling and price-control activities; and then we are to "compete" with them by hiking prices and calling it "a flexible system of prices";

— Or we must stay their hands, prohibit them from buying and selling food, farm products, essential industrial goods; enforce dictatorship with regard to the saboteurs, speculators, smugglers; restore socialist order on the market; safeguard the exclusive right of the State to trade in important lines of commodities. Then the State will make arrangements with peasants and craftsmen, enter into contracts for the supply of means of production, provide the working people with necessities at stable prices, expand credit, organize the collection and purchase of farm products direct from the producers (either by supplying them with industrial goods before collecting the farm products, or getting the products on credit from them and supplying them later with the goods). By so doing we shall be able to maintain the State-fixed prices and rational exchange rates and prices, win the people's support, and check the artificial raising of prices.

Such are the alternatives facing us. The first is a dangerous way to proceed, for it turns the State economic sector into a tail of the "free" market and allows prices to drift and fall into disorder to the advantage of the saboteurs, speculators and private traders.

The second solution leads to real mastery of the situation. However, there still remains the problem of buying at encouragement prices. Encouragement prices should not be based on "free" market prices but on real production costs to which an adequate profit margin is added in order to encourage production, due account being taken of the supply-demand relationship after eliminating factors arising from sabotage and speculation. The various branches of activity and levels of authority

must make good use of their fund of exchange commodities and reduce to a minimum buying operations at encouragement prices.

Unified management should be enforced with regard to prices. Concerning prices that are to be observed throughout the country, the approval and publication of such prices should be concentrated in the hands of such State organs as the Council of Ministers and the State Price Commission. With regard to prices with a local character, there may be a rational distribution of responsibilities and devolution of authority and flexible guidance within fixed limits. There should never be arbitrary changes, especially major changes, in prices without congruous economic, financial, administrative and educational measures for they will lead to negative sequels.

Our national financial and monetary system is at present running into difficulties owing to this deep-lying cause: our social production shows low productivity, product quality and economic efficiency, to which should be added a decline in external revenues. As with the problems discussed above, the basic point is that we must invigorate and stabilize our finances by turning to account all available potentialities, raising our productivity, fixing tight norms for the expenditure of materials, increasing the rate of utilization of equipment and machinery, fighting waste and corruption, raising product quality, thereby lowering costs, promoting economic efficiency, augmenting the incomes of workers and public employees, increasing State revenues and internal accumulation, building up reserves and paying off our foreign creditors.

Finances are not a mere problem of receipts and expenses. The foremost and fundamental problem is that we should control all production possibilities, from manpower and means of production to means of conducting business; and mobilize those potentials to the utmost in order for production to attain the highest productivity, product quality and economic efficiency. We must be thrifty in a radical way, in both production and consumption, administration and national defence. We must work out policies, measures, standards, norms, planned targets to this end. We must make thrift an integral part of the activity and way of life of millions of people.

We shall strive for a balanced budget in a positive way, by increasing revenues and reducing expenses, using our money in an effective way, but we shall not act in a mechanical fashion and restrain investments for capital construction and expenses needed for production.

Resolute and urgent measures are to be adopted with a view to concentrating capital and money in the hands of the State and conducting strict inventories and financial and monetary control. There should be unified management of finances and money, prices and salaries. Secret funds, extra-budgetary funds and illegitimate revenues are prohibited.

The enterprise should have financial autonomy and favourable conditions should be created to promote its dynamism, initiative, and imagination in production and business.

There should be devolution of authority to the region in budgetary matters in such a way as to guarantee

revenues for the central budget while increasing them for the regional budget and handing over control of this budget to the region.

Concerning the problem of the living conditions and the salaries of workers, public employees and members of the armed forces, a radical solution can only be devised on the basis of expanded production, rational organization of labour, raising of productivity, product quality and economic efficiency.

For the immediate future, there should be urgent measures to stabilize their living conditions while further studies should be made with regard to prices, salaries, finances, money and trade so as to work out a more rational and steady solution to the problem.

Science and technology, culture and society

Science and technology is a very important element which plays a key role in economic construction and transformation and stimulates the development of production.

Over the past period our achievements in this field have contributed a not negligible part to our economic accomplishments.

We have great potentials in science and technology and talented people in this field but their capacities have not been turned to account and made good use of. In the various branches of activity and at various levels of authority, science and technology has not yet been regarded as a direct productive force and a key element in the development of the area or branch concerned. Hence the absence of programmes of action for quickly introducing scientific and technological progress into

production and life. As yet no policy has been promulgated by the State to vigorously encourage production and business units to apply scientific and technological achievements. Besides there has been no policy providing for adequate remuneration to people engaged in scientific and technological work, to skilled workers and to good managerial cadres.

In the period ahead scientific and technological work must aim at serving effectively the effort to raise productivity, product quality and economic efficiency. To this end, one must act in a timely way to adjust and complement policies concerning scientific and technical cadres and skilled workers, and attention must be paid to improving their life and means of working. Scientists and technicians must be attracted to the production front. Research organizations in science and technology must be bound up with production and business units. Science and technology must have close connections with the economy and life. Scientific and technical cadres must be encouraged to devote their expertise to the service of economic construction, cultural progress and the consolidation of national defence. Science and technology must become a mass movement and a motive force behind the movement for production.

Culture and society is an important front. However, over the past years, we have concentrated our effort on production and have not paid adequate attention to cultural and social work. Our slackening effort on this front has resulted in a certain decline in the people's cultural and spiritual life.

At the Fourth Plenum of the Party Central Committee an attempt was made to make up for this shortcoming.

In our socio-economic plan for the years ahead we must devote adequate investments to cultural and educational work and determine norms for the fulfilment of the people's minimum cultural needs. The quality of education must be raised and complementary adult education be developed in regions with a significant number of adult illiterates.

More than in any other field, Party leadership must be strengthened in cultural and social work. The people's strength must be made the most of, the watchword "Combined efforts by the State and the people" must be acted upon, and a mass revolutionary movement be launched for the building of a new culture, the formation of the new man, against the enemy's attempts at sabotage and the manifestations of negative phenomena.

External economic relations

In our national economic plan, our external economic relations are to be expanded both in the years immediately ahead and in the whole of this initial stage.

A rapid increase in our exports and an extension of service activities with a view to earning more foreign exchange assume a strategic significance and will contribute an important part to ensuring a balanced plan. Exports must be increased in order to cover increasing imports of technologies and materials and equipment for the national economy; at the same time they will create conditions for boosting exports even further thus gradually bringing about a balance in imports and exports. The aim is to step up socialist industrialization.

We still have many possibilities of export but over the past period our performance in this field has been

sluggish and shows poor efficiency. We must improve our foreign trade activities in many respects: policies, organization, production of export items, machinery for conducting business.

Under the present circumstances, it is very important for us to encourage all branches of activity and all regions, all production units, to turn out export items and to reduce consumption in order to boost exports. However, we cannot be content with doing things in a puny way and relying solely on collecting exportable items from the existing sources, but we must follow the line of large-scale production, set up zones specialized in raising essential exportable items with a high economic value. For the period immediately ahead, let us make the most of our forest products, sea products, and especially of both short-growth and perennial industrial crops, while also paying due attention to raising exportable animals. Likewise, industry and handicrafts must seek to export their products. Adequate investments should be made and lines should be chosen that could turn our strong points to the best account and bring quick and steady returns.

That is the orientation for the reorganization of our foreign trade at the central, provincial and city levels. The centre and the region will cooperate in the export business. The State Planning Commission and the Ministry of Foreign Trade must work more closely with the various branches of activity and regions in order to bring into existence large sources of exportable products. While the monopoly of foreign trade should be in the hands of the State and the central administration should conduct unified management of foreign trade and

foreign exchange, the initiative and imagination of the regions should also be promoted with a view to the expansion of foreign trade.

The export market must be expanded. Top priority must be given to cooperation with the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance, first of all with the Soviet Union, and we must regard cooperation with the Soviet Union as a fundamental and lasting policy. Cooperation with Laos and Kampuchea must be extended. At the same time, economic relations must be developed with the other countries and international organizations in order to frustrate the policy of economic encirclement pursued by the imperialists and expansionists.

A correct solution must be sought to the relationship between internal and external prices. A rational rate should be worked out on the basis of efforts to lower the costs and raise the quality of our export products. We should oppose competition in buying and selling, which pushes up the prices of the goods and depreciates our money.

Economy and national defence

All annual and long-term socio-economic plans must focus on the four objectives set by the Fifth Party Congress. We must satisfy our requirements in security and national defence and thoroughly grasp the task of struggling against the enemy's multi-faceted war of sabotage.

We must correctly assess and have a clear view of the enemy's plots and actions for sabotage, especially on the economic front. Effective measures must be applied to

prevent and oppose that sabotage. Plans must be devised to protect production, factories, machinery, stores, equipment and materials.

This is the direct concern of economic branches and bases. Workers and employees in every production and business base must be mobilized for economic protection. Armed and security forces must increase their actions against enemy sabotage.

Our army has considerable manpower and material and technical bases. These must be made good use of in order to help attain our national socio-economic objectives.

Troops stationed in a region should cooperate with the regional authorities to step up army participation in economic construction, especially in border provinces in the north. Good examples have been set in a number of places by soldiers who have produced food for themselves and helped in capital construction, in building communications and water-conservancy schemes, in hydro-power projects, forestry, etc. These good lessons of experience should be summed up and propagated.

Effective cooperation should take place between the army and the various economic branches so that the potentials of national-defence industry could help produce civilian goods, while the potentials of civilian industry should also assist in turning out goods in the service of national defence.

Party and State authorities at all levels must show concern for the well-being of the armed forces; the various branches of activity and levels of authority should cooperate with the Ministry of National Defence to solve problems of logistics and of the army's rear area.

With regard to the highland provinces, army participation in economic construction should be bound up with the essential economic orientation of the highlands. The central administration should make more investments and promulgate adequate policies so as to develop the economy and culture of those regions and help them practise intensive cultivation of existing food crops (rice, maize, sweet potato, cassava), combine agriculture and forestry, and exploit their potentials in forest resources, industrial crops and animal husbandry, especially the raising of cattle, using these resources in exchanges with other regions and export trade in order to get food and consumer goods.

The construction and defence of our homeland, and especially economic and cultural construction and transformation, raise many problems related to the fate of our nation, the very survival of our people.

Being the highest leading body of the Party in the period between two congresses, the Party Central Committee is bound to look for a solution to those problems, and at each of its plenums a number of them have been examined and decided upon. But it has not been easy to find solutions to the problems raised. Opinions may also differ with regard to some of them. There is nothing unusual in it. The management of the economy and society is not a simple affair; for us it is a novelty and so some groping is unavoidable. That is why the correct attitude is to discuss the matter seriously, and listen to each other's ideas in all sincerity. With regard to any subject that is not yet ripe for a solution, trials should be conducted and submitted to the test of practice and on this basis unanimity should be

reached in thought and action. Solidarity, unity of mind, unity in thought and action, such is the source of our Party's strength. The Central Committee and Party authorities at all levels must unceasingly strive for ever greater solidarity and unity of mind in the Party.

Revolution is the work of the masses. Collective mastery is the greatest force behind the transformation and building of the economy, the movement for production and thrift and the effort to restore socialist order in distribution and circulation, wage a scientific and technical revolution, build a new culture, form the new man, defend our homeland and maintain political security and social order. Party organizations must step up their mass work and marshal the strength of the people as collective master. The trade unions, the Youth Union, the Women's Union, the Peasants' Association should be the direct organizers of the people's collective mastery, the promoters of their inexhaustible strength, the true symbols of the people's mastery in all revolutionary programmes of action.

Cadres decide everything. The Fourth Party Congress pointed out the necessity to form a body of cadres with a homogeneous character, a thorough grasp of the Party line, a capacity for practical organization, a sense of discipline, political qualities and revolutionary morality.

The important point is to discover people with a real capacity for economic management, science and technology, and to use their talents in the service of the country and socialism. There is no lack of such people among our cadres. But the problem has not yet been quite clearly understood while there still subsist incorrect ways of judging people and their actions.

The yardstick to be used in assessing the worth of cadres is work efficiency, socio-economic efficiency. While selecting and appointing cadres one should keep in mind the objective of socio-economic improvement. Proceeding from this viewpoint we shall find truly talented cadres, whom we should resolutely appoint to posts of responsibility in production and business, in key links where questions of productivity, product quality and economic efficiency are decided. On the other hand we must seriously implement the provisions of the resolution adopted at the Fourth Party Congress on the removal of cadres guilty of serious mistakes and those who lack the capacity and moral qualities to shoulder their tasks.

The past days of serious work by the Central Committee have led to the adoption of a good resolution and to a correct solution of the problems examined.

This resolution will certainly be received by our entire Party, people and army with joy and turned by them into realities. We must perform truly good political and ideological work, mobilize the masses of the people and cause them to hold high their spirit of self-reliance, launch a seething emulation movement, vigorously and successfully carry out the State Plan for 1984, create a steady momentum for 1985, and take the construction and defence of our socialist homeland unceasingly forward.

THE VANGUARD ROLE OF THE CAPITAL CITY*

This Congress is meeting in the light of the resolution adopted at the Fifth Party Congress. Early this year, there were also the resolution of the Third Plenum of the Central Committee and the resolution adopted by the Political Bureau on work in the capital city. Guided by the above resolutions, this congress of the Hanoi Party branch has been carefully prepared. In reports presented at the Congress, tasks have been laid down with regard to the transformation and construction of the capital city.

I avail myself of this occasion to convey my greetings to the Congress and air some of my views.

At present the world is going through a period of very intense struggle between the two systems. The American imperialists and their allies are frantically stepping up the arms race and creating an extremely dangerous situation. The calamity of a nuclear war is threatening peace and human life. The forthcoming peace congress in Prague is an expression of the iron will and colossal strength of the peoples struggling to stay the hands of the imperialist warmongers, push back and gradually eliminate the danger of nuclear war. Our fifty-five million fellow-countrymen have shown complete solidarity with

* Speech at the 9th Congress of the Hanoi branch of the CPV, June 1983.

peace fighters in all continents. Our people are resolved to contribute a worthy part to the defence of world peace.

In Southeast Asia, the Chinese hegemonic expansionists acting in collusion with the American imperialists and other reactionaries are actively carrying on a very wicked and intense multi-faceted war of sabotage against our people and the fraternal peoples of Laos and Kampuchea. Their aim is to weaken our country and eventually gobble it up, thus eliminating the banner of national independence and socialism being held high by the Vietnamese revolution. This strategic objective of the Chinese reactionaries has not changed in the least. The American imperialists and other reactionary forces have ganged up with them in the hope of crushing us.

Our entire Party, people and army must be fully alive to this situation. We must build up the greatest resolve and strongest force to defeat this war. We have the heroic people's armed forces, the aggregate strength of our regime of socialist collective mastery, the special militant alliance of the three Indochinese countries, the all-sided cooperation of the Soviet Union, the solidarity of the other fraternal socialist countries, the support of revolutionary and progressive forces throughout the world. We are bound to win.

Over the recent period our people have recorded great achievements. Hanoi has also made encouraging progress. This is the fundamental aspect of the situation. However, in order to fulfil our twofold task of national construction and defence, we must engage in prolonged effort and overcome many difficulties and trials. Such is also the situation with regard to revolutionary work in the capital city.

In the years ahead, Hanoi must try really hard to develop its economy and stabilize the living conditions of its population. All potentials in trades and crafts, land resources, manpower, science and technology must be made the most of in order to boost agricultural, especially food, production. In industry we must strive to increase product quality and economic efficiency. In agriculture particular attention should be paid to practising intensive cultivation and obtaining a quick boost in both crop and animal raising. The industrial goods turned out in the city must be among the best and the farm yields in its rural areas must be among the highest in the country. In concert with the ministries concerned, Hanoi must organize cooperation and exchanges with the provinces and the other cities in order to step up production, gain access to more sources of commodities, and especially build up sizable food reserves.

Specially intense efforts must be made to turn out good-quality export goods with locally available materials. By stepping up our exports we should be able to import machinery and equipment necessary for the city's industrial and agricultural production. Top priority must be given to export and all branches of activity, all levels of authority and all grassroots units must engage in the production of articles for export.

The strength of the people and the army must be mobilized to help the State build and transform the city. Difficulties must be overcome, more housing built, sanitary conditions and water and electricity supply improved, houses repaired, communications put in good order, and services expanded.

Socialist order must be more vigorously enforced on the front of goods distribution and circulation with a view to boosting production and stabilizing the people's living conditions. A clean sweep must be made of speculators and smugglers; private commerce abolished; the small producers and small traders reorganized and reformed, along with the consolidation of socialist relations of production. State control over goods and money must be strengthened. The State must control the whole production of the State sector of the economy and fight embezzlement, losses, and damage to the products. All enterprises must deliver their products according to regulations. By means of two-way contracts, the State must control the bulk of farm and small-industry and handicraft products. As for marketable food, most of it must be in the hands of the State, pending State monopoly over it. Socialist trade must be consolidated and expanded, stable prices established in the organized market, and the required amounts of rationed necessities supplied to workers, public employees and members of the armed forces. Prices on the free market must be brought under stringent and constant control.

In order to strengthen proletarian dictatorship one must promote the working people's right to collective mastery. A seething mass movement for collective mastery must be aroused in Hanoi. This revolutionary movement must become a veritable festival of the people in every city ward, commune, factory, government office, army unit...

Collective mastery is aimed at boosting transformation, construction, production, economy. All able-bodied people must work. Working schedules must be fully observed,

work discipline enforced, laziness and negligence opposed, technical standards fulfilled, botching and bungling castigated.

Collective mastery leads to strict control of distribution and circulation. Every citizen of the capital must abide by and help enforce rules and regulations on market management so that goods may be distributed in a just and equitable way.

Collective mastery helps build a new culture and form the new, socialist man. The age-old cultural traditions of the capital city must be upheld and enhanced, the national spiritual values safeguarded and cultivated, the reactionary and depraved culture swept away, backward customs and habits as well as superstitious beliefs opposed. We must smash the enemy's plots and machinations aimed at undermining the spirit, eroding the morals, and corrupting the way of life of our people in general and our youth in particular.

Collective mastery allows us to defend our homeland and maintain political security and social order. It is the greatest force for defeating the enemy's multi-faceted war of sabotage.

More than any other place in the country, Hanoi must strive to be a symbol of our regime of collective mastery. In Hanoi mastery should be exercised by every citizen, every day of the year. The trade unions, the Youth Union, the Women's Union, the Collective Peasants' Association in Hanoi must be the strongest organizations for collective mastery in the whole country.

Whatever the difficulties, Hanoi must lead the movement for building a new culture, forming the new man,

shaping a clean and wholesome way of life, and caring for children and youngsters.

Hanoi and the whole country must stand ready to face any kind of war situation and will never allow any aggressor to lay hands on our capital city.

The Hanoi Party branch must strive to raise its fighting strength and capacity for leadership. It must affirm its successes and achievements while being clearly aware of its weaknesses and defects. One must squarely face difficulties and one's own shortcomings in order to overcome them and set things right. Party discipline must be strengthened and State authority firmly maintained. The sense of responsibility in conducting economic and social management, ensuring protection for public property and serving the people must be heightened. Deserving cadres and Party members must be commended and people credited with achievements must be rewarded. Degenerate, backslid and depraved elements must be resolutely expelled from the Party.

Cadres decide everything. Each cadre and Party member must strive to preserve their qualities and heighten their capacity. As Uncle Ho recommended, they must prove themselves worthy of being "the leader and the faithful servant of the people". To the districts, enterprises and offices of the city key cadres must be appointed who should be able to give a strong push to the popular movement in their respective localities.

The Party city committee and the district Party committees should evince initiative and imagination, and not rely on assistance from above. We must oppose bureaucratism, build up and care for the grassroots,

arouse inventiveness in the people and sum up their experience, and give timely solutions to practical problems.

The central departments bear great responsibility in the transformation and construction of the capital city; they must work hand in hand with the city administration in implementing the resolution of the Political Bureau on work in Hanoi.

The Hanoi Party branch must uphold its glorious tradition and strive to fulfil its important mission in the revolutionary cause of the country.

Let me wish success to the 9th Congress of the Hanoi Party branch, which will open up bright prospects for advance in the building of the capital city.

OUR BUILDING OF SOCIALISM IS BOUND TO BE A SUCCESS*

I am quite happy today to attend the 3rd Congress of the Ho Chi Minh City branch of the Party. Let me convey to you my warm greetings and share your joy over the changes and progress made in your city.

The past three years have marked a significant upturn in our country's socio-economic situation. Our enemies dream of weakening our revolution and driving our economy to exhaustion and collapse but our country has remained strong and stood firm. Our economy, following the very serious upheavals of 1979-80, has made important progress in spite of many difficulties. In some respects it has even developed fairly well, has created a new posture for itself and has been on an upward swing.

This can be seen in Ho Chi Minh City. The city has displayed continuous effort, cleared many hurdles and recorded important achievements. It has maintained and developed both agricultural and industrial production and quickly expanded small industry and handicrafts. It has actively redressed the situation in the distribution

* Speech at the 3rd Congress of the Ho Chi Minh City branch of the CPV, November 1983.

and circulation of goods and carried on socialist transformation. Mass organizations have been consolidated and expanded, the sense of collective mastery promoted at the grassroots, the people's material and cultural life well looked after and the working people's hardships reduced.

Those are only initial achievements. They are not uniform in all fields and there have been some shortcomings and errors which are being corrected. But they are none the less basic accomplishments which testify to the new quality and correct orientation of the work undertaken for the transformation and building of the city along the line charted by the Fifth Party Congress.

Those attainments are due to the energy, initiative and imagination shown by the Party city branch, the city administration and citizens of all strata in implementing the guidelines and policies of the Party and the State, in coordination and cooperation with the central departments of administration and many provinces and cities. They are especially due to the serious attitude with which the Party city committee and the whole Party city organization have been acting upon resolution No. 61 of the Political Bureau on work in the city and the resolutions adopted at the Third and Fourth Plenums of the Party Central Committee.

The report of the Party city committee has pointed out the key tasks and concrete performance of the city. Let me add a few ideas of my own.

Historical and geographical conditions have carved out for Ho Chi Minh City a very important political and economic position. During more than a century of

domination of our country the colonialist and imperialist forces turned this city into a key centre for establishing their control over the south of our homeland and also into a major economic centre for trade with other countries, first of all those in the Western Pacific and Southeast Asia.

Today the city has been returned to the people and has become a city of reunified Vietnam, a city advancing to socialism. The past has left here heavy legacies in many fields. However, the city is also a focal point of particularly favourable objective conditions in the economic field which exist in no other province or city of our country. On the basis of a complete analysis of the particularities of this city, we should grasp the two most fundamental points, namely collective mastery and socialist industrialization, in order to forge ahead.

Collective mastery is the goal of socialism. It is also our most powerful motive force and source of strength in carrying out the three revolutions, transforming our economy and culture along socialist lines, building socialism and defending our homeland. We must ensure collective mastery at all three fundamental levels: the grassroots, the region, and the whole country. In the revolutionary movement now taking place in the city, there have emerged many good examples of collective mastery and initial mechanisms have been set up to guarantee the exercise by the people of collective mastery in the city wards, communes, factories and cooperatives. We must sum up the experience gained in order to expand the movement while step by step building up and perfecting the system of collective mastery in order

to create a firm basis on which to conduct a good management of the economy, of society, and of the city as a whole.

We have been exerting strenuous efforts to transform and build the city and turn it from a place of luxury and pleasure for the ruling class and the exploiters into a productive city, a city of and for the working people. We must learn to give full play to the strong points and potentials of Ho Chi Minh city in order to step up the socialist revolution in all southern provinces and contribute to the development of the national economy as a whole. We must turn to account the favourable conditions enjoyed by this city to expand exchanges between our country and other countries. We should strive to make of Ho Chi Minh City, in a not-too-distant future, a city showing all-round development, a socialist city with a modern industrial-agricultural economy and advanced culture and science — a modern, civilized city of high standing in Southeast Asia.

More than anyone else, the Party organization, the administration and the people of Ho Chi Minh City should have a clear view of the position and role of their city. They should be fully aware of their heavy and glorious responsibilities and devote all their strength, mental ability, and talents to the completion of socialist transformation and the building of socialism in the city. The transformation and building of the city is first and foremost the task of the city itself. But it is also the common endeavour of the whole country. The Council of ministers, the State Planning commission and all ministries should regard the transformation and building of Ho Chi Minh City, the development of its existing

capabilities and the exploitation of its potentials, as an important part of the national economic development programmes, the programme of action of each ministry, and that of the government as a whole.

We should put the problems of the building and transformation of the city in a national perspective in order to mobilize the joint efforts of many branches of activity, localities, and levels of authority and find solutions for them. On the other hand, while engaged in the process of reforming and building the city, we should strive to follow a judicious course of action and limit errors and shortcomings to a minimum, for, given the position and particularities of the city, each success attained here would have a healthy influence on the whole country while each mistake and defect would have a negative effect on the national scale. Therefore we should take a global view of the problem in order to establish a clear division of responsibilities while assigning tasks to each level of authority, and secure good coordination and cooperation between the various central departments and the city, and between the latter and the provinces.

The strong points of Ho Chi Minh City lie first of all in its considerable industrial capabilities, which include both centrally-run and regional industries, both modern industry and small industry and handicrafts. We should use the city's industrial capacity to serve agriculture, forestry and fishery; bring about an all-round development of agriculture, and its combination in many respects and many forms with industry; gradually create a rational economic structure comprising the industry of the city, the agriculture and fisheries of its suburbs,

and the agriculture of the southern provinces. Through this combination we should be able to form stable and ever-expanding sources of materials for the industries of the city while carrying out a redistribution of the city's work force and population.

The foremost question is to re-arrange and re-organize the various branches of industry, small industry and handicrafts and work out correct and well-coordinated policies. We should in particular make intensive investments in order to make the most of the present industrial capabilities of the city, in both equipment and technical personnel. Priority should be given to the re-arrangement, re-equipment and expansion of manufacturing and repair engineering factories, and efforts should be made to supply enough work tools, spare parts, and eventually equipment and machinery to small and medium-sized farm product processing factories. We must seek every means to step up production of consumer goods, especially those needed for exchanges with the farmers, thus encouraging them to put in more work-days and fully exploit the abundant potentials of agriculture, especially in the Mekong delta.

The Party city branch and the city administration should be credited with having quickly perceived the importance of foreign trade and given it a strong push. However, in view of both capabilities and requirements, we can and should do more and better. Export is a decisive spearhead which would help bring into full play the city's potentials, expand its industries, and build it up while contributing to the industrialization of the country as a whole. Ho Chi Minh City must grow and become prosperous through the development of export

trade, tourism, and international services. First of all it should be made into a centre for export. The reorganization of foreign trade should be continued; the possibilities of industry, small industry, handicrafts and suburban agriculture, especially animal husbandry and fisheries, should be exploited. At the same time we should get the provinces to join in this endeavour in order to expand our exports and quickly increase their value.

The lessons learnt over the past few years have driven home to us the importance and utmost urgency of the completion of socialist transformation in this city, a question which tolerates no more delay. We must carry through the socialist transformation of private industry and trade, and of small industry, handicrafts and agriculture. We must in particular immediately abolish capitalist trade and reorganize the private traders. The guidelines and policies regarding socialist transformation have been clearly laid down. The important point is to draw the necessary conclusions from revolutionary practice and clearly perceive the bitter and complex character of the struggle between the socialist and the capitalist paths, in order to stand firm on our combat position and strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat.

We must closely associate the socialist transformation of private industry and commerce with the struggle to restore socialist order on the front of goods distribution and circulation. A resolute struggle must be waged against speculation, smuggling, theft of State property and disruption of the market. We must coordinate action by various branches and rely on the masses and grass-roots organizations to conduct in-depth investigation,

supervision and control and nip infractions in the bud. We must enforce full product delivery by enterprises, and expand the network of socialist trade while setting right its mode of doing business by resolutely opposing the tendency to follow market mechanisms and engage in competition in buying and selling operations for the sake of profit. The efforts of all branches of activity and levels of authority should be focused on this burning combat front in order gradually to stabilize the market and bring it under control, stabilize prices and pull them down, and contribute to stabilizing living conditions, first of all those of workers, public employees and members of the armed forces.

In their multi-faceted war of sabotage against our people, the hegemonists and imperialists consider Ho Chi Minh City one of their prime targets. Therefore the city must muster and coordinate all forces and all measures to win in this war. We must get the better of the enemy on all fronts — political, military, economic, cultural and ideological. We must in particular win on the economic front, eliminate the exploiters, punish the chief saboteurs and speculators, and remove all elements leading to spontaneous development of capitalism and anarchy in the production and distribution and circulation of goods. We must strengthen leadership and guidance by the Party organization in security and defence, educate the people and enhance their revolutionary vigilance and sense of discipline, and resolutely combat all infractions to the law and all social evils. We must consolidate and strengthen the armed forces for the defence of the city and protection of the people.

We must defeat the enemy and build Ho Chi Minh City into a major rear area and a strong base for national defence.

On the ideological-cultural front we must resolutely struggle against the enemy's psychological warfare, eradicate the cultural vestiges of neo-colonialism, eliminate all influence of reactionary, backward and depraved cultures while step by step building a new culture, a socialist way of life, and turning Ho Chi Minh City into a typical cultural centre of our country, a beautiful, civilized and healthy city. The light of culture should reach all homes and all working people. Through the mass organizations, schools, literary and artistic activities and mass revolutionary movements, we shall form the new man, worthy of the glorious traditions of the nation, able and deserving to exercise collective mastery, and eager to shoulder the task of building the new society. The Party city organization must give close guidance to activities on the cultural front and must ceaselessly fight and defeat the enemy.

The building of the city requires that the key role of the scientific and technological revolution be upheld. First we must quickly introduce scientific and technical advances into production and life. All branches of activity and all levels of authority must consider science and technique to be an essential element in their development programmes. Policies must be worked out that strongly encourage the application of scientific and technical achievements by all production and business enterprises. Science and technology are to be popularized down to grassroots units and individual producers. There should be good management and utilization of

existing scientific and technical cadres. We should bring together talented people and promote scientific and technical innovations. These efforts are aimed at initiating a vigorous and steady advance of science and technology.

The historic mission being shouldered by the Party city branch requires that all Party organizations and members strive to be equal to their tasks.

In order to give leadership to the transformation and development of the economy and culture in this city, the first thing for them to do is to learn to manage the economy, society and the city as a whole. They should manage the economy in such a way as to take the present small-scale production to large-scale socialist production along the line mapped out by the Party. They should manage society in such a way as to establish a new order based on this mechanism; the Party is the leader, the people are the master, the State is the manager. They must manage the city in such a way as to reform and build it up, step by step remoulding it and turning it into an industrial city, one that is advancing to the standards of modern times. These problems are still quite new to us. Only by studying, persistently studying, can we mature and make progress. There are many ways in which we can learn but the most important one is to sum up revolutionary practice, learn from it, upgrade our knowledge, temper our ideology and raise our ability for practical organization.

Cadres and Party members should be imbued with a resolute stance in the present thorough-going and uncompromising class struggle. Party members should clearly

perceive our enemies, the enemies of socialist revolution; they must know where they stand, whose interests they are fighting for, and what viewpoint is to guide them in conducting transformation and construction. Revolutionary morals require from all Party members loyalty, integrity and purity, and absolutely prohibit all manifestations of arrogance and all attempts at bullying the masses. Those guilty of mistakes and shortcomings should be enlightened and given assistance for them to redeem their faults and continue to progress. At the same time offenders should be disciplined and efforts should be continued to purify the ranks of the Party city organization. Party membership should be expanded in order to give the Party a strong base among the working people, first of all the working class who are directly engaged in production. Unrelenting efforts should be made to reinforce solidarity within the Party city branch, and Party officials and leading comrades must be the first to set good examples.

The mass organizations should be continually expanded and their fighting strength heightened. The working class and trade unions in the city should become steady props for the Party city branch. Formerly mere hired employees, now the masters of society, the workers must truly exercise and promote their collective mastery. The reinforcement of the working class is a top-priority task in the consolidation of proletarian dictatorship and the establishment of the working people's collective mastery.

The peasantry make up an important force in the struggle for independence, freedom and the right to

collective mastery. They must build up their association, fully play the role of the new peasantry, continue to hold high the banner of collective mastery, judiciously carry out the readjustment of land holdings, and organize themselves for cooperative work and all-sided agricultural development.

The youth, the reliable reserve force of the Party, must carefully study our revolutionary traditions in order to acquire a thorough understanding of them, have a clear view of the road ahead, nurture in their hearts the resolve to devote all their energies to the building of socialism and the defence of the homeland, prove themselves to be the worthy continuators of the work of their elders and solid pillars for the regime of collective mastery. The Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union must be the true centre for educating and tempering young people and making it possible for them to fulfil their glorious tasks.

The Women's Union, whose membership comprises the powerful forces of the army of "heroic, indomitable, loyal and resourceful" women in the days of the resistance, plays an important role in mobilizing women to participate in the transformation and building of the city, especially the reform of trade, the re-organization of goods distribution and circulation, that of handicrafts, and the expansion of service activities.

The large numbers of intellectuals, people engaged in scientific and technical work, constitute a precious asset of the Party and the people. Favourable conditions should be created for them to bring into full play their intellectual ability and talents, and work shoulder to

shoulder with the working class and the peasantry to build up the regime of collective mastery and contribute an ever larger part to national construction and socialism.

In our time, Marxism — Leninism and proletarian internationalism have opened up large prospects and taken our people into the immense family of communists and nations on the five continents, who are progressing toward new horizons. Fighting as we are under the banner of our homeland and that of the Party, for the sake of socialism and communism, we must strive to add to the lustre of the glorious traditions of our people, a heroic people descended from Au Co, Le Long and the Hung kings, the people of our great Uncle Ho.

This Congress opened right on the day of the 66th anniversary of the October Revolution. In these memorable days, the Vietnamese communists and people turn their thoughts to the Soviet Union with infinite gratitude in their hearts.

We have just observed the fifth anniversary of the signing of the Vietnam — Soviet Friendship and Cooperation treaty. This treaty is a solid guarantee for our people's victory in the building and defence of their homeland. It has created, are creating, and will create favourable conditions for us to build the material and technical bases of socialism. We set great store by the programme of long-term cooperation which has just been signed between our country and the Soviet Union on the occasion of the official friendship visit to Vietnam by a high-level delegation of the Soviet Party and Government led by Comrade G. A. Aliyev. We must do our utmost to fulfil our obligations as laid down in this new programme of cooperation.

In these days, not only we but the whole of progressive mankind turn their thoughts to the Soviet Union and clearly perceive it to be the solid rampart of world peace. We severely condemn the Reagan administration for stubbornly conducting a policy of arms race, bringing closer the danger of nuclear war, kindling war and creating very dangerous hotbeds of tension in many regions of the world. We fully support the policy of peace and the resolute counter-measures being taken by the Soviet Union. We fully support the statement filled with goodwill and a high sense of responsibility to the destiny of mankind made by Comrade Y. V. Andropov. Solidarity with the Soviet Union, solidarity with Kampuchea and Laos, remains our prime strategy in external relations.

We vigorously support the forces struggling for peace and national independence. We severely condemn the invasion of Grenada by the American imperialists. We resolutely stand by Cuba, Nicaragua and countries whose independence is being threatened by imperialism. We stand by the side of the people of El Salvador and peoples on all continents who are fighting for independence, freedom and human dignity.

More than ever we firmly believe that peace will win, that national independence and socialism will win.

The Ho Chi Minh City Party branch is possessed of a glorious tradition.

Yesterday, it suffered hardships and sacrifices and fought for the liberation of the homeland, of this city.

Today, it has overcome and is overcoming new difficulties and trials to build and defend its beloved city.

For the sake of the country and together with the whole country, Saigon was liberated yesterday.

For the sake of the country and together with the whole country Ho Chi Minh City today is bound to be successful in building socialism.

I am certain that this Congress marks a new step forward, a vigorous and steady step, made by Ho Chi Minh City on the road to socialism.

LET US FOLLOW THE STRATEGIC ORIENTATION THAT HAS BEEN CHARTED *

I am quite glad to have this opportunity to visit Tien Giang and meet you today, comrades. I avail myself of this occasion to express a few ideas.

Our Party has led our people in revolutionary struggle and won magnificent success. This is due to the fact that it has constantly kept a firm hold on and held high two banners: national independence and socialism. There lies the greatest lesson of our revolution. The conclusion drawn from it not only was correct with regard to the previous national democratic revolution but is also correct concerning the present socialist revolution.

Socialism is not only the endeavour of the working class but also the revolutionary achievement of the working people and of the whole nation. The working class, through the agency of the Communist Party, its vanguard, must be the most deserving representative of the nation. While providing the correct solution to the nation's fundamental aspirations, it must know how to enhance the fine traditions inherited from our forefathers.

* Talk to cadres of Tien Giang Province¹, August 1982

1. A province in the Mekong delta.

Karl Max pointed out: "The working class must in itself become nation." Lenin said that in the period of imperialism, the proletarian revolution must be bound up with the liberation of oppressed peoples. Uncle Ho went from patriotism to Marxism-Leninism, from national liberation to communism. Such has been the road travelled by many Vietnamese communist fighters.

Marxism-Leninism equips us communists with a scientific method to find the road to national liberation and social emancipation. Patriotism, rooted in profound knowledge of the nation and close ties with the people, gives us a powerful spiritual motive force.

That is why in order to advance on the road of socialism, the various strata of our people must be educated in such a way as to gradually raise their understanding of socialism; at the same time they must receive constant education in patriotism. All Vietnamese people must have a good knowledge of the origins of our nation, how it has maintained itself in existence and developed, the humiliations and miseries it has suffered, and the many exploits it has recorded.

This education must be carried out with all the means of propaganda in the hands of the Party and the State, through the agency of the mass organizations, schools and literary and artistic activities. It must be given by teachers to their pupils since the most tender age, and by parents to their children.

Our nation is a heroic, a great nation. During the nearly one thousand years of northern domination, our people ceaselessly struggled to win back sovereignty. We are particularly proud of the Trung sisters, Trung Trac and

Trung Nhi, who raised high the standard of insurrection and smashed the cruel rule by the Han in the first century of this era. After overthrowing the rule of the Chinese king and mandarins and winning back independence, our people set about building up the country while fighting courageously against foreign aggressions. In this period, many resounding exploits were achieved by our forefathers: they twice defeated Song invaders¹, routed Mongol Yuan aggressors on three occasions², carried out a ten-year armed insurrection which drove out Ming occupiers³, and in two lightning operations made a clean sweep of Siamese⁴ and Qing⁵ invaders. The victories over the Mongol Yuan aggressors were the most glorious pages of our history in feudal times. In the 13th century, the Mongol Yuan conquered many Asian and European nations, including China. Yet in their three attempts to overrun Vietnam, those Huns were stopped and routed by our army and people.

We Vietnamese are proud of having defeated the Mongol Yuan in the past and the American imperialists at present. We got the better of the Americans because we were not afraid of them. Against the backdrop of the international situation in the late fifties and the sixties, to resolve to fight and beat the American imperialists was a difficult and complex decision. The complete victory of our anti-US resistance for national salvation

1. In 981 and 1077.

2. In 1257, 1285 and 1288.

3. From 1418 to 1427.

4. In 1784.

5. In 1789.

proves that our Party made a correct assessment of the balance of forces between our people on the one hand and the Americans and their puppets on the other and a judicious evaluation of the Vietnamese revolution's capacity to act on the offensive and win victory in the fight against American neo-colonialism in close connection with the strength and offensive posture of the three revolutionary currents of our time.

By defeating two major imperialisms, the French and the American, our people have brilliantly carried on the four-thousand-year-old tradition of our nation and enhanced the most precious quality of the Vietnamese man, heroism.

In recent years, as we tackled economic problems, we have run into many difficulties and often stumbled. The causes of those difficulties and stumbles were carefully analysed at the Fifth Party Congress. It has taken the fraternal socialist countries many years, 60 years for the Soviet Union and 35 years for the countries of eastern Europe, to complete or be about to complete the building of developed socialism. As for the capitalist countries, it has taken them 200 — 300 years to arrive at their present economic potentials. For our part, our country has been taking the road of socialism for only 6 — 7 years, and this while having to wage war to defend our homeland and being on our guard against attempts at aggression by the Chinese reactionaries. Hence the inevitability of our difficulties and hitches. The important point for us is to draw lessons from revolutionary practice so that we may clearly see the road ahead and steadily go forward in the strategic direction that has been charted.

The Party's Fifth Congress confirmed the correctness of the general line on socialist revolution and the line for the building of a socialist economy as mapped out by the Fourth Congress. It is on the basis of the concrete conditions of Vietnam that we say that we must hold fast to proletarian dictatorship, promote the working people's right to collective mastery, and carry out the three revolutions simultaneously: the revolution in production relations, the scientific and technological revolution, and the ideological and cultural revolution, the kingpin being the scientific and technological revolution. It is also on the basis of Vietnamese realities that we say that industry must be bound up with agriculture right from the outset; that a gradual advance must be made toward a modern national industrial-agricultural structure, that regional economies must be developed as the central economy is being built up, and that these two must be integrated into a unified whole in the country's socialist economy.

Socialist collective mastery is a major component of our Party line. This mastery is to be exercised under the leadership of the working class. Without this leadership there can be no collective mastery. The masters are not the workers alone, but all the working people, among whom the peasantry constitute a tremendous force. Our peasants are not only the direct and close allies of the working class, but also important members of the main force of the national democratic revolution formerly and the socialist revolution at present. Our people have a tradition of democracy and equality; they have moreover courageously struggled against imperialism and feudalism under the Party's leadership; hence they have easily

grasped the fact that the Party line aims at bringing them the right to collective mastery. We hold that collective mastery must be exercised at all three fundamental levels: in the country as a whole, in the region (i.e. province and district), and at the grassroots (i.e. in the factory, the cooperative...), and in all fields: political, economic, cultural, social, especially in the economic field.

To strive to take small-scale production to large-scale socialist production is to create the economic foundations of the regime of collective mastery. This collective mastery of the working people must be upheld right from the outset and regarded as a motive force for the building of a new society. In the present initial stage, our starting-point is *agriculture* and so agricultural development should be our foremost task. At the same time we must gradually build the *material and technical bases* of socialism, and in order to serve agriculture and meet the requirements of industrial development, we must seek every means to boost *import and export* trade.

On the agricultural front, land holdings must be readjusted and poor peasants must have land to till. The revolution on production relations, whose main link is the socialist transformation of agriculture, must be completed. On the basis of the new relations of production, one must reorganize production and use manpower, land resources, and crafts and trades in the most rational way with a view to ever-higher labour productivity and economic efficiency. The number-one target is to produce enough food for society.

The needs in clothing must be met. The existing capacity of industry must be made the most of to produce the

necessary consumer goods. Step by step we shall build key heavy industries especially the energy-producing and engineering industries. Control of production must go hand in hand with control over distribution and circulation: the State must gain control over the bulk of money and goods, food grain in particular, and private traders must not be allowed to speculate in food grain and disturb the market for the sake of profit.

As we start from small-scale production, we must keep a firm hold on the *district* echelon, build it into an agro-industrial structure, and regard it as a base for large-scale socialist production. The building of the district and the integration of agriculture and industry into a structure is a very important guideline, but we have been slow in implementing it. At present we must gain a thorough knowledge of our possibilities in manpower, and land resources and of hydrographic and pedological conditions before establishing zoning schemes and plans for crop and animal raising and the promotion of various crafts and trades. Besides rice we should plant industrial crops (sugarcane, jute, etc.) wherever possible. From sugarcane we may obtain sugar, spirits, alcohol, paper, condiments; from jute, carpets, sacking, etc. In this way we shall gradually build an agro-industrial structure and create jobs for townspeople. Tien Giang should work out a plan for cooperation with Ho Chi Minh City which would allow it to use the latter's industrial capacity in the interests of its agriculture, exploit its potentials, and turn its strong points to full account.

All the existing wasteland should be quickly brought under crop. It should not take very long for 1,300,000 people to clear 30,000 — 40,000 hectares of such land.

Of course, our aim is not to grow rice on this land but crops suited to its acid and aluminous soils. If the right crops are planted in the low-lying areas of the Nam Bo plains, we should have new areas of cultivation. On both long-cultivated lands and newly-cleared tracts we should practise intensive cultivation of both rice and industrial crops and give a strong fillip to yield increases.

The watchword "Combined efforts by the State and the people" has been well acted upon in Tien Giang, the State being meant to include both the central and regional administrations. The central authorities will try to make adequate investments in the regional economy, but the capital and equipment at their disposal being at present limited, the province must make the most of its manpower and land resources, augment its investment fund by earning more revenues from export, and at the same time get the people to contribute a reasonable amount of labour and money to economic and cultural development.

The province's possibilities for export are very great. People of all walks of life should be organized for making export goods. In particular, the peasants should be encouraged to put in more work-days, practise intensive cultivation, multiply crops, produce handicraft items and expand animal husbandry, especially the raising of pigs, ducks, shrimps, fish, etc. It is in this way that the people may actively contribute to the expansion of export trade.

To bring about a high tide in production and construction, the watchword "All for the socialist homeland, all for the people's happiness," must become the revolutionary action of vast popular masses. Through propaganda and education it must be driven home to our fellow-countrymen, especially the peasants, that to engage in

production emulation for the prosperity of the homeland and to stand ready to defend it is to work for the prosperity and the security of each individual family, to make sure that the old days of oppression and exploitation will never return, and to advance to a happy future. Young people must be imbued with the certainty that we Vietnamese not only are fully capable of achieving self-liberation but have also the capacity to quickly assimilate modern science and technology and bring our country up to the level of developed industrialized countries.

Our entire people have fought uninterruptedly and endured immense sacrifices. We profoundly sympathize with our compatriots' losses and sufferings and also their dreams and aspirations. In 1954, I remember, following the Dien Bien Phu victory and the Geneva agreements, I went from the liberated area of the Fifth Interzone to Quy Nhon on my way to the South. Along the road, our delegation was greeted by crowds of people who joyfully hailed the return of peace. As I waved to them tears trickled down my cheeks. I was thinking of the months and years ahead when our compatriots of the South were going to live in the fangs and under the claws of the American imperialists and their agents, and of the oppression, terror, torture and massacre they would suffer. The ensuing war of resistance against the Americans was to last more than twenty years.¹

When the South was at last completely liberated and the country reunified, our people's joy and enthusiasm was beyond description. We thought of rebuilding our

country in peace. But a new enemy provoked war. The Pol Pot gang furiously attacked our country's southwestern border. They set ablaze and razed to the ground whole villages, and massacred thousands of our compatriots who were living peacefully. Our hearts ached but we had to show restraint and self-control. We knew that behind the Pol Pot gang were reactionary forces in the Beijing ruling circles. In order to put down the bandits who were attacking us from the south, we had to be ready to counter enemy action from the north. We had to quickly build up our defences along the whole of our border with China. We had to sign a Friendship and Cooperation Treaty with the Soviet Union. We had to win international sympathy and support and hold the initiative on the diplomatic front. It was due to that judicious course of action that we subsequently scored quick victories against the two wars of aggression conducted by the Chinese hegemonic expansionists and their agents.

At present the Chinese reactionaries together with the American imperialists are persisting in a hostile policy against our people, but we are not to be intimidated. On our northern frontier and in the East Sea, we are in a state of constant readiness. The South of our country is being built up into a great rear area for the new struggle. In Laos and Kampuchea, the forces of the revolution are growing ever stronger. On the strength of the experience we have gained in waging war for national salvation and national defence, of the assistance and cooperation extended by the Soviet Union, of the

1. From 1954 to 1975.

sympathy and support shown by our brothers and friends, our people are fully able to defeat all aggressive plots and actions of the enemy.

These recent years, Tien Giang province has won encouraging results. I am quite happy over the progress made by the Party branch and the people of the province. It is my hope that by learning from past successes, by gaining an even firmer grasp of the Party line in economic transformation and construction, and by vigorously promoting the working people's right to collective mastery, Tien Giang province will make great and steady strides forward and contribute to the national effort for the fulfilment of our two strategic tasks in the new stage.

THE DISTRICT: THE BASE FOR THE * THREE REVOLUTIONS *

More than fifty years ago, I was engaged in underground revolutionary work here in Hai Phong. It was here that I was arrested by colonial police. I was then in my twenties. Like my fellow-revolutionaries in those days, my most eager wish was to win back national independence and take the country to socialism.

At present you comrades are lucky: you are engaged in building socialism in your entirely liberated native region. I would like to ask you this question: are you resolved to devote yourselves to making socialism a success?

If so, don't be afraid of difficulties and hardships. In former days, as we were waging revolution against the colonialist occupiers, we knew that we might be caught, decapitated, or exiled. But this did not frighten us. At present, to engage in national construction in independence and freedom is for us a source of immense joy and pride. Work selflessly, comrades, for this noble enterprise, for this great ideal.

I am quite pleased to learn that over the past two years, Tien Lang has worked hard and has progressed

* Talk to cadres of Tien Lang district, Haiphong, September 1980.

from a "weak" to a "fairly strong" position. This is a very good achievement. You can be rightly proud of it. However, it must be said that we have advanced too slowly. The North embarked on the socialist path twenty years ago and only now have we worked out a proper orientation and method of management. In the anti-French resistance, the Tien Lang Party organization and people defeated many sweeps by enemy troops, some involving as many as 21 battalions. And yet, when economic construction began, the movement just marked time, as it did so often before 1980. At present, you have overcome the difficulties and reached a turning-point. So from now on, you should move forward at the double-quick to make up for wasted time. We have learnt a very precious lesson from our successes over the past two years. The district Party organization should assimilate it thoroughly, strive its hardest and mobilize the district people to an even more vigorous and steady advance.

So far you have been bringing in two rice crops a year, totalling nearly six tonnes per hectare. Would you be able to boost these yields to 7, 8, 9, 10 tonnes per hectare?

Your ricefields have now got enough fresh water and been planted with rice strains suited to acid and aluminous soils. For them to attain high yields we should have plenty of fertilizer. Of course, technical standards must be observed, good care given, and pests suppressed in time. But the most decisive factor is fertilizer, both pigsty manure and chemical, especially nitrogenous, fertilizer. However, and there's the rub, our production of the latter is quite insufficient, and we must boost our exports if we want to import more of it. So all three

sectors of the economy in Hai Phong — the State, collective, and family sectors — must join efforts to push animal husbandry, an important source of exports. If each family in Tien Lang is to raise 2 — 3 pigs, and 30 — 40 fowls of exportable standards, the fields here won't lack fertilizer.

These are the three requisites for building socialism:

1. To start from agriculture, regard it as the forefront of the battle, develop it all-sidedly, giving top priority to food production;

2. To turn to full account the existing capacity of industry and strive to build a modern industry;

3. To boost exports to cover our imports of materials, machinery, and equipment.

Export trade assumes a strategic significance by giving a strong push to agriculture and serving industrialization. In this initial stage, it takes on all the more urgency. My eager wish is that we should organize farm work in such a way as to allow our peasants to work 300 days each year — 200 for their own upkeep and 100 for producing export goods. It is my hope that these objectives be obtained here in Tien Lang. Raise any crop and animal that can be exported. Engage in any craft and trade that produce exportable goods. Hai Phong being on the coast, communications with other parts of the country and trade with foreign countries are thus facilitated. This advantage must be fully exploited to boost exchanges and foreign trade. The immediate aim is to serve agriculture and meet some urgent needs of industry and everyday life. The long-term objective is to contribute

to the reequipping of the various branches of our economy and quickly increase the productivity of social labour. At present in our agriculture, the cultivation of every hectare of land calls for the labour of two people. This is very low productivity. For the immediate future, let us strive for the rate of one labourer per hectare of cultivated land. This is to be upgraded to two, three, four hectares per labourer, which means that more crops will be grown, more animals raised, more crafts and trades developed, and prosperity attained for our countryside.

Clothing is an urgent problem. Each province and district must actively contribute to satisfying our needs in this field according to its possibilities. The decision taken by Tien Lang to promote sericulture is a correct one. Each household in the cooperatives must be given encouragement, guidance and assistance in mulberry growing; experience in silkworm raising must be propagated; as for cocoon processing and yarn spinning, this will be done by the cooperative or the district. Then one can either weave silk or export yarn to cover fabric imports.

Sugarcane can grow on acid and aluminous soils. In Tien Lang, 600 — 700 hectares of land may be devoted to this crop, which will help produce sugar and treacle for local consumption and also paper for the schoolchildren, thus alleviating the burden of the centrally-run industry.

Now, with regard to housing, have you set a date when all families in Tien Lang will be living in brick-and-tile houses?

Let me add that these houses should gradually be fitted with glazed windows against the cold wintry winds.

The Hai Phong glassworks is now not working at full capacity. It should make more glass for the people in the rural suburbs. To this end it must receive assistance from the Party city committee and the city administration.

And so problems of food, clothing, education and housing are to be solved on the spot and by the district itself. The district must become an echelon for planning, for supervising production, construction, distribution and circulation; in a word, an echelon for economic and social management. As we proceed from small-scale production to large-scale socialist production the district must be the territorial unit in which to conduct zoning in agriculture, fishery and forestry, reorganize production, practise crop specialization and intensive cultivation; redistribute manpower within agriculture, among agriculture, forestry and fishery, and between agriculture and industry; exploit land, sea and forest resources; and develop crafts and trades. Thus agriculture is to be bound up with industry right from the beginning; the district is to be gradually built up into an agro-industrial structure, a base for large-scale socialist production. This way of building up the district echelon is part of the experience gained by many fraternal socialist countries. The difference lies in the fact that our district is to be not only an economic unit but also one for organizing the people's material and cultural life; it is also to become a fortress for national defence.

Broadly speaking, the district is to be a base for the three revolutions, the building of the new regime, the new culture, and the formation of the new, socialist, man. Forming the socialist man is a very important matter. The new man knows how to be the collective master;

he is able to gain mastery over society, nature, and himself, this mastery progressing to an ever higher level. The new man loves labour, is engrossed in his occupation, possesses technical skill and evinces a high sense of discipline; he closely relates his own private interest to those of the collective and society, shows affection for his compatriots, fellow-armymen and comrades. He draws a clear line between right and wrong and upholds justice. He also displays ardent patriotism and pure proletarian internationalism.

In order to form the new man, we must begin the education of the child since kindergarten age and pursue this education in general-education school and at college, in the Youth Union, the Trade Union, the Women's Union and the Collective Peasants Association. Let our teachers train all their pupils into new men and women showing all-round development, let them regard this as the prime task of educators. Let our young people strive to attain the standards of the new man and woman: then they will be physically, mentally and morally able to work for the goals of the revolution instead of wasting their youth in useless activities. Let them be worthy of our homeland, of our heroic Vietnamese people.

The present motto for our entire people is "All for our socialist homeland, for the people's happiness!"

"For our socialist homeland" means that we are resolved to defend our frontiers and safeguard our national independence and freedom. The 100,000 people of Tien Lang district must be a combat-ready army. If enemy forces come from the sea, they must defeat them right in the first battle and stop them. If these forces try to cross

our northern border, Tien Lang will be a strong rear area ready to support our fighting forces at the front.

"For the people's happiness" means that everybody should have enough to eat and to wear, a house to live in, and receive a proper education; children should be cared for, old people looked after, and nobody left without support. All that I have said about economic and cultural building in the district aims at these objectives. Remember the plight of our fathers under the feudal and colonial regimes, when "the fire of hunger burnt their bowels and the knife of cold cut their skin"; this will give us faith in the great things we are now undertaking.

Now, if anyone of you has any questions, I'll elaborate.

(A comrade asked: "Comrade General Secretary said that we must advance to the point where every labourer will till 3 — 4 hectares. How can this be achieved?")

I said that we must advance to that point, for that will take many years. At present we till the land by manual labour, by semi-mechanized and mechanized means. If every labourer is to till 3 — 4 hectares, then we must have modern industry. This means that we must have a lot of iron and steel (now, for a country with a population of more than 50 million, we produce only a few dozen thousand tons) and an engineering industry capable of turning out large numbers of tractors and other agricultural machines and a sufficient quantity of spare parts and accessories; we must have plenty of electrical power, mineral fertilizers, etc. All that we are not yet able to produce; so we must import materials and machinery in order to meet the needs of production and construction. The extent to which this can be done depends on the

rate of expansion of our exports. For this reason we must mobilize our entire people, all the branches of activity, all production enterprises, for the manufacturing of export goods.

This does not mean that pending this we have no other way of increasing labour productivity. The Marxist doctrine holds that socialism is the product of large-scale engineering industry. In the present circumstances when we do not yet have a large-scale industry, we must make the most of our manpower and land resources and the existing material-technical infrastructure; we must combine our manpower resources with our land, forest and sea resources in order to develop our agriculture, forestry and fishery while engaging in new trades and crafts in order to fully exploit the country's potentials, create more jobs, and produce more wealth for society. While the capitalist's capital is made up of accumulated money, for us our manpower and land resources and our existing material-technical bases constitute an important initial capital provided by our regime of collective mastery and which we can utilize. This is a fundamental basis, the main measure, for increasing the productivity of social labour in the first stage of the transitional period. Then, in the course of this re-division of labour, farming labour will be reduced while new farming techniques will be widely applied: these two factors will lead to a gradual increase in labour productivity in farming and, generally speaking, in agriculture.

In recent years we defeated the American aggressors. This proves that the Vietnamese are brave and intelligent and are heir to a tradition of resolute and indomitable resistance to foreign aggression. However, in the field

of productive labour and economic construction, we still lag behind many countries we must learn from the vanguard experience and methods of work of the fraternal socialist countries; from the achievements of other countries in the world. We must change our mode of management, assimilate science and technique, overcome our habits of sluggishness, dispersal and waywardness in labour, and acquire a style of work that shows diligence, discipline and accuracy.

In a word, we must dare to change, to revolutionize, and to work in an ever more scientific way. Let the Party organization in Tien Lang march forward in this spirit.

AGRICULTURE, FORESTRY AND FISHERY TO BE CLOSELY COMBINED *

I am glad to have this occasion to attend the Third Congress of the Dong Nai provincial Party branch. On behalf of the Party Central Committee I wish your congress brilliant success and ask you to transmit to the people and comrades in the province the warm greetings and kind regards of the Party Central Committee.

During the war of resistance against American aggression, for national salvation, in the "difficult and valiant" battlefield of eastern Nam Bo, Dong Nai won a reputation of perseverance and courage and many of its forests, mountains and rivers gave their names to resounding feats of arms. In the new stage of the revolution following the liberation of the South, Dong Nai has made significant strides on the road to socialism.

In 1982, under the leadership of the provincial Party branch, the people in Dong Nai recorded important progress, especially in agriculture, small industry and handicrafts. Let me commend the initial achievements of the Party branch and the people of the province in economic transformation and development and in the

* Speech at the Third Congress of the Dong Nai provincial Party branch, January 1983.

advancement of culture along the socialist line. On this occasion I warmly praise the people, armed forces, Party members and cadres in Dong Nai for their courageous and brilliant contribution to the historic victory which brought about the complete liberation of the South and the reunification of the country.

As you all know, the Conference of the Political Consultative Committee of the member countries of the Warsaw Treaty which met on 5 January last severely condemned warlike imperialist circles headed by American imperialism for having created a situation that has proved to be an extremely great danger to world peace and seriously threatens the independence and security of the nations. At the same time the Conference put forward many constructive proposals aimed at driving back and eliminating the danger of war. The Conference also drew the attention of world public opinion to the plots and actions of reactionary forces which have been trying to wreck the peace in many regions of Asia, including the Indochinese peninsula.

With regard to our country, the reactionaries within the Chinese ruling circles have actively carried out a multi-faceted war of sabotage aimed at weakening us and facilitating their designs of aggression and expansion. Our people treasure the long-standing friendship between us and the Chinese people but in face of the wicked machinations of the enemy we must be constantly on our guard.

In order to fulfil the two strategic tasks laid down by the Party's Fifth Congress we must be strong in all events, in both the economic and national-defence fields,

in our ever closer alliance with brotherly Laos and Kampuchea, in our ever stronger solidarity and all-sided cooperation with the Soviet Union and the socialist community. We must in particular build up a strong and stable economy for on it rests the solidity of our national defence.

In the light of the resolutions adopted at the Fifth Party Congress and the Third Plenum of the Fifth Central Committee, your congress must gain an even firmer grasp of the Party line and policies and formulate a positive and realistic programme of action aimed at giving a strong boost to economic transformation and development and the progress of culture, bringing positive factors into full play, overcoming the difficulties ahead, and taking the revolution in Dong Nai forward in a vigorous and steady way.

With 760,000 hectares of natural land and 1,400,000 inhabitants, Dong Nai is one of the larger provinces of the country. It has forests, sea coasts, rice, dry food crops, soils suited to short-term and perennial industrial crops over large areas, some of these crops having the strategic value of tropical crops. In Dong Nai is the Bien Hoa industrial area with a fairly strong engineering industry, a body of skilled workers, and relatively developed small industry and handicrafts. Being located close to Ho Chi Minh City, Dong Nai benefits from favourable conditions for communication and exchange with provinces in Nam Bo and southern Trung Bo, with the Mekong delta in particular.

Owing to favourable natural conditions and rich potentials, Dong Nai bids fair to set up a rational industrial-agricultural structure serving as a basis for the

working people's collective mastery and to create a diversified and rich economy which can not only satisfy the local people's material and cultural requirements but also contribute an ever greater part to the country's socialist industrialization. Dong Nai displays great possibilities and occupies an important position in national construction; on the other hand, its growth and prosperity is inseparable from the strength and prosperity of the whole country. The provincial Party branch and people must be fully aware of this point and strive to fulfil their duties to the country.

Dong Nai has three strong points which it must turn to full account: agriculture, forestry and fishery. It must in particular combine the first two and quickly expand the area under industrial crops, especially the key ones, for there lies its greatest source of wealth, the strongest base for its advance to large-scale socialist production. The existing bases it has now in industry, small industry and handicrafts, among them such traditional trades as the making of ceramics and building materials, constitute a significant potential which must be utilized and promoted so as to supply consumer goods to the people and serve agriculture, forestry and fishery within and without the province.

To create a momentum for this initial advance, export trade must be regarded as an extremely important lever, an activity with a strategic significance, as has been repeatedly pointed out in various resolutions of the Party Central Committee. Whether we are to engage in crop or animal raising, in agriculture, forestry or fishery, in business, production or service activities, we must work out a plan for the expansion of our exports, which will

cover the import of the necessary equipment and materials for the development of the regional economy while contributing to the progress of the whole national economy.

For the economic potentials of the province to be better exploited, the Centre must augment its investments while the province must make good use of the money and equipment it receives. On the other hand, the province must uphold the spirit of self-reliance, fully mobilize the active participation of all the people, all the production and business units, all the mass organizations in the province while engaging in cooperation with other provinces and cities in order to muster more technical and material resources.

The formulation of zoning programmes and economic development plans calls for close cooperation with the central departments concerned, the carrying out of basic surveys, a firm grasp of land and manpower resources and of the possibilities for promoting industrial crops, forestry, sea fishery and other trades and crafts. A particularly important point is the encouragement to be given to initiative and imagination which will help find the optimum solutions, those that are best suited to our conditions as we start out from small-scale production. The watchword "Combined efforts by the State and the people" must be acted upon; the State, collective and family sectors of the economy must be combined; action from the top down must be combined with that from the bottom up so that the aggregate strength thus created will bring about great efficiency and low costs.

With regard to the orientation to be given to economic transformation and development in 1983 and until 1985, let me draw your attention to the following points:

For Dong Nai the food question still has top priority in agriculture. To solve it, you must work out a programme for concentrated intensive cultivation of rice, and especially plant tens of thousands of hectares of land with high-yield strains giving 7 — 8 metric tons of paddy per hectare. This is a genuine possibility for there have been quite a few districts in our country which have attained those results, some of them having brought in more than ten metric tons per hectare. Next to rice, we should invest great efforts in dry food crops and other food plants, practise intensive cultivation of maize, and expand the area under taro, which grows easily and gives high yields. If dry food crops are to make steady progress adequate attention must be given to the problems of processing and consumption.

A major policy of ours is to develop industrial crops in eastern Nam Bo in general and in Dong Nai in particular. This is a top-priority objective which we must attain if we are to make the most of our tropical agriculture. Both the Centre and the province must make investments in this field and devote to it intensive efforts so as to quickly increase our key exportable products. First of all a strong boost must be given to short-term industrial crops: soya, groundnuts, sugar-cane, tobacco. Of the perennials, rubber is the kingpin, followed by coffee, oil palm, cashew. Concrete procedures and policies must be found for each particular crop. For rubber in particular, the province must join efforts

with the General Rubber Department so as to step up the planting tempo in the years ahead.

With plentiful resources in dry and other food crops and the possibility of turning much of its forestland into pasture, Dong Nai must give a fillip to animal husbandry: pigs, fowls, and horned cattle (buffaloes, oxen, goats). Animal raising by individual families must be combined with that by the collective and State sectors in order to turn animal husbandry into a major branch of production occupying an ever more important position in agriculture.

An important problem in this province is the combination of agriculture with forestry. Apart from the preserves and forests of full-grown timber trees which must be protected and exploited according to industrial methods, forests and forestland must be gradually entrusted to the management of districts and organizations of the collective peasantry, following the patterns set by Vinh Phu of "forest garden". In this way we may quickly restore the impoverished forests, cover barren hillslopes and tracts of wasteland with verdure, and check forest destruction.

Although the catch of fish in Dong Nai is not yet very important, fishery here faces bright prospects thanks to the long stretch of coast, the large tracts of sea and brackish water available for exploitation, the wealth of experience gathered by the people in fishing and agriculture and the exploitation of coastal lands. Appropriate investments must be made in this field, with priority given to agriculture for export.

In the industrial field, one must reorganize the engineering industry, small industry and handicrafts while

improving the management of industrial enterprises and handicraft cooperatives with a view to expanding production, increasing labour productivity, ensuring good product quality and lowering costs. Through cooperation with Ho Chi Minh City large quantities of consumer goods must be turned out to meet the demands of farmers in Nam Bo, especially with regard to building materials, wooden and ceramic articles, thereby encouraging them to work their fields harder. In the years ahead, the Dong Nai Party branch must mobilize and organize the people in the province to contribute to the construction of the Tri An hydropower project which will supply electrical current to industry, handicrafts, agriculture and water conservancy schemes.

Production and construction projects are aimed first of all at making the most of our land and manpower resources and the existing infrastructure in order to create wealth for society and increase labour productivity. However, in this first stage of the transition period, we must see to the completion of socialist transformation of capitalist industry, and trade of agriculture, small industry, handicrafts and small trade.

First of all we must push forward the socialist transformation of agriculture while completing the readjustment of land holdings. We must organize the peasants into collective forms of work, production collectives in particular, while setting up buying-and-selling and credit cooperatives. The product-based contract system is to be immediately applied down to the individual producer with the aim of improving management while a material and technical infrastructure must be gradually built for

the production collectives and the farming cooperatives in order to consolidate the new relations of production.

Socialist transformation in town and countryside, together with the struggle to restore socialist order in goods distribution and circulation, constitute burning problems to be solved urgently in order to push forward production.

The key question for us is to get the bulk of goods — food, farm products, and industrial goods — under State control, which will organize their planned distribution. The network of socialist trade is to be expanded, including State trade services and buying-and-selling cooperatives. Wastage and loss of goods in production units, trade services, and State organs in charge of materials and equipment must be checked. Socialist order is to be restored in the organized market; the free market must be subjected to management and reform; a resolute fight must be waged against speculation, smuggling and price disruptions. The lack of control and discipline in financial and monetary matters must be overcome, revenues must be increased and expenditures reduced, and thrift observed in both production and consumption.

The building up of the district and strengthening of the district echelon is a very important problem dealt with in the resolutions adopted at the Fourth and Fifth Party Congresses. The district must be built up into a base for the carrying out of the three revolutions, a place for the exercise of the working people's right to collective mastery in the countryside, an economic structure in which agriculture is to be combined with industry (essentially with handicrafts and small industry), and production with the organization of everyday life, a fortress

for the safeguarding of order, security and national defence and for frustrating the multi-faceted war of sabotage conducted by the enemy. To this end the district echelon must be consolidated into an echelon for planning, for economic management, and for binding together the centre, the region and the grassroots. The district echelon must be encouraged to display initiative and imagination in reorganizing production, deploying manpower, consolidating the grassroots units building a new countryside, especially the cooperatives and other organizations of the peasantry for collective production, allying the various forms of ownership and organization of production and enterprise within the district, and acting in cooperation with the other districts within the province to exploit its potentials.

The reports presented at the Congress have reserved an important part for dealing with Party building, raising the capabilities and boosting the fighting strength of the Party branch. On this important task I would like to express a few ideas.

Ideological work must drive home to the whole Party branch, to all the armed forces and all the people of the province the situation of our country, the object of socialist revolution, the content of the struggle between the socialist and the capitalist paths, and imbue them with an unshakable resolve to fulfil the two strategic tasks of the Vietnamese revolution in the new stage.

After more than twenty years of arduous struggle, we defeated American imperialism, the most powerful and truculent imperialism, and won a victory with a profoundly epochal character. We must give constant education to our cadres, soldiers, Party members, Youth Union

members, and people of all strata, especially the youth, and cause them to remember for ever this historic victory, thereby to be proud of our nation, our country, our Party and our great President Ho Chi Minh, to raise to an ever higher level their fighting will and revolutionary zeal, to keep an unshakable faith in the Party's judicious and creative leadership and in the strength of the people, who can move mountains and fill oceans.

The cadre problem has a decisive importance. The protracted revolutionary struggle under our Party's leadership has forged and tempered a body of devoted and loyal cadres. This is a very precious capital. Yet, as we entered the stage of socialist revolution, many cadres have run into difficulties owing to poor competence and a small number have degenerated. Hence, if they wish to be able to shoulder their tasks, if they wish to become "the worthy leader and the faithful servant of the people" in Uncle Ho's words, our cadres must ceaselessly study and temper themselves. They must study at school, in the practice of revolution, in books and reviews, and through criticism and self-criticism within the Party. They must study in order to cultivate revolutionary ethics, keep up their fighting qualities and resolve, raise their cultural standards, upgrade their capacity for economic and social management.

Party authorities at various levels in the province must thoroughly grasp and correctly implement the Party's cadre policy. Both the cadre's strong points and weaknesses must be correctly appraised; the training and fostering of cadres must be well conducted according to the division of responsibilities determined by the Centre; cadres, especially women, must be appointed to jobs that

suit their qualifications. Party officials, cadres and Party members must set an example of solidarity — solidarity within the Party, solidarity between various levels of authority, and solidarity with non-Party people. Only then can we unite the people and lead them to turn Party line and policies into realities.

The Third Congress of the Dong Nai Party branch is a significant event in political life in the province. I am sure that the important resolutions adopted at the Congress will create new vitality and carry the entire provincial Party branch and people forward. The province's tradition of courageous struggle will be developed even further and Dong Nai will be built into a prosperous and strong province which will contribute a worthy part to the construction and defence of our socialist homeland.

1. Dong Nai province lies north and northeast of Ho Chi Minh City.

**ALL-SIDED ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT MUST GO
TOGETHER WITH CONSOLIDATION
OF NATIONAL DEFENCE ***

I am very pleased to have this opportunity to visit Phu Khanh and the town of Nha Trang. It calls back to my mind moving memories of the past, especially of the first years of the anti-French resistance when the comrades and people here were so full of solicitude for me.

Ever since the complete liberation of the South I have been following the progress achieved by Phu Khanh and have been quite pleased to learn of the great strides it has made, of the encouraging results it has attained in economic transformation and development and in the advancement of culture along the socialist line, of the gradual stabilization and improvement of the people's living conditions. In 1983, Phu Khanh fulfilled and over-fulfilled many socio-economic targets, recorded good results in the consolidation of security and national defence, and contributed brilliantly to the common successes of the country.

However, what we have achieved so far is only an initial step on the long road beset with difficulties and complexities which leads to the successful building of

* Talk to cadres of Phu Khanh province, January 1984.

socialism and the safeguarding of our beloved homeland. We must remember never to grow complacent and conceited. On the other hand, we must strongly uphold the accomplishments and the precious lessons which have come to us over the past few years from the practice of revolution. Referring myself to those lessons, I would like to say a few words on the tasks you will tackle in the years 1984 and 1985.

Last year, Phu Khanh recorded important progress in agriculture, especially in food production. High yields were obtained from many fields. The average yield for the whole province was seven metric tons per hectare on two-crop fields; two districts and towns surpassed the figure of eight tons; and twenty cooperatives brought in more than 10 tons per hectare. Those are new, very important, elements in the overall picture. However, the average food grain ration was still below 300 kilograms per head of population. Thus the province still faces a heavy task on this front. Only if we manage to go beyond the 300-kilo limit and attain the figure of 400-500 kilos per person can we say that the people have enough to eat, that we have some accumulation for industrialization and some reserves for national defence and for relief in case of natural calamities. The great strides made by Phu Khanh in boosting crop yields allow one to anticipate a quick and steady solution to the food problem in the province.

The fundamental solution lies in intensive cultivation and crop multiplication with regard to both rice and subsidiary food crops. We must make strenuous efforts in order to quickly expand high-yield rice areas wherever good conditions exist for ensuring steady irrigation and

drainage, and to achieve uniformly high yields throughout the province. At the same time the yields of subsidiary food crops, maize in particular, must also be increased. Proper investments must be carried on with regard to seeds, fertilizers, water conservation; scientific and technical achievements must be widely applied, strict guidance given to both planting and care, and a correct schedule observed. Much effort is still needed in water conservation for only one crop is obtained annually on nearly one-third of the fields, owing to deficient water supply and the invasion of salinity in many areas. Nowhere else can we give a more eloquent display of the combined strength of joint striving by the State and the people than in water conservancy work. If we know how to combine the organization of cooperatives with water conservancy and turn this work into a mass movement, we can reap even quicker and better results.

In agriculture one cannot neglect the role played by animal husbandry for we need large amounts of manure and draught force. Besides, the people's diet must be gradually improved with more meats, eggs and milk. This is not a distant goal but something we must achieve right now. In Nha Trang, the raising of poultry (by individual families) has yielded good results; this practice must be popularized throughout the province, first of all in the towns. The herd of horned cattle has increased to a fair extent but the growth rate is too slow in pig raising. There must be better processing of animal feed while proper policies must be issued and organizational measures taken in order to raise more pigs. Here we have vast areas of highlands and tens of thousands of hectares of pasture. So a vigorous fillip ought to be given to the

raising of milch-cows. Try to lead the way in this field among the central provinces and to produce enough milk, at least for old people and children, in 10-15 years' time.

Our forefathers used to rely essentially on the plains for a living. We must advance into the uplands and highlands and also exploit coastal lands and islands. This is the strong point, the way to prosperity of Phu Khanh and other provinces along the coast of central Vietnam.

Most of the land in the province is occupied by forests and forestland. The effort for sending manpower to the highlands and settling people there must be continued in a planned fashion. Here is the best way to proceed: farming cooperatives in the plains will send part of their members and productive means to the highlands while the State will entrust the management of forests and forestland to the cooperatives and individual people. Settlers in the highlands will not grow food but will essentially devote their activities to forestry, afforestation, growing industrial crops, both short-term and perennial, raising animals, creating major sources of raw materials for the processing industries and of key exportable products. There should be good caring for and rational exploitation of precious timber trees, restoration of impoverished forests, covering of hillslopes and wasteland with verdure through the combination of forestry with agriculture; at the same time we must check forest destruction and forest fires and protect the environment.

Off the shore of Phu Khanh there are nearly a hundred islands of various sizes and along its coast are tens of

thousands of hectares of bay and lagoon. Together with the departments concerned, basic surveys should be conducted and guidelines and measures worked out for their exploitation. In the period ahead, the sea-product department should be reformed, manpower deployed, investments made, cadres and workers trained with a view to developing fishery, salt-making, agriculture, navigation, etc. so as gradually to develop the coastal areas and islands all-sidedly and contribute to the consolidation of security and national defence on the sea and along the coast.

Through the development of agriculture, forestry and fishery, we shall perceive ever more clearly the orientation to be given the regional industry, including small industry and handicrafts. From the coconut palm, sugar cane, groundnuts, cotton, tobacco, cashew plants... from our sea products, forest products, aquatic products, from the raising of cattle, poultry, mulberry and silkworms... there should develop new trades and crafts and enterprises turning out consumer goods and goods for export. All those latent possibilities must be made the most of in order to promote small industry and handicrafts in both town and countryside. Agriculture should be combined with industry right at the outset, at the grassroots units, and techno-economic groups should be formed within the cooperatives or the districts, thanks to which the value of farm products would be raised, manpower would be rationally used, and the face of the countryside would gradually change.

Over the past few years, new lines of products have been turned out by the regional industry in Phu Khanh. It is a commendable achievement but product quality is

still mediocre and costs are too high. Management should be streamlined and reinforced with regard to the regional State enterprises and the small-industry and handicraft cooperatives in order to boost productivity, raise quality and lower costs. To serve agriculture and the processing industry, steps should be taken to reorganize and re-equip the regional engineering industry while making the most of the unused capacity of centrally-run enterprises located in the province for the repair of machinery and equipment and the manufacture of hand tools, improved tools and semi-mechanized equipment.

Do your best to develop transport and communications, especially in the countryside to meet the needs of economic development. The roads and waterways must be consolidated and expanded to ensure easy communication between villages, communes and districts, between the lowlands and the uplands, and between Phu Khanh and other provinces.

As we start out from small-scale production, export trade is an important prop, a strategic spearhead of our economy. Because our mining and engineering industries still produce relatively little, our exports consist essentially of agricultural, forest, and sea products and articles turned out by small industry and handicrafts. Special attention must be devoted to industrial crops, both short-term and perennial. They should be strongly developed so as to boost the value of our exports.

Our objective is to quickly increase the value of our exports by every means and gradually reduce the gap in our balance of trade. Phu Khanh, being endowed with great possibilities, must strive to create abundant sources of exports of high value. Farmers, fisherfolk, craftsmen

must be encouraged to produce exportable goods: of the 300 days they should work each year, 100 should be devoted to this activity. The people should be persuaded to reduce their consumption of such commodities as shrimps, cuttlefish, fish, edible algae, sea swallows' nests, etc. and reserve more of them for export.

In doing so we should be deeply aware that boosting exports is the only way to get materials, fuels, and technical equipment not yet available in the country so that we may soon have enough electrical power, oil and gas, iron and steel and other products of heavy industry.

The building of socialism in our country is bound up with the three revolutions: the revolution in relations of production, the scientific and technological revolution and the ideological and cultural revolution. The socio-economic achievements recorded by Phu Khanh are the synthetic results of those three revolutions. Wherever those three revolutions are not proceeding well, progress will be slow and accomplishments will be hampered by shortcomings.

Your good record on the agricultural front is inseparable from the successful collectivization of the peasantry. But much remains to be done if we are to firmly consolidate the production relations in the countryside. We must amend and perfect the product-based contract system, set right the inadequacies in management, continue the socialist education of the peasantry and strive to build the material and technical infrastructure of farming cooperatives. Socialist transformation in the countryside must be bound up with that in the towns and cities. The delays in the transformation of private

industry and trade must be made good. The socialist production relations must be consolidated in State enterprises, and in small-industry, handicraft, fishing and salt-making cooperatives.

The development and transformation of the economy and culture calls for ever greater participation from science and technique. On this front we have recorded definite progress and trained a large body of cadres, many of them talented. We must make good use of the scientists and technicians we have while conducting active mass work in order to quickly apply the results of science and technique to production and life and bring about a steady mass movement for this purpose.

Having mastered production we must gain control of distribution and circulation. We must be alive to the ongoing struggle between the socialist and the capitalist paths, hold fast to proletarian dictatorship, strengthen and closely combine economic, educational and administrative measures in order to win on this front of the battle.

Socialist transformation of private industry and trade must be carried through, the various commercial branches must be reorganized, the regional market brought under stricter management and control, the speculators and smugglers punished, unprincipled competition in buying and selling operations (by State trade services) checked, the bulk of goods and money brought under State control, and the consumers be given direct access to the goods. At present, socialist trade, including the State trade and buying-and-selling cooperatives, accounts for only 40% of the market: thus socialist control of trade is still slack, and this situation must be quickly redressed.

Over the last six months, prices in the "free" market have shown few disturbances. However, we must watch out for enemy sabotage and stop all loopholes in management so as to keep prices stable. Besides, efforts should be made to maintain and expand the supply of rationed necessities to workers, public employees and members of the armed forces.

Thrift must be observed in both production and consumption, especially at the approach of the Lunar New Year. The people should be persuaded to buy more State bonds to contribute to national construction.

Over the past two years the situation in the world has become extremely tense owing to the Reagan administration frantically intensifying the arms race to an unprecedented level, recklessly stepping up the deployment of medium-range missiles in Western Europe while extending armed intervention in many areas of the world, especially in Central America, the Caribbean and in the Middle and Near East. In Eastern Asia and the western Pacific, the situation has likewise worsened owing to the reinforcement of the American-Japanese-South Korean alliance and of the collusion between the Americans and reactionary expansionist forces who aim at opposing and sabotaging the revolution in our country and the whole of the Indochinese peninsula while doing each his share in trying to keep the countries of Southeast Asia under their sway.

Under those circumstances, our people have expressed their determination to strengthen their special solidarity and fraternal alliance with the peoples of Laos and Kampuchea in order to counter the hostile policies of the

imperialist and reactionary forces, safeguard their respective independence and freedom and bring about a peaceful, stable, friendly and cooperative Southeast Asia. We extend resolute and complete support to all initiatives and measures taken by the Soviet Union and the socialist community to counter in a timely way the highhanded actions of the Americans, defend world peace, and check the danger of nuclear war.

On the other hand we must be constantly on our guard and make every effort to maintain political security and strengthen our national defence. Phu Khanh province comprises a long stretch of coast, large expanses of sea and many islands including the Truong Sa (Spratlys) islands which the enemy covets, and key strategic military bases: hence the problem of security and defence here assumes a very great importance. The armed forces and people of Phu Khanh must join efforts with the military forces under the central authorities in keeping firm control over the sea areas and islands, maintaining security along the coast and in the hinterland, and making a clean sweep of the bandits still operating stealthily in the highlands. Meanwhile they must wage a resolute struggle to defeat the multifaceted war of sabotage of the enemy and especially to frustrate all his subversive plots and actions on the economic and ideological-cultural fronts.

In order to fulfil both strategic tasks, the most important thing to do is to promote the right of the working people to collective mastery.

Collective mastery is the source of tremendous strength. It made it possible for our people to defeat the war of aggression of American imperialism, the imperialist

chieftain with the most powerful forces of all imperialisms in the world. It is the crystallization of the communal spirit and the age-old patriotism of our forefathers, to which are added the sense of mastery and the collective spirit brought by socialism.

In socialist revolution collective mastery relates not only to the production relations but also to the productive forces. As you all know, labour is an important component of the productive forces. Under the socialist regime, if the emancipated worker has a vigorous spirit and the capacity to be the collective master, and if he works in a mechanism which guarantees his right to mastery at all three fundamental levels and harmoniously combines the three interests, then the man and his collective will generate an extremely great aggregate strength.

In order to advance to large-scale socialist production and in order to combine agriculture with industry into a structure, then the district must be taken as the basis and its territory is where our policies are to be implemented. We must build up the district in order to carry out the three revolutions, promote the working people's right to collective mastery, use manpower and land resources in an efficient way, attain good quality and high productivity, and organize the people's material and cultural life in a civilized and wholesome way.

The promotion of the working people's right to collective mastery must be bound up with the development of a new culture, the formation of new people, people with a noble way of life in which "one is for all and all are for one", people who love labour, live in communion with others and respect reason, people who continually seek

to improve their character and capacity so as to win mastery over society, nature and themselves.

The mass organizations, the trade unions, the peasants' association, the Women's Union, the Youth Union must regard the promotion of the working people's right to collective mastery as their key task. They must in particular care for and educate young people and children on patriotism and socialism so as to form new generations imbued with a deep-seated will to national independence, a vigorous spirit of collective mastery, and a pure sense of international solidarity.

In the process of building up our regime of collective mastery, solidarity must be strengthened and affection and mutual understanding must prevail among the fraternal nationalities living in the province. Party and government officials at all levels must correctly and thoroughly implement the Party's nationalities policy and strive to make the minority ethnic groups catch up with the general level of the people in the province and the whole country.

During the former wars of resistance, Phu Khanh province fought in extremely arduous circumstances. At present the province must courageously and quickly forge ahead and exert strenuous efforts in socialist construction and national defence.

Yesterday, many heroes of the revolution laid down their lives to defend this beloved part of our homeland. Today the provincial Party branch and people must prove themselves to be the worthy continuators of the fallen martyrs. They must closely unite and work tirelessly to build this province into one that is strong economically, solid militarily, and beautiful culturally.

THE TRADE UNIONS AND ECONOMIC TRANSFORMATION AND DEVELOPMENT *

Allow me to extend, on behalf of the Party Central Committee, my warmest greeting to the Fifth Congress of the Vietnamese Trade Unions.

I warmly hail the representative of the World Federation of Trade Unions and representatives of trade unions from various countries who are bringing us the feeling of solidarity of "our proletarian brothers from the four corners of the earth".

Over the past five years, the revolution in our country has travelled over a hard road of struggle. It has overcome new difficulties and trials and reaped great successes. I warmly commend the brilliant contributions of the working class and toiling people of our country to that glorious endeavour.

Our country is facing a seething revolutionary stage. Our Party, working class and toiling people are shouldering a great mission: to make socialism a success and firmly defend our socialist homeland.

For our Party and our working class the key to progress and to the solution of all major problems posed by the

* Speech at the Fifth Congress of the Vietnamese Trade Unions. November 1983.

revolution lies in the following: to hold fast to proletarian dictatorship, promote the working people's right to collective mastery, carry out the three revolutions simultaneously, and regard socialist industrialization as the central task.

Collective mastery is the source of tremendous strength, the strength that would allow one to move mountains and fill oceans. Our former victories over truculent imperialist forces were due to our Party's grasp of the vanguard ideology of the working class, to its judicious political and military line, and to its mobilization of our entire people to stand up and be the master. During the anti-American war of resistance, the latter's strength was multiplied severalfold for our Party knew how to arouse and develop our nation's communal spirit and tradition and combine it with the strength of our time, the strength of the three onrushing revolutionary currents in the world.

At present, relying on those very important factors, our people are bound to fulfil their two strategic tasks in the new stage. With the strength of the people's mastery raised to an even higher level, with the reorganization of our manpower, with all our land resources and the whole material and technical infrastructure in the people's hands, we will certainly fulfil our task of taking our country's economy forward, from small-scale production to large-scale socialist production.

Being the school of socialism and communism, the trade union assumes a great responsibility in the transformation and development of the economy and culture along the socialist line and in the mobilization of the strength of the collective mastery of workers and public

employees in the whole country for the rational exploitation and use of our manpower, resources, and material and technical infrastructure with a view to developing production, reorganizing goods distribution and circulation, stabilizing and gradually improving the working people's living conditions.

Socialist industrialization is the fundamental way to build the material and technical infrastructure of socialism and raise the productivity of social labour. We are exerting strenuous efforts to build new projects with a key significance, which would change the face of our economy. But we should never forget that if we are to achieve industrialization, we must raise our labour productivity to the highest level possible in the present material and technical conditions.

Right now, productivity, quality, efficiency must become our watchword, the motto of all branches of activity, industry and agriculture alike and of all working people, workers and peasants alike.

At present our labour productivity is still too low. Machinery and equipment are running at only half their capacity. Although we are short of materials, we use them wastefully. Product quality is mediocre. This situation must be quickly set right. Only by achieving higher labour productivity, better product quality and greater efficiency can we carry out enlarged reproduction, improve our living conditions and accomplish primitive accumulation for socialism.

On the front of industry, efforts should be focused on raising productivity, quality and efficiency in key branches — coal, electricity, engineering, transport and

communications, capital construction... — in order to give a fillip to other branches and fields of activity.

Industry must serve agriculture effectively, push it one step forward toward large-scale socialist production, and bring about a rational industrial-agricultural structure right in this initial stage. Industry must contribute to the redeployment and reorganization of the work force throughout the country, combine manpower, land resources and crafts and trades to bring about full employment, good exploitation of our natural wealth, and ever more abundant production. The working class must be fully conscious of the role it is to play in the fulfilment of this urgent assignment.

For high productivity, good quality and great efficiency to be attained, the working class must master science and technology. It must ceaselessly heighten its cultural level, professional skills, and managerial ability. The ranks of the working class must include many skilled workers, and scientists, technicians and managers of high standards. The problem of the quality of production and construction, of the efficiency of industry and the economy in general, is settled first of all by those members of the working class.

Workers must love labour, uphold labour discipline, and represent the new style of work. This is the prime criterion of the new, socialist man, of the collective master. Workers must strictly abide by the work regimes, procedures and regulations and scrupulously observe all standards and norms. All manifestations of laziness, indiscipline, and laxity in labour must be overcome.

Negligence, absenteeism, botching and bungling are so many crimes against the working class, against the people.

Export trade is the spearhead which sets the pace of socialist construction and contributes to raising the productivity of social labour in our country. Export should cover ever more imports of new technologies, new equipment and materials in order to re-equip our national economy, give a fillip to agriculture and industry, and create sources for even more exports. They also help us raise the standards of our production and the quality of our products.

The essence of economy is production and thrift. One should be thrifty of time, money, equipment, materials; thrifty in both production and consumption; accumulate savings to help industrialize the country. One should use rationally all material elements of production; work every working hour; not leave a single tool or machine idle; not waste a kilogram of metal or fuel. In spite of the present difficulties, in spite of the shortage of materials and equipment, we can and we must produce more wealth for the country.

Over the past few years, in the socialist emulation movement, there have emerged good examples of quality and efficiency in a number of branches and production and business units. This proves that we can better exploit our present economic potentials. Factories can increase their output and meet the standards of product quality. Construction sites can work apace and bring their work to completion before schedule. Grassroots units of production or business can use their assets efficiently, put an end to losses, and accumulate profits for their own

sake and that of the State. Good examples must be summed up, multiplied, and a movement should get under way in which every unit, every branch, every region should learn from and try to overtake the vanguard units.

One problem of general concern is how to quickly stabilize and gradually improve the material and cultural life of the people, first of all of workers, public employees and members of the armed forces. On this side we have tried hard, but few results have been achieved. Shortcomings should be set right.

A fundamental solution must be found. The root of the problem is that production should be increased. The national economy must be reorganized, production must be reorganized in every branch, every region, every unit. At the same time there should be correct distribution and circulation of goods. Concurrent solutions must be worked out for various problems: trade, finance, prices, salaries, bonuses, reform and management of the market, relationship between accumulation and consumption, remuneration according to the work done. Those are top-priority problems in our socio-economic plans. Within a few years the Party and the State will carry out the necessary reforms in those important fields.

The struggle waged to restore socialist order on the front of goods distribution and circulation at present is a concentrated expression of the struggle between the socialist and capitalist paths, which is bound up with the fight of our people against the multifaceted war of sabotage of the enemy. This struggle will certainly end in the victory of the working class and the collective

peasantry over the bourgeoisie, the forces of anarchy, and the foes of socialism. The stand taken by the working class is to fight together with the State for that victory.

We must promote the working people's right to collective mastery in order to manage the economy and the distribution and circulation of goods; to secure for the State control over the bulk of goods and money and carry out an equitable and rational distribution in accordance with social requirements. In every production and business unit, workers and employees must strive for the enforcement of product delivery to the State and for preventing materials and goods from falling into the hands of private traders.

Trade union organizations, especially those in goods distribution and circulation services, must resolutely oppose embezzlement, waste, bribery, speculation and smuggling; they must help keep market and price discipline, strengthen financial and monetary operations, and serve production and life. The State trade in particular must ensure the full supply of rationed necessities and fulfil its function as the "housewife" of society.

The reorganization of distribution in the whole of society and in every production unit is an important component of the improvement of economic management and the setting up of new managerial mechanisms.

Our Party has defined the fundamental principles of those managerial mechanisms as follows: to take the plan as the kingpin and tie it to economic accounting and the socialist mode of enterprise. In accordance with democratic centralism, financial autonomy should be granted to the base, the region should have plenty of

initiative, while the State takes charge of the unified management of the whole of the national economy, concentrates in its hands all accumulated wealth in order to build projects of national import, and controls the major part of strategic products for planned distribution.

Those managerial mechanisms ensure the exercise of collective mastery at all three fundamental levels: the centre, the region and the grassroots and create a harmonious relationship between the three interests (that of the State, the collective and the individual) by constantly guaranteeing the highest interest, that of the whole of society, giving adequate attention to the interest of the collective, and strongly encouraging the legitimate interest of the individual worker.

Those managerial mechanisms resolutely oppose the subsidy-based bureaucratic management which pays no heed to economic laws and economic efficiency and fails to arouse the inventiveness of the masses, exploit the latent potentials, and encourage the dynamism of the region and the grassroots. They also resolutely oppose laxity and slackness, the tailing after the "free market", the undue extension of unplanned business, the opportunity given to capitalist and non-socialist elements to erode the bases of the plan and weaken the positions of socialism.

More than anybody else, the trade union organizations, the workers and public employees must struggle for the establishment of those managerial mechanisms.

These days, the whole world has clearly seen the warlike and reckless nature of the Reagan administration. The latter has stubbornly stepped up the installation of

medium-range missiles in Europe, invaded and occupied Grenada, intensified armed intervention in Nicaragua and El Salvador, created an extremely dangerous situation in Central America and the Caribbean. It has used Israel as an instrument for war and aggression, brazenly landed troops in Lebanon, and aggravated the situation in the Middle and Near East. It is frantically reinforcing the American-Japanese-South Korean alliance.

That situation has caused all nations to be more alive to the increasing danger of a world war and to heighten their vigilance.

Peace and the existence of mankind must be protected.

Independent nations and nations fighting for their national sovereignty must be protected.

The Soviet Union is the bulwark of peace and world revolution. Once again we reaffirm our complete support for the consistent peace policy of the Soviet Union and our vigorous support for the statements made on 28 September and 27 October last by Comrade Yu. V. Andropov. We approve of the resolute countermeasures being taken by the Soviet Union together with the German Democratic Republic and the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic.

The American imperialists must get out of Grenada and withdraw their troops from Lebanon. Together with the socialist countries and non-aligned countries, Vietnam resolutely stands by the side of Cuba, Nicaragua, the people of El Salvador, the Arab people in Palestine.

In solidarity with Kampuchea and Laos, we resolutely struggle for a Southeast Asia where peace, friendship and cooperation will prevail.

Our beloved and respected Uncle Ho and our Party ever since its foundation have constantly given their solicitous care and close leadership to the workers' movement and trade union activities.

Fighting under the banner of the Communist Party of Vietnam, a party absolutely loyal to Marxism-Leninism to proletarian internationalism, the Vietnamese working class must show itself to be deservedly the vanguard class, the symbol of national independence and socialism. Let the Vietnamese trade unions vigorously forge ahead and serve as a solid pillar for the regime of socialist collective mastery.

Revolution is the festival of the masses, the source of our happiness.

Let the trade union organizations vigorously engage in the three revolutions and arouse a seething, spirited socialist emulation movement. The capital Hanoi, Ho Chi Minh City, the mining districts, the industrial centres must march in the van of this emulation movement.

The Vietnamese working class is a solid contingent of the international workers' movement. The Vietnamese trade unions are active members of the World Federation of Trade Unions. Together with our brothers and friends on the five continents we are resolved to fight for the victory of peace, national independence and socialism.

LET ALL NATIONALITIES UNITE
TO BUILD A NEW LIFE *

I am quite pleased to visit the First Congress of the Lam Dong branch of the Fatherland Front and have this opportunity to meet representatives of nationalities, religions, and popular strata in the province together with representatives of a number of other provinces. Let me convey to you my warmest greetings. I avail myself of this opportunity to voice a few ideas.

At present we have the National United Front and enjoy the leadership of the Communist Party. If we had no National United Front besides the Party to unite and marshal all forces of the people we would not have enough strength to wage the revolution. Conversely if we had the United Front but no leading Party to chart a judicious political, military and economic line, we would still be unable to defeat internal and external foes and build and safeguard the country.

A particular feature is that the Party was born only in 1930, i.e. more than half a century ago, while our nation had already formed a front millennia ago. Our country is the home of many fraternal nationalities. On

* Speech at the First Congress of the Lam Dong branch of the Fatherland Front.

this land, groups of primitive men were present tens of thousands of years ago. Through many stages of evolution, — the Stone Age, the Bronze Age, the Iron Age — those groups of people grew up into clans and tribes, and those later coalesced to form a nation ever since the period of the Hung kings. Generally speaking, this process resembles the evolution of many other nations. However, owing to specific historical and geographical circumstances and socio-economic conditions, we Viet people were imbued with a communal spirit at an early period. We knew how to come together for mutual love and protection, first in individual hamlets and villages then in the whole country, in order to cope with natural calamities and foreign aggressions.

From time immemorial have come down to us folk songs and poems expressing those feelings and aspirations. For instance, these lines:

*Let the crimson silk protect the polish of the mirror,
Let fellow-countrymen love and protect each other*

Or this couplet:

*Let the squash show attachment and affection to the
calabash:
They belong to different species but the same trellis
supports them*

It was that feeling of solidarity and mutual affection felt by "fellow-countrymen", by "the squash and the calabash growing on the same trellis", which gave our

forefathers invincible strength in their long struggle to safeguard our land and ensure the survival of our nation.

At present we have the Communist Party. Ever since its birth, the Communist Party of Vietnam has always held firmly and aloft the national banner. The aim of the Party's struggle is to win back national independence, liberate all nationalities living in the country from imperialist oppression, at the same time achieving democracy then gradually taking our country to socialism. Our people's revolutionary road appears clearly in the light of Marxism-Leninism. Bound up with socialism and proletarian internationalism, the patriotic tradition bequeathed by our forefathers since time immemorial has been aroused and raised to an unprecedentedly high level. During the wars of resistance against the French then the American aggressors, fought under the leading banner of the Party, tens of millions of Vietnamese, men and women, old and young, from the highlands to the lowlands, from the countryside to the cities, all rose courageously and fought for national salvation. "When the enemy comes, even the women will fight". Everywhere in the country, wherever the enemy came, there would be people to fight him, there would be guerilla war against him. Our glorious victories were due first of all to the fact that our Party knew how to arouse and enhance the people's patriotism, their sense of mastery, and constantly fostered and strengthened their solidarity and unity from north to south.

After defeating the American imperialists and their agents, the Party and the State carried out a policy of

national reconciliation, effaced the feelings of enmity and hatred created by the enemy, urged the working people of all nationalities in the country to join in the exercise of their right to collective mastery in order to make socialism a success and firmly defend our homeland. In the socialist revolution, collective mastery gives us the tremendous strength to carry out the three revolutions: revolution in production relations, scientific and technological revolution, ideological and cultural revolution. Collective mastery engenders the power for economic transformation and development and for taking small-scale production to large-scale socialist production, so as to meet the needs of the people, first of all in food and clothing, and bring about the industrialization of the country.

Being situated in the highlands, Lam Dong must start off from agriculture and forestry. It must raise to the highest level possible its production of food grain essentially through intensive cultivation and crop multiplication while planting more industrial crops and trees giving special products and developing forest exploitation and cattle breeding in order to exchange their products for food and industrial commodities. It must in particular care for its forest capital, actively engage in afforestation and forest protection, while conducting rational exploitation of its forest wealth. Nomadic people should be settled to a sedentary life and a sedentary mode of crop cultivation, and wherever conditions permit, forests and forestland must be entrusted to cooperatives and individual co-op members for management. Forest fires and

destruction must be limited to a minimum pending a definite end to them. Agriculture must be combined with forestry to create a vegetation suited to various soil conditions and helping to check erosion and protect the environment.

In the present stage, agriculture and forestry must contribute an important part to socialist industrialization. With the assets coming to it from its forest, industrial crops and other special products, Lam Dong should strive to boost its exports. All branches, all people must join in this effort with a strategic import. Only by stepping up our exports can we build a large industry to raise the productivity of social labour and increase our defence capabilities.

While consolidating the machinery for production and administration in the villages and hamlets one must actively build the district into a structure in which agriculture, forestry and industry are combined together. Each district must use the local manpower efficiently, draw more manpower, and combine the various sectors of the economy — State, collective, and family — in accordance with a common programme and plan so as to make the most of about 100,000 hectares of natural land in a way that fits into the national plan. In this way, in the district agricultural production will undergo rational reorganization, and the district will become the adequate economic structure with which to take agriculture forward to large-scale socialist production.

Our aim is to bring a happy life to all working people regardless of nationality and religion. With regard to the

various nationalities living in our country, the policy pursued by our Party and State is to bring about equality among them in all respects: political, economic, cultural and social, while strengthening solidarity and mutual assistance between the majority and minority ethnic groups and creating favourable conditions for the latter to maintain and develop their races, protecting and enhancing the precious legacies in the cultural traditions of all nationalities, and guaranteeing the right of the working people of all nationalities to jointly exercise collective mastery in national construction and defence.

With regard to religious people, the Party's policy is to fully respect religious freedom. To adopt this or that religion or to adopt none is the private affair of each man or woman, while to join efforts in building an abundant and happy life and defending the country is the common concern of all, which accords with the interests of all popular strata, and with the eager aspirations of the religious people themselves. Let people of all nationalities, whether they be highlanders or low-landers, religious or non-religious, Catholic, Buddhist or Protestant, show mutual love and affection, unite with each other and join efforts in building the new life, and safeguarding the security of the country.

In the hundreds of acts that must be undertaken to implement the Party's policy, there may be some which have not been rightly done, others which have not achieved good results, but the aim pursued by the Party always remains unchanged: to strive to realize Uncle Ho's wish to eradicate all economic and cultural inequali-

ties between majority and minority ethnic groups bequeathed by millennia of history. The imperialists and reactionaries have left no stone unturned to sow hatred and division between the fraternal nationalities within our country and between religious and non-religious people. That is why we must heighten our vigilance and resolutely smash all the enemy's attempts at distortion and deceit, all his machinations of division and sabotage.

In the building of socialism, intellectuals are to play an important role. The Party and the State warmly praise those scientists, technicians, managers, teachers and doctors who have come, and those who will come, to Lam Dong from the lowland provinces in order to bring the light of culture and science to the mountain hamlets and contribute to economic transformation and development and to the reform of customs, habits and antiquated modes of crop raising of the minority peoples. It is our hope that in ten or twenty years' time, along with the progress it will have achieved in the economic field, Lam Dong will have undergone fast cultural changes. By then, most of the young minority people here will have finished secondary school and many of them will have gone to college. They will be the core force for building a new society in these highlands.

With a million hectares of land and favourable natural conditions, Lam Dong has all that is required for becoming a prosperous province. Together with other provinces in the Central Highlands, it will form an important economic region in the country, a solid base in our southern rear area.

Unity is an extremely precious tradition of our people. Unity is a condition of mastery. By promoting the working people's right to collective mastery, strengthening the great solidarity of the entire people, thoroughly grasping and correctly implementing the line and policy of the Party on uniting the fraternal nationalities in the province, Lam Dong is bound to forge ahead and together with the whole country fulfil the task of building up and safeguarding our socialist homeland.

