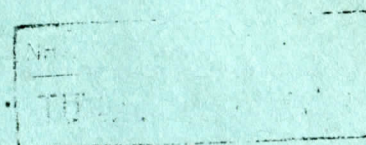


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LE DUAN

On the Right to Collective Mastery



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EDITOR'S NOTE

Building "the system of collective mastery" is an aim and a motive force for socialist revolution in Vietnam. The Political Report of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Vietnam to the 4th National Congress of the Party (December 1976) pointed out: "Building the system of socialist collective mastery is to make our country a society in which the genuine master is the social community, the organized collective of the working people with the worker-peasant alliance as the core, and under the leadership of the working class."

Socialist collective mastery takes place in many fields: political, economic, cultural and social. It means mastery of society, nature and oneself; mastery over the whole country, in each locality and each establishment. It is the combination of the right to collective mastery with the genuine freedom of each individual.

For those who are interested in this vast and complex problem, we have selected and edited here some writings and excerpts from speeches by Comrade Le Duan, Secretary General of the Communist Party of Vietnam.

BRING INTO FULL PLAY THE RIGHT TO COLLECTIVE MASTERY

(Excerpts from the political report delivered at the 4th national congress of the Communist Party of Vietnam)

I -- Line for Socialist Revolution in the New Stage

The Third National Congress of our Party has mapped out the line for the socialist revolution in the North of our country. The meetings of the Central Committee following the Congress have summed up the practical experience of the Vietnamese revolution, and concretized and developed this line step by step.

As it embarks on the new stage, the revolution in our country is developing with the following major characteristics:

a) During the past twenty years, the North has recorded many achievements in socialist transformation and socialist construction: abolishing the exploiting classes, establishing socialist relations of production, building the initial bases of large-scale socialist production, carrying out the ideological and cultural revolution, and improving the material and spiritual life of the people. However, the economy as a whole especially as regards its material and

technical basis and economic structure, has not yet emerged from the state of small-scale production and remains in the initial stage of the process of advancing to large-scale socialist production. The South has just emerged from being a neo-colonialist society and though having attained a certain level of capitalist development, still is fundamentally a society of small-scale production. Therefore, though in some respects some initial factors of large-scale production have appeared, the economy of our country on the whole remains essentially one of small-scale production. This characteristic is most clearly manifested in the following main aspects: the material and technical basis remains weak; labour is overwhelmingly manual; social labour productivity is very low; division of labour is still not very advanced; big industry installations, especially heavy industry, are as yet few and scattered, still unable to carry out technical transformation of the various branches of the national economy; the bulk of consumer goods are still manufactured by handicraft methods; industry and agriculture have not yet been integrated into a single structure; agriculture still consists mainly of rice-growing and there are only a few large areas of specialized cultivation of industrial crops; the level of irrigation and mechanization, and more generally, the level of intensive cultivation, remains low; stock-breeding is still under-developed and disproportionate to cultivation. The small-scale production character is also reflected in the fact that production output remains small and cannot yet

ensure the needs of enlarged reproduction and the people's life, that production organization and management are still fragmentary and inefficient, and the planned character of the economy is not yet advanced.

It is clear that our country is still in the process of advancing directly from a society whose economy remains essentially one of small-scale production to socialism, bypassing the stage of capitalist development. This is the most outstanding characteristic reflecting the nature of the process of socialist revolution in our country and conditioning the main contents of this process.

b) The whole country has regained independence and unity and is advancing to socialism with the ebullient revolutionary fervour of a nation which has recently won a great victory. We have a solid and tested proletarian dictatorship. Our people are very revolutionary and deeply attached to independence and socialism, and are also very industrious, intelligent and creative. Our Party is a seasoned Marxist — Leninist Party enjoying the love and confidence of the people. We have an abundant work force, fertile soil and rich natural resources. We have the socialist North, a major material and spiritual force which has accumulated some valuable experience in socialist revolution. In our country as a whole, the forces of socialism are in a position of overwhelming supremacy. *These internal conditions are very favourable for the socialist revolution in the whole country.* On the other hand, thirty years of continuous, atrocious war have had very serious consequences in many fields throughout the country. As regards economic structure, there are still

notable discrepancies between the two zones. In the South, socialist transformation has just begun; the exploiting classes remain; the poisons of the enslaving culture and the social evils caused by US neo-colonialism as well as the influence of bourgeois ideology in society remain potent; the reactionaries are still operating against the revolution; the negative aspects of capitalism and the spontaneous character of small-scale production are still to be overcome. *This is the situation confronting the revolution, especially in the initial stage, posing many difficulties, and making the class struggle to answer the very acute and complicated question of "which will win".*

c) Our country is carrying out socialist revolution in a favourable international situation; the socialist system has come into being and continues to grow unceasingly; the national independence movement and the revolutionary movement of the working class are developing vigorously. Imperialism is sinking to the depths of its general crisis and constantly growing weaker. A new scientific and technological revolution is taking place in the world. The economic as well as scientific and technological relations among countries are continually expanding. Together with the revolution in our country, the revolution in Laos and Kampuchea has also recorded great victories. Thanks to our victorious and heroic fight against US imperialism, our country has won great prestige and broad and profound sympathy from the peoples and governments of many countries. However, the struggle to win the answer to the question "which will win," between

the forces of socialism, national independence, democracy and peace on the one hand, and imperialism and the reactionary and bellicose forces on the other, is unfolding in a very fierce and complicated manner in the world.

The above-mentioned characteristics, especially the direct advance from small-scale production to socialism, bypassing the stage of capitalist development, require that our people bring their initiative, creative spirit and self-consciousness in the process of the socialist revolution into full play. To achieve complete success for our revolutionary cause, *the first condition is to establish and unceasingly strengthen proletarian dictatorship and to exercise and constantly bring into full play the working people's right to collective mastery.*

These characteristics also require that the socialist revolution in our country be a process of overall, continuous and extremely deep and thorough-going revolutionary changes. This process combines transformation with building, transforming in order to build and building in order to transform, building while transforming and transforming while building, and building is the main aspect. This is a process of abolishing the old and building the new from the bottom to the top. We must create both new productive forces and new relations of production at once, both a new economic basis and a new superstructure both a new material life and a new spiritual and cultural life. This is a process of bitter and complicated struggle between two classes, the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, and between two paths,

capitalism and socialism. This is a process of carrying out the three revolutions: the revolution in relations of production, the scientific and technological revolution and the ideological and cultural revolution, in which the scientific and technological revolution is the kingpin. The process of carrying out these three revolutions is also a process of step-by-step establishment of the system of socialist collective mastery, large-scale socialist production, the new culture and the socialist new type of people. These three revolutions must be *carried out simultaneously* in close connection with one another and in mutual inter-action. The system of socialist collective mastery, large-scale socialist production, the new culture and the socialist new type of people, socialism as a whole like each part of it, can only emerge as the combined result of the three revolutions.

To hold firmly to proletarian dictatorship means to firmly grasp the Party line, strengthen the leadership of the working class, exercise and enhance the right to collective mastery of the working people, build a powerful State, rally broad strata of the people around the working class to carry out the three revolutions, abolish the regime of exploitation of man by man, eradicate poverty and backwardness, successfully build socialism; consolidate and strengthen national defence, maintain political security and social order, smash all opposition and aggressive acts of the enemy; consolidate and develop the relations of co-operation and mutual assistance with the fraternal socialist countries: and together with the world's people, actively struggle for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

To build the system of socialist collective mastery is to build our country into a society in which the genuine master is the social community, the organized collective of the working people with the worker-peasant alliance as the core and under the leadership of the working class.

Socialist collective mastery involves mastery in many fields: political, economic, cultural and social mastery; mastery of society, mastery of nature, and mastery of oneself; mastery over the whole country, in each locality and each base it is the organic combination of collective mastery with the genuine freedom of each individual. This is genuine mastery, mastery in its fullest sense.

To build the system of socialist collective mastery is actually to build a comprehensive system of social relations reflecting more and more fully the mastery of the working people in all the above-mentioned fields. It is a process of continual evolution, from low to high, from imperfect to perfect.

Socialist collective mastery finds its concentrated expression in the *collective mastery of the working people (of which the worker-peasant alliance is the core) chiefly through the socialist State under the leadership of the vanguard Party of the working class*. Therefore, the building of collective mastery requires first of all the building in all branches and at all levels, from the centre to the grass-roots, and in all activities and all aspects of social life, of a system of correct relationships between the Party, the State and the people. We must strive to build a new-type State, a State organized by the working class and the working people themselves to exercise

their right to collective mastery, a State which is really of the people, by the people and for the people, through which the Party exercises its leadership over society. This State is at the same time an administrative body, an organ of compulsion, and also an economic, cultural and educational organization. It must have the qualifications and ability to organize and manage all aspects of social life : maintain political security and social order, consolidate national defence ; organize, build up and manage the economy and culture ; defend the legitimate interests of the collective and individuals. We must strive to build the Party and make it really strong and firm so that it is able to provide leadership for the whole cause of socialist revolution. The Party leads the revolution by means of its line and policies, and chiefly through the State. All activities of the State are carried out under the leadership of the Party. The Party leads the State but does not replace the State.

We must, through the activities of the State under the leadership of the Party, give full play to the initiative and creative ability of the people, and give rise to socialist emulation movement upon socialist emulation movement, so that all activities of the masses become activities organized on a large scale, conforming to objective laws, closely combining the revolutionary character with the scientific character, creating a great combined strength to abolish the old and create the new, and setting an unprecedented tempo for the development of the history of our country.

To build the *system of political collective mastery* is to set up the power of the working people with

the worker-peasant alliance as the core and under the leadership of the working people, following the overthrow of the rule of the oppressors and exploiters ; to build correct relationships between the Party, the State and the people in order to ensure that the working people become the real masters of society, and are fully conscious of and know how to make use of their political power.

Political mastery calls for the firm defence of socialism and the firm defence of the socialist motherland along with socialist construction. So long as imperialism remains, our people still need to be vigilant and stand ready to defeat all schemes and acts of sabotage and aggression of any enemy.

Political collective mastery involves both duties and rights : duties are a corollary to rights. We must ensure the citizen's rights and individual freedom while requiring that each citizen and each individual fully discharge his duties to society, the State and the collective, such as the duty to work, the duty to defend the motherland, the duty to respect and defend socialist property, respect the rules of collective life, etc. We must ensure equality between man and woman, and equality among all nationalities.

Economic collective mastery includes collective mastery of the main means of production in society, collective mastery of the work force, collective mastery over the organization and management of production, and in the domain of distribution.

To build the system of economic collective mastery, we must abolish the capitalist system of ownership and transform the individual ownership of the peasants and handicraftsmen, establish the socialist system of ownership in two forms : ownership by the

whole people and collective ownership, through appropriate methods and steps. We must strive to develop and strengthen the State economic sector, and rapidly build the collective economic sector, carry out co-operativization of agriculture and take agriculture to large-scale socialist production. All the main means of production in society must be used in accordance with the orientation and tasks of the State plans in order to serve the interests of the whole society.

We must adopt a rational orientation for the organization and assignment of the various sources of social labour and work out appropriate plans and measures for their mobilization in order to use them most effectively both on a national scale as well as in each locality and each basic unit.

We should re-organize social production throughout the country as a matter of urgency, and strive to build an effective managerial and planning system in order to make a rational use of, and turn to full account, all productive capacity in the whole country so that all the processes of production and reproduction will be undertaken in a planned way, with ever higher productivity, ever better quality and ever greater efficiency.

We must build a system of distribution in which the increasing material and cultural needs of the entire society are met in a just, rational, organized and planned manner, and ever more adequately, in keeping with the level of the development of production. Everybody must fulfil his duties to society; society is responsible for looking after the organization of everybody's lives; the society of today is responsible for the society of tomorrow. This system

of distribution must conform to the principle "from each according to his abilities, to each according to his work" and no pay for those who can, but do not work, and special attention must be paid to the gradual increase of social welfare, in keeping with the level of the development of production.

It is in this spirit and in this direction that we should gradually expand children's welfare and education by society so that, step by step, the lives, schooling, growth and maturation of all children are ensured equally, and none of them handicapped by the loss, invalidity or sickness of their parents. Society must also ensure the necessary conditions for women to fulfill their noble role of mothers; it must take charge on an ever broader scale of medical care, rest, study and recreation for everybody, and organize the lives for the aged, invalids and disabled satisfactorily.

To build *cultural collective mastery* is to create a rich spiritual life for everybody in keeping with the noble aim of socialism which is to meet ever more adequately not only the material but also cultural needs of the entire society, to transform all cultural values into the property of the people and to create conditions for the people to become the direct creator of all cultural values; and to make the relationship between man and man reflect the noble ethic: "each for all and all for each." To this end, we should strive to build a new culture and step by step build our country into a *highly cultured society*.

To build a correct relationship between the collective and the individual is a very important aspect of the building of the system of socialist collective

mastery. Proceeding from the Marxist—Leninist principle that the emancipation of the individual can be achieved only through social emancipation, that “the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all,” we must bring about harmonious combination of mastery by the social community with the genuine freedom of individuals, in order to create unity between the collective and the individual. On the basis of the inevitable demands of community life, of collective mastery, it is necessary to respect and ensure the citizen’s rights, ensure the many-faceted development of personality, foster and develop individual vocations and aptitudes, create conditions for everybody to engage freely in research and creative pursuits in all domains of production, and in scientific, technical, cultural, literary and artistic activities.

II—To Consolidate the Socialist State, to Increase the Role of Mass Organizations, to Perform Good Mass Work

With the triumph of the August Revolution, a new type of State in the history of our nation was set up, the first State of the working people based on the worker-peasant alliance and led by a Marxist—Leninist party. Now with the complete victory of the patriotic war of resistance against US aggression, the working people of our country have become masters of the entire territory and have a State of the whole country through which to exercise their right to collective mastery.

The revolutionary task of the new stage calls for our Party and people’s special attention to the rapid building and strengthening of the State machinery at all levels in the South, continued perfection of the State machinery at all levels in the North, and consolidation of the State of the whole country.

The socialist State is *the State of the proletarian dictatorship*, a body which ensures the right to collective mastery of the working class and the working people, a body through which the Party exercises its leadership over the process of social development. Our working class and working people must be reorganized in a concentrated way into a State led by the Party, if they are to carry out their activities in a conscious, organized, disciplined, and planned manner throughout the country, transform the old society, successfully build a new one, and win complete and thorough victory for socialism in the struggle aimed at solving the question “which will win” between socialism and capitalism.

In order to ensure the right to collective mastery by the working people, our State must be an institution of the people, by the people and for the people, capable of carrying out the three revolutions, building a new system, a new economy, a new culture, and a new type of man, strong enough to defend the interests of the collective and the individuals, to ensure political security and social order, and to firmly defend the socialist motherland and the gains of the revolution.

To consolidate and perfect the State means to increase the efficiency of the administrative apparatus and the organization of economic and cultural management. However, since economic activities lay

the groundwork for other social activities and constitute a relatively new and difficult task for our State, special attention must be paid first of all to *increasing the efficiency of the State in the organization of economic management.*

The most outstanding characteristic of the economic management in our country is that we are managing an economy that is advancing from small-scale production to large-scale socialist production. Economic management has to push forward and create favourable conditions for the rapid development of this process, and to create a structure of large-scale socialist production in our country as soon as possible. For this purpose, we must first of all realize and solve correctly the questions determined by laws of development which arise in the course of advancing from small-scale production to large-scale socialist production, and embody these laws in suitable policies, organizations, systems, and regulations; at the same time we must stir up a seething and continuous revolutionary movement of the broad masses. Every link of management must reflect the three revolutions and the system of collective mastery: mastery of the whole country, of each branch, of each level, on the basis of the targets and orientation of the integrated plan for the national economy. We must create an effective institution capable of rapidly detecting and popularizing the positive and progressive elements, and discovering and eliminating the negative and backward elements in time, thus carrying out the indispensable selection in any process of development, so that every economic action will result in the constant increase of productivity, quality, and efficiency.

In the present situation, the continued building and perfection of economic management must be focussed on the most important problems: reorganization of social production on a nation-wide scale, improvement of the system of planning and strengthening of the apparatus of economic management.

We must base ourselves on the principle of concentration specialization, co-operation, and association to *reorganize* all branches of production — industry, agriculture, communications and transport, construction, etc., in the whole country, in the direction of large-scale socialist production, in order to eliminate the fragmented and departmentalized state: to create rational economic-technical branches for the whole country, for all economic regions and local economic structures. The reorganization of social production is actually aimed at bringing into full play all labour, land, sea, forest, machinery, equipment and material potential, and ensuring a rapid development of production with the highest possible output and quality and the lowest cost. Along with the reorganization of the branches of production, we must also reorganize the circulation and distribution branches to serve production and the people's life throughout the country better.

In our system, all economic activities are planned. That is why planning the national economy constitutes an extremely important task in economic management. The State plan is the main instrument for economic management, and the strong motive force that steps up the development of the national economy. It concretizes the Party line for economic development: it is the comprehensive application of the objective laws of the economy, science and

technology aimed at developing the economy and culture, meeting the people's daily needs, building and developing the material and technical basis of socialism and ensuring an ever-increasing rate of enlarged reproduction.

Planning work must be improved in the following direction: improvement of State integrated planning on the basis of increasing the responsibility and promoting the creativeness of various branches, localities, and production units; the joint State plan is the synthesis of the plans made by various branches, localities and production units. In drawing up their plans, they must combine the common tasks and their respective specific conditions and capacity; attach importance to labour productivity, quality, and economic efficiency; give due attention to both production, circulation and distribution; stress use value, take production capacity and the people's daily requirements for building the new material and technical basis of socialism as the main basis on which to work out economic plans and programmes; attach importance to the law of value and the cost accounting system and making the latter really become an effective instrument of management; make full use of the market and the economic levers: prices, credit, wages, etc., to complement the plans and ensure their fulfilment; determine the correct relationship between planning and guiding the fulfilment of plans at various levels.

The *economic management apparatus* must be built in conformity with the process of concentration, specialization, cooperation, and association of production and aimed at accelerating this process. It must also be based on the principle of combining

branch management with local management and territorial management and must ensure the formation of economic-technical branches, associated economic organizations, economic regions and local economic structures. In order to speed up the process of reproduction and create favourable conditions for the guidance of production, we must make the relations in production and those between production and consumption evolve by the shortest and the most rational ways. It is necessary to follow the principle that questions be decided where they may find the best solution; and apply uniformly the system of one man management at all levels of management. The apparatus for agricultural management must ensure all-round development of agricultural production along with specialized and intensive farming on the basis of planning, zoning, and applying the new achievements of science and technology to agriculture, thereby taking it to large-scale socialist production.

We must base ourselves on the above-mentioned principles to strengthen the management apparatus in order to define the organizational structure, concrete tasks and powers of each part, each person, to establish the reasonable relationships inside the apparatus, and to make it proficient and highly effective. With regard to the existing apparatus, we should in general maintain rational parts and elements, and boldly change what is not appropriate. We shall, when necessary, increase the number of ministries responsible for economic-technical branches, in step with the development of production and the increasing specialization of the economy. We

should fully implement the regulations on the organization of the State machinery and a number of decisions on the working procedures of the Council of Government, and watch their implementation in order to make necessary changes and readjustments.

First of all, with a view to raising the efficiency of the State economic management apparatus, we must continue to clarify the following questions:

First, through concrete regulations, to further clarify the functions and tasks of ministries in charge of economic-technical branches, including the responsibilities and powers of the ministers who, as heads of whole branches throughout the country are responsible in all respects for the branches under them to the National Assembly, the Government Council, the entire people, and the Party; to further clarify the relationship between the ministry in charge of a branch and the Government Council, the planning commission, and the general ministries.

Second, to grasp and to apply the principle of combining branch management with local and territorial management better. We should make a study of the question of building economic-technical branches, boldly organize those specialized branches wherever the conditions of concentration, specialization and association are ripe; as a matter of urgency, we should carry out the task of economic zoning, define the levels of economic management of the centre and grassroots, and concretely define the responsibility for management of various ministries, general departments, and different levels of local administration.

Third, to actively build the district level and portion out the responsibility to the districts, prov-

inces, and cities. The administration of a *province* or a *city* is a local power responsible to the population of the province or the city; at the same time it is a level of the State central power responsible to the central authority. The province or the city is responsible for ensuring the material and cultural life of the local population, including the workers and employees of centrally-run factories and offices locally-based. This responsibility is also shouldered by the central level because the central level is responsible for the people's life in the whole country, that is in all localities. Therefore, when entrusting to the province or the city the responsibility of directly looking after the life of the local population, the central authority must have a plan to invest the province of the city with necessary powers and means to fulfil its tasks. At the same time, the province or the city, as representative of the provincial or municipal population, must bring all its capacity into play — manpower, land, forest and sea, etc., in order to organize the production, circulation, and distribution of goods well, together with the district level, and accomplish the aforesaid responsibility towards the population of the province of the city.

The district level plays a very important role in taking agriculture to large-scale socialist production. It is the level at which the reorganization of production takes place: the reorganization and redistribution of manpower, combining industry with agriculture, production with circulation, the entire people's economy with the collective economy, the workers with the peasants and the State with the people. It is the stronghold of the three revolutions, of the new system, the new economy, the new culture, and

the new type of man in the countryside. It is the place where the local population's right to collective mastery is exercised, the level ensuring the people's material and cultural life. All the relations between the State and the peasants in the fields of production, circulation and distribution are performed through the district level. Therefore, the building of the district level into a level for the planning of agriculture, handicrafts, small industry, and a level for the management of production and circulation is a pressing demand at present. We must at the same time define the commune level's responsibility for and right to administrative control.

Fourth, the good organization and management of grassroots units is a decisive link with regard to the efficiency of the economic management as a whole. Over the past years, we have gained some experience and draw necessary conclusions regarding the organization and management of grassroots units: taking the plan as the main instrument, we have enlarged the powers of the grassroots to have initiative in production and business, and we have fully applied the cost accounting system, and combined the three measures — political and ideological education, material incentive, and enhancement of discipline and responsibility. On the basis of these conclusions, we must strive to make the management of grassroots units a regular practice in order to ensure their rapid growth. The following are the tasks at hand: determine the orientation of production; strengthen the management apparatus; work out good economic-technical plans, organize labour rationally, supply materials for production in time; strengthen the management of production, labour,

finances and materials; apply cost accounting; ensure the quality of products; improve the relations among the grassroots units themselves and with higher levels; readjust and amend the systems and regulations as required. This work calls for strenuous and harmonious efforts from all branches, all levels, and the grassroots units themselves. In the South, with regard to the State-owned grassroots units and the joint State-private establishments, when developing the new principles of organization and management, we should eliminate the negative and reactionary elements in the former organization of production and management while retaining the positive and rational elements. We must accelerate *production association*, go in for the organization of companies, associated enterprises, complexes, or use the transitional form of production groups.

In agriculture, we have also accumulated a great deal of experience, concerning the management of cooperatives. We must base ourselves on these experiences to actively improve the management of cooperatives along with the strengthening of the district level and the building of districts into agricultural-industrial or agricultural-forestial-industrial economic units on the basis of the programmes and plans of the whole country and each province.

Fifth, the strengthening of organization and the improvement of circulation and distribution constitute a very important link to ensure the correct relationship between industry and agriculture, between the interests of the State and those of the collective with individual interests, between accumulation and consumption, and to ensure the circulation between the countryside and the cities and

among different areas of the country. In the process of economic transformation and development from small-scale production to large-scale socialist production, it is necessary to co-ordinate closely the strengthening of organization and improvement of circulation and distribution in all links: trade, prices, wages, currency, credit, finance in order to benefit the division of manpower, the development of productive forces, the transformation of relations of production and the people's living conditions.

To improve economic management, we must do good *economic information work*, improve the discipline on making reports and statistics, organize a good network of information from lower levels to the top and vice-versa, and ensure that the managing levels grasp new developments in production and life in time so as to take suitable and rapid measures.

A very important question arising now is to strictly apply the *system of individual responsibility*. We must closely link responsibility to interests, discipline of the organization to the voluntariness of each person so as to have an effective mechanism binding on everybody to accomplish his task and encouraging everybody to work more and better. Responsibility must be clearly defined; when we allot some task or work to someone, we must early set concrete standards and norms so that everybody knows what he has to do both in quantity and in quality to accomplish his duty. The qualifications of a worker must be up to his job; they must be checked before he is allotted a job; if they are below the mark, he must be helped to improve them. A worker's interests imply both rewards and penalties. Rewards and penalties must be fair and just.

Along with improving the efficiency of the State in organizing and managing the economy, we should raise its efficiency in the fields of cultural organization and management to provide more and more adequately for the people's needs in the fields of culture, education, public health, etc., ensure their collective mastery in the cultural field, and to push forward the socialist ideological and cultural revolution.

As an instrument for the construction and the defence of socialism, our State must always attach importance to *consolidating national defence, political security, and social order*, ensuring that our country be always ready and strong enough to smash any attacks by warmongers and aggressors and any opposition by counter-revolutionaries.

In order to defend the cause of socialist revolution, to safeguard the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, air space, territorial waters, borders, and off-shore islands of the motherland in the new stage of the revolution, we must actively build the *national defence of the entire people* into a solid one. The strength of our national defence is the strength of the Party's political and military line, the combined all-round strength of the socialist regime. The tasks of building and consolidating national defence is incumbent on the entire people, the entire army, and the proletarian dictatorship under the Party leadership. We must build mighty people's armed forces with strong standing forces and large, well-trained reserve forces, with the modern regular people's army composed of necessary services and arms; with powerful main forces, local forces, militia and self-defence corps. As long as

imperialism exists, we must pay adequate attention to modernizing our national defence forces and strengthening the national capabilities of our country. In a poor country that has just come out of an atrocious and prolonged war like ours, besides the duty of being prepared to defend the motherland, the armed forces have to fulfil the task of economic construction and contribute to the building of the material and technical basis of socialism. Only on the basis of the stepped up economic construction and socialist industrialization of the country can we develop the national defence industry, build regular and really modern armed forces, and organize the defence of our country in a comprehensive way. It is in this spirit that we must put the system of military service by the youths and the system of economic construction duty by the armymen into effect.

The Party values very highly the exploits of the army in the recent great patriotic resistance war. The Party is convinced that the army will remain reliable in the defence of the motherland for ever, and is at the same time an excellent army of constructors and a great school training the young generations as new-type people.

Over the past period, we have recorded great achievements in the field of *political security and social order*, in opposing the wicked schemes of the imperialists, and first of all the US imperialists, and the sabotage of all kinds of spies and other counter-revolutionaries. Under the Party leadership and with the support of the broad masses, our security forces have fulfilled the tasks assigned by the Party and the State brilliantly. In the current situation,

the preservation of political security and social order is still an extremely important task of the State, and one of the major jobs to be done in the newly-liberated areas. We must continue the repression of counter-revolutionaries and shatter the reactionaries' schemes to stage a come-back. The people's security forces must unceasingly be strengthened and politically consolidated, professionally qualified, well organized and disciplined, endowed with good scientific and technical knowledge, and provided with modern specialized equipment and means. We must combine the specially responsible regular forces with the broad masses, constantly foster and heighten the revolutionary vigilance of the masses, and perseveringly mobilize the masses to participate actively in the preservation of political security and social order. We must, moreover, pay attention to improving and co-ordinating well the activities of the public security service, the control and people's public prosecutor's office, the court, and other legal organs which have the task of defending socialist legislation, the interests and the order of the new society, and the people's right to collective mastery.

In order to raise the efficiency of the State, necessary action should be taken to ensure that our State be always a *State of the people*. To this end, the position of the National Assembly and the people's councils at all levels should be enhanced. In our system of State power, the National Assembly is the highest body of State power for the whole country and the people's councils are the local bodies of State power. Under the leadership of the Party, the National Assembly decides the most important

affairs of the State and the local people's councils decide the important affairs of the State power in the localities. The National Assembly and the people's councils select the executive bodies, the Government Council at the centre and people's committees at lower levels. The National Assembly and the people's councils at all levels supervise all the activities of the State machinery at all levels. The responsibility of the Government Council and people's committees at all levels must be clearly defined and fully embodied in concrete regulations. A system must be established and conditions created for deputies to the National Assembly and people's councils to collect and report the people's views to the State bodies and to check their handling of matters. There must be a system of regular contacts between the electorate and the deputies to the National Assembly and the people's councils, ensuring the right of the electorate to control and dismiss the deputies they have elected.

One of the primary tasks of the Government Council and people's committees at all levels is to decide on directives and measures aimed at materializing more and more fully the people's right to collective mastery in various fields, political, economic, cultural, and ensuring that this right be fully exercised and respected.

To organize the close and strict control of the activities of State bodies is a very important measure to increase the efficiency of the State. The controlling structure includes the self-control system within the State machinery and the control by the Party and the mass organizations. Control must become a mechanism compelling each organization,

each cadre, each citizen to observe the Constitution, laws, systems, regulations, and to do each job well, ensure that each product is in keeping with the qualitative and quantitative norms already set. The people must exercise their rights mentioned in the Constitution and the law to struggle against the errors and faults in the management of the economy, culture, and people's life, compelling the State bodies to ensure the correct and good exercise of the people's right to collective mastery. All State bodies, from the centre down to the grassroots, must give proper answers in time to all the questions raised by the people. The mass media must expand their investigation and study activities to reflect the people's constructive views, criticizing the evils of bureaucracy and authoritarianism.

The people's right to collective mastery through the State under the leadership of the Party must be sanctioned by the Constitution and the law. The strength and basic content of socialist legislation lies in the people's right to collective mastery. Socialist legislation must be strengthened so that all activities of State bodies comply with laws and regulations, really respect the citizens' right to collective mastery and guarantee their interests.

Along with working out the Socialist Republic of Vietnam's new Constitution, the National Assembly will adopt laws regarding the organization of the Government Council, people's councils, and people's committees at all levels as well as other laws and regulations concerning the organization and activity of the State. We should work out and promulgate in time a more and more complete system of laws and regulation, attention being given to the early elaboration of economic laws.

The people's right to collective mastery is materialized not only by the State power but also by the devotion of cadres and employees of the State and their readiness to serve the people unconditionally. We should sternly condemn such evils as arrogance, authoritarianism, irresponsibility, even callousness in face of the people's difficulties and sufferings. We must take effective measures to prevent a number of State cadres and employees from becoming a caste of privileged people. The people's right to collective mastery must be materialized by the thoughtful attitude of each citizen towards the common work of the collective and society, and by the constant fulfilment of his duties to the State and the motherland.

Citizens' rights and duties must be explicitly defined by laws. All citizens are required to fulfil their duties and abide by the law. Compulsion shall be exercised against those who do not want to do so and due punishment meted out to any law-breakers.

In the final analysis, the efficiency of the State rests with cadres. The ever-larger scope of State activities requires a great number of qualified cadres for each branch and each level, from the centre down to the grassroots. Cadres of the State must have good technological knowledge, high professional skill, initiative and great organizational ability in practice; moreover, they must be zealous, devoted, selfless, highly responsible and disciplined; they must merge themselves with the masses. In a word, they must be revolutionary cadres and not paper-shuffling bureaucrats. The building up of this con-

tingent of cadres comes under the responsibility of both our Party and State.

The Party leads all activities of society in the frame-work of proletarian dictatorship. The Party leadership is the supreme guarantee for the system of collective mastery of the working people, for the existence and activity of the socialist State. Therefore, *to satisfactorily ensure the Party leadership over the State* is the decisive condition for strengthening the State and enhancing its efficiency. On the other hand, without the State, the Party cannot lead society and the people in building socialism. The Party leadership and the people's right to collective mastery find their concentrated expression in the State and are put into effect mainly through the State activities. The State machinery must be unceasingly strengthened with ever higher and acquire ever greater power and managerial efficiency to fulfil the political tasks put forward by the Party and carry out the Party leadership over society. To raise the organizational capability of the Party means first of all to raise the Party's capacity to build, strengthen, use and develop the State as the most effective instrument for organizing the implementation of the Party line and policies. The enhanced role and the improved managerial efficiency of the State are the most important indication of the organizational level and ability of the Party.

The Party decides the line and policies, orientation of State activity and the important questions regarding the organization of the State machinery at all levels. Through the State, the Party line and

policies materialize as the decisions and the daily actions of the masses themselves. The Party bases itself on its organizations and on mass organizations to control the activities of the State bodies in implementing its line and policies and in respecting the people's right to collective mastery.

On the other hand, the Party respects the powers and the laws of the State, deals in time with the proposals of State bodies on directives and policies. It compels all Party organizations, cadres and members to respect their powers and to strictly implement the laws, decisions and instructions promulgated by these bodies, considering it a discipline of the Party.

In leading the State, at present, the Party must eliminate the confusion between Party work and State work, and do away with the fact that Party organizations in a number of places and grassroots units assume work that should have been done by State bodies, thus lessening the efficiency of the State machinery and in fact reducing the leading role of the Party. At the same time, we must oppose the tendency to take the role and responsibility of Party organizations in State bodies lightly, considering Party organization to be mere organs for propaganda and motivation, playing no leading role; we must also oppose the mechanical division of work, separating the activities of Party committees and those of State bodies, which is in essence separating the adoption of directives and the organization of their implementation.

III — Giving Impetus to the Ideological and Cultural Revolution, Building and Developing a New Culture

During the last period, the ideological and cultural work has recorded great achievements, making a worthy contribution to the revolutionary cause in the whole country. Our nation's great victory in the patriotic war of resistance against US aggression is not only the victory of a correct political or military line, but also the victory of the Party policy on culture.

It is the victory of Marxism — Leninism and the ideas of socialism that have permeated the masses more and more deeply; victory of the will for independence and freedom, of the traditional patriotism that has been developed more vigorously than in any other period of our nation's history; it is the victory of Vietnamese dignity, of the noble values of the Vietnamese.

In the North, the sense of collective mastery has begun to find its reflection in social life; the new type of man is being gradually moulded. The achievements in developing national education are very significant. Activities in the fields of culture, information, literature, art, public health, physical culture, sports, and mother and child care all have a record we may be proud of. Our people's cultural and moral life has undergone great and deep changes. However, there still remain many major questions to be solved, many weaknesses and shortcomings to be remedied.

In the South, colonialism, neo-colonialism, and thirty years of war have left serious consequences in the cultural and ideological fields. The US-puppets tried many wicked schemes to create an enslaving, depraved, mongrel, and extremely reactionary "culture," and push a considerable number of young city-dwellers to indulge in "fast living," a pleasure-seeking, egoistic, depraved, and parasitic life, and to destroy our people's national cultural values and healthy way of life. Our fellow-countrymen in the South have perseveringly opposed this neo-colonialist "culture," maintained and strongly developed our nation's traditions of patriotism, love for the people, staunchness and indomitability, preserved and enhanced the national and democratic features of our culture, even in the areas subject to the enemy's prolonged occupation. Since liberation, under the Party leadership, our people have eagerly risen up and taken many actions to eliminate the consequences of the neo-colonialist "culture." However, the struggle to completely remove its vestiges and bad effects still constitutes a hard task.

The new stage of revolution calls for stepping up the ideological and cultural revolution still more vigorously. The central task of this revolution is to mould people of a new type and to build a new culture; to disseminate and teach Marxism—Leninism and the Party line and policies, to make Marxism—Leninism prevail absolutely in our entire people's political and moral life, to make the Party line and policies deeply permeate cadres, Party members and the masses; to struggle against the reactionary ideology and culture of imperialism, colonialism, of the exploiting classes in general. In the immediate

future, we should deeply and widely publicize the resolutions of the Fourth National Party Congress, thereby stirring a strong revolutionary movement of emulation to fulfil the 1976-1980 Five-Year Plan: to carry out a nation-wide educational reform: to step up the development of science, literature and art to a new high; to teach the ideas of socialism and the sense of collective mastery, to oppose bourgeois ideology and the vestiges of feudal ideology, to criticize petty-bourgeois ideology, to eradicate the influence of the neo-colonialist ideology and "culture" in the South.

The Party must ensure leadership over all cultural work so that the Party line may be implemented through its mode of leadership, in conformity with the characteristics of each cultural branch, in order to fully develop its creative potential in cultural activities. Cultural work must aim at serving the working people's interests, the country and socialist construction; adopt with selection, criticism, and creativeness the spiritual and cultural values of the nation as well as of the civilization of mankind; combine construction with transformation, widely exercise criticism and self-criticism.

Below we shall speak about a number of concrete tasks of the cultural and educational branches:

Over the past 16 years, in the North, although the economic conditions were still poor and the whole country was still in a state of war, a socialist education has taken shape and has been developing vigorously. The great achievements in the educational field have considerably contributed to the construction of socialism and the defeating of the US aggressors. This education has turned out genera-

tions of young people imbued with love for their country and socialism, brave and intelligent in labour and fighting. It has also trained a large contingent of intellectual workers. Thanks to their educational level, the working people have begun to bring into play their ability for collective mastery in production, in economic and social management. Thanks to their educational level, the armed forces have rapidly grasped military science and techniques and made great progress in regularization and modernization. In the emulation movement for "good study and good teaching" initiated in 1961 by President Ho Chi Minh, many typical advanced schools, teachers and students have emerged and a great deal of precious experience have been gathered in the educational field.

In the newly-liberated areas, in one year and more, the people's power has by and large wiped out the reactionary US-puppet education and established a new educational system, from general to higher education level, with initial elements of socialist character. The movement to eradicate illiteracy and to expand complementary education is gaining momentum. The majority of children of working people, who have long been kept in ignorance, can now go to school. The political and professional reeducation and fostering of teachers of the former regime has begun to yield good results, the training of new teachers is being stepped up.

At present, in order to serve the building of the system of socialist collective mastery, large-scale socialist production, the new culture, and new socialist people efficiently, it is more imperative than ever, that we push forward education work. A task of particular importance is to carry out nationwide

educational reform so as to link the national education system more closely with the socialist revolutionary cause.

The object of the educational reform is to train new qualified workers with a socialist mind, socialist virtues, a general education, necessary technological knowledge and professional skill, an aesthetic mind and good health; and on this basis to train and foster technical workers, managers, scientific workers, technicians, professionals on an ever-larger scale, in a balanced and homogeneous way for each branch and for each level, thereby meeting the country's needs for economic and cultural development.

The educational reform must help our education system grasp still more firmly the principle that study should go along with practice, education with productive labour, and schools should be linked to society. We should raise the quality of the content of education in all respects: modernization of the curricula for science and technology, broadening of economic managerial knowledge, stepped-up teaching of Marxism — Leninism, the Party line and policies, and revolutionary morality; we should foster productive labour skill and scientific and technical research capability; give due attention to the education of aesthetics, physical culture and military training. In order to start and ensure the implementation of the educational reform we should find a satisfactory solution to the question relating to the reform of the pedagogical system, the approach to the training, fostering, and rational use of teachers, educational managers, the writing of text-books, the construction of schools, the improvement of management from the ministry down to school level, etc.

The educational reform must perfect the integrated national system, comprising various kinds of schools and various forms of study rationally related to one another and creating proper opportunities for everybody to study.

General education constitutes the cultural basis of a country and the future strength of a nation. It lays the preliminary groundwork, very important for the all-sided development of the socialist Vietnamese. We should eradicate illiteracy in newly-liberated regions and in mountain and ethnic minority areas rapidly, ensure that all youngsters and children receive basic general education, gradually reach secondary general education, and have equal opportunities for their studies and for the development of their talents. Establish schools which combine study and production. Promote spare-time education for workers, draw up suitable curricula and study syllabuses for each category of students, combine the teaching of general culture with that of technical and managerial knowledge. We should lay particular stress on the spare-time education of southern cadres and youths who have gone through revolutionary struggle, of cadres and youths of highlands and ethnic minority areas, considering it an important method to train staunch revolutionary workers.

To develop the network of infant schools in a planned way, to gradually receive all children of infant-school age, and endeavour to raise the quality of infant education to prepare children for general-education schools well.

The system of higher and secondary vocational education has the task of training and fostering the

contingents of socialist intellectuals, scientific workers, technicians, professionals, and managers in keeping with the planning for the economic and cultural development of the country, in order to endow them with political qualities and professional ability and to enable them to solve scientific, technical economic management, and State management questions arising from the realities of our country.

We should reorganize, gradually expand, and perfect the system of universities, higher and secondary vocational schools all over the country. Take steps to build up a system of on-the-job training and fostering with varied forms of study so that the working people may study all their life, improve their professional ability and broaden their knowledge. Cleverly integrate teaching and study with productive labour, with scientific and technological research and experimentation.

Vocational schools have the task of training and fostering a great contingent of technical workers and labour hands suited to each branch, endowed with good political qualities, high professional skill, and good health. We should ensure the large-scale development of vocational schools, at the centre and locally; work out a long-term plan for the training of workers soon, take steps to raise the quality of the training, and expand the training and fostering of vocational teachers; step up the building of the necessary material and technical basis for vocational schools, and make a rational use of the existing equipment of production bases in the training of workers.

In order to fulfil these tasks, the general, higher, and vocational education branches must continue to

teaching and good study" following the examples set by typical vanguard schools, teachers and students. Each branch must strive to have typical vanguard schools, teachers and students in ever greater number, rouse and organize teachers, students, and service staff to be the conscious collective masters of the educational work in their respective unit, and create conditions for the mass organizations in each unit to really participate in school management.

Press, news agency, publishing, information service, radio, television, cinema, photography activity plays a most important role on the cultural and ideological front.

Abiding by the Party's line and policies and keeping in close touch with the realities of the revolutionary struggle, the aforesaid branches must in time shed light on the Party's viewpoints regarding important events in the political, economic, and cultural life at home and abroad; contribute to raising the socialist consciousness and the masses' ardour, opportunely and correctly guide public opinion. The mass media must be sensitive and cater as far as possible the people with intellectual food in all fields, thus contributing to enriching the people's cultural life.

We should further enlarge and heighten the content and method of expression of the press, radio, moving pictures and publications. Make the public opinion organs correctly and vividly reflect the realities of life in various fields. Reinforce the newspapers, news agencies, radios information services, publishing houses with cadres of good political standard and high professional skill. Equip them with

necessary means, supply them with required materials, and provide more and more radios and television sets to the people.

Over the past few decades, we have built up most aspects of a *socialist literature and art* with various branches: literature, theatricals, cinema, fine arts, music, dance, circus, architecture, etc., bearing a rather marked national character, and exerting quite a deep influence on our people's moral and sentimental life. With its achievements in reflecting our nation's two great resistance wars, our literature and art is worthy to stand in the van of the anti-imperialist cultures and arts of our time.

The revolution in the whole country is posing new questions and life is making new demands on literature and art. Our socialist literature and art should endeavour to create beautiful and varied artistic imagery embodying our new society and man, the working class, collective peasantry, socialist intellectuals, and officers and men of the people's army, who reflect our people's revolutionary patriotism and other noble qualities. It must firmly assert the new system, the new way of life, the new morality and develop the fine national traditions and revolutionary traditions of our people. It must strive to achieve artistic works of stature and with a high degree of generalization about the exploits and marvellous feats of the Vietnamese people, the victors of the French and US imperialists, to bring out in full relief the extraordinary strength of patriotism and socialism, so as to stimulate and encourage the construction and defence of the motherland, setting a lasting example for future generations. Special attention should be paid to the description of outstanding collectives or individuals of the working

people in the advance to large-scale socialist production and the socialist emulation fighters against poverty and backwardness for the prosperity of the motherland and for the happiness of the people. A worthy part should be devoted to loyal, resourceful and extremely brave mothers and women, and to our fellow-countrymen of the ethnic minorities who side body and soul with the entire nation to fight the enemy and build a new life. Utmost importance should be attached to the children, the future of the nation, and to the young people, the vanguard force in the present national construction and defence.

Independence, freedom, socialism, and communism are the noblest ideals and the deepest aspirations of our people. The whole country advancing to socialism with exalting fervour is the great reality unfolding before us. It is the glorious task of socialist art and literature and the noble responsibility of socialist artists and writers to reflect the struggle for the complete triumph of socialism. Our art and literature not only praises the new type of man and the fine deeds in society, but also sternly and systematically criticize negative actions in life, the vestiges of the old society, the bad effects of colonialist and neo-colonialist "culture" and art. We should adopt revolutionary stand and use socialist realism to expose the origin of the evils, to point out the way to eradicate them so as to reach the final aim of affirming the good and fostering absolute confidence in socialism.

We should make efforts to develop the popular culture and art movement and make it the basis of the new culture and art. Professional cultural workers and artists are greatly responsible for this

movement and have to actively contribute to raising the creative ability and the appreciation of art by the working people, to raising the quality and the forms of cultural activity by the masses. Party committees and State bodies at all levels, the trade-unions, youth and women's organizations must look after the cultural and artistic activities of the masses, regarding it as one of their major tasks. The State should work out policies and take measures to create favourable conditions for everybody to participate in cultural and artistic activities, and to ensure that everybody, from the towns to the countryside, from densely-populated regions to remote and isolated localities, may respond more and more fully to his need of cultural and artistic appreciation and activity.

For literature and art to meet the new requirements of the revolution, the contingent of artists and writers must be fostered in Marxist — Leninist world outlook and the line and policies of the Party and the State; they must associate themselves with the working people and the realities of the revolution. Their ranks should be broadened and always open to young people. Artists and writers in newly-liberated areas should be helped to make continuous ideological and political progress, to be closely attached to the revolution, and to put their talent to the service of the motherland and the people.

Our Party encourages artists and writers to do research and discover the new, at the same time it requests them to be fully conscious of their lofty mission, to affirm their socialist stand in artistic creation as well as in the struggle to defend the revolutionary line against all bourgeois and opportunist tendencies and the bad influences of modernism

in art and literature, to oppose formalism, schematism and naturalism, and to bring a worthy contribution to the common victory of the socialist revolution in our country. In order to ensure a fine and steady development of literature and art, it is necessary to strengthen art and literary criticism and study.

The preservation of historical relics and museum work are very effective in educating the masses, particularly the young generation, about patriotism and other pure sentiments. We should strengthen the existing museums and gradually build new ones at central and provincial levels, build statues, monuments and memorial houses or traditions' houses in various localities and grassroots units; and preserve historical relics well.

To broaden the knowledge and raise the political consciousness of the people, to efficiently serve the scientific and technological revolution and the ideological and cultural revolution, we must develop the system of *libraries* from the centre, provinces, cities, down to districts and the grassroots. Reading should become a habit and everybody under our new system should be made to consider reading an indispensable necessity.

Motivation should be widely and consistently carried out to create a new civilized way of life in society; the beautiful should be brought into daily life and productive labour. Plans should be worked out for the construction of parks, palaces of culture, and children's palaces in cities, towns, and township. Attention should be paid to the construction of clubs and cultural houses in residential quarters, factories, cooperatives and schools. Utmost care should be

given to the organization of a good cultural life in the new economic regions. State farms, timber and construction yards, ethnic minority regions, mountain areas and offshore islands. Besides the large cultural centres and buildings designed as national edifices, each region, province, city, district, village and hamlet should build medium-size and small cultural centres bearing its specific local features which evidence the richness of our national culture. This direction is important for the gradual elimination of the difference between town and countryside, between the plains and mountain areas.

To preserve and improve the people's health is a very important question related to the building and defence of socialism, and to the people's happiness. This is a matter of primary concern to our regime, a noble responsibility of our Party and our State, and first of all of the *public health and physical culture and sports services*.

We must do our best to improve the people's health and increase their physical strength, fitting everybody for the living, working and studying conditions of the new stage, and to the requirements of socialist industrialization and the consolidation of national defence to defend the country. At the same time, we must do away with the social after-effects of war, colonialism and neo-colonialism.

To this end, the public health service must be firmly based on prophylaxis and, together with the physical culture and sport branch, launch a movement of hygiene and gymnastics throughout the country, considering this an indispensable part of the movement to build up a new way of life. In prophylactic work, we must clean up the environment and

find radical solutions to the questions of treating excrement, water and garbage; we must get rid of disease carriers, strictly apply food hygiene and school hygiene, organize vaccination well, and prevent and wipe out epidemics in time. Eradicate social diseases, above all malaria, tuberculosis and venereal diseases. We must take active measures to prevent environmental pollution in the process of industrial development. Strictly enforce the rules of labour hygiene, take steps to prevent and cure occupational diseases efficaciously. Endeavour to deal with the after-effects of war wounds satisfactorily and to restore working capacity to the wounded rapidly.

Medical examination and treatment must be bettered, diseases promptly detected and actively and thoroughly treated; the examination and treatment of out-patients expanded; efforts made to extend the medical service to each production team, each family, and each citizen. The people's health and diseases must be properly taken charge of so as to reduce sickness, disablement and death to a minimum, and to prolong their working age and life span. Special importance must be attached to the health of children, mothers, ethnic minorities and the aged.

We should make full use of the favourable natural conditions of our country and the results of the gradual development of economy and culture to properly organize rest, recreation and health build-up for the working people. The people should be persuaded to give up bad habits harmful to their health and to develop a hygienic and healthy way of life.

In order to raise unceasingly the capacity and quality of the prevention and treatment of diseases, we must combine modern medicine and the nation's traditional medicine, apply and improve on the advanced achievements of the world's medicine while attaching due importance to the development of national medicine, actively learn from, apply and improve on the achievements and experience of national medicine, and gradually build up Vietnamese medical science. Expand the abundant natural medicinal resources in the country in a planned way, build up Vietnamese pharmacy, develop the pharmaceutical industry rapidly and promote the production of medical equipment.

In the development of the medical service, we must strengthen and perfect the people's medical network at all levels, especially the grassroots and the district levels, so as to make these two levels become an organic structure ensuring the basic satisfaction of the medical needs of our entire people.

Continue strengthening and expanding the medical and pharmaceutical research bases, step up the training and fostering of medical and pharmaceutical workers so as to have an homogeneous and suitable contingent of cadres who are highly skilled, imbued with the teaching of President Ho Chi Minh that "a physician must be like a kind mother," professionally and technically qualified, and capable of motivating the masses to participate in the protection and improvement of public health.

A nation-wide mass movement of physical culture and sports should be promoted, first and foremost at grassroots level, to serve production, work, study and national defence effectively, thus contributing

to the moulding of the new type of man and the establishment of a new way of life. The training and fostering of guides, instructors, sports enthusiasts and managers should be expanded; research in the science of physical culture and sports stepped up, the material and technical bases for physical culture and sports rationally used and properly maintained, and new bases constructed so as to ensure a strong, steady, and continuous advance of physical culture and sports in our country.

Mother and child care is very important for the moulding of people of a new type, the preservation and development of the race, the practising of equality between men and women, and the protection and promotion of woman labour. It is also a big social problem closely related to the country's economic and cultural development. We should continue to push forward the *campaign for family planning* to achieve a reasonable rate of population growth; endeavour to prevent and treat gynaecological and occupational diseases among women workers. The bringing up of children must be well organized, adequate nurseries and kindergartens set up everywhere; service means and toys made and supplied to them in sufficient quantities. The nurses should be carefully chosen, well trained, their love for children fostered constantly, and they should be treated as they deserve by the State and the people.

The organization of thoughtful care for and assistance to the *war wounded, war martyrs' families, and families that have done good service to the revolution* is a great task of the State, the Front, mass organizations, all branches, all levels, and the people as a whole. Our people have always behaved

considerately towards those sons who have sacrificed their lives for the motherland's independence and freedom, for the people's happiness. We should care attentively for the treatment of the soldiers' illnesses and wounds, and the improvement of their health, supply them with all necessary means and specialized aids, organize their vocational education well and allot them suitable jobs. We should look after the material and moral life of the war wounded and the war martyrs' families in a devoted manner, all the policies and regulations regarding the war wounded and the war martyrs' families must be fully implemented. Those persons and families that have done good service to the revolution should be duly commended and rewarded, and solicitously helped with their needs.

Orphans, helpless aged people, needy invalids and other victims of the war of aggression and neo-colonialism should receive adequate attention, and be ensured a settled, healthy and happy life.

We must rely on the entire people's forces, stir up a broad mass movement, and at the same time improve the organizing role of the State to fulfil these heavy social tasks successfully.

PROMOTE SOCIALIST LEGALITY, ENSURE THE PEOPLE'S RIGHT TO COLECTIVE MASTERY

(Excerpts from a speech delivered at the National Conference of the Control Branch — 22 March 1967)

I — On Proletarian Dictatorship

When we speak of socialist legality, we must first of all have a thorough understanding of the problem of proletarian dictatorship.

Some people say that the fundamental point in Marxist theory is class struggle. That is not correct. Lenin pointed out: "To limit Marxism to the theory of class struggle is to trim and falsify Marxism, to belittle it into something acceptable to the bourgeoisie. Only those who *enlarge* the acceptance of class struggle to the extent of accepting proletarian dictatorship are Marxists. That is the basic difference between Marxists and vulgar petty-bourgeois (and even big bourgeois)" ¹.

Marx himself acknowledged that his merit was neither to have discovered the existence of classes in modern society, nor the struggle among those classes. He admitted that long before him, many

1. Lenin "State and Revolution" Complete Works, Su That Publishing House, 1963, vol 25, pp. 479-480 (in Vietnamese).

bourgeois historians had presented historical development of class struggle and many bourgeois economists had analyzed classes from an economic viewpoint. Marx's contribution was to have demonstrated that:

1. The existence of classes is connected only with the historical stages of development of production;
2. Class struggle necessarily leads to proletarian dictatorship;
3. This dictatorship is itself a transitional step toward the *liquidation of all classes, and the achievement of a classless society*.

Since there have been antagonistic classes, the history of mankind has gone through many different social systems and known many different kinds of State. However there are only, briefly speaking, two categories of dictatorship: firstly the dictatorship of exploiting classes over those exploited; and secondly the dictatorship of exploited classes over the exploiters.

Under capitalism, class struggle waged by the working class against the bourgeoisie must of necessity lead to proletarian dictatorship. To free itself, the working class must overthrow the domination of the bourgeoisie, take power, and set up the revolutionary dictatorship of its own class. This is to be immediately followed by a period of revolutionary transformation in all fields with a view to shifting from capitalist society to communist society.

The dictatorships of the classes of slave owners, feudalists and the bourgeoisie are all aimed at serving the selfish interests of a minority of exploiters. To attain this goal, the exploiting classes need an instrument, a machine with which to repress — in

... a State. They must rely on violence to maintain their system of exploitation. Hence, violence is *the essence and the main objective of States set up by the exploiters*. Many bourgeois scholars described the bourgeois State as a permanent order, an impartial arbiter standing above social classes. All these adornments are aimed at hiding this basic fact: the bourgeoisie resorts to crude violence to crack down upon the working class and the working people who constitute the overwhelming majority of the population.

On the other hand, proletarian dictatorship is *the system of collective mastery of the popular masses under the leadership of the proletariat*. It is the dictatorship of the majority constituted by the oppressed and the exploited to oppose a minority which formerly oppressed and exploited them. It is a new type State, a transitional State, not a State in the original meaning of that word. In the period of passage from capitalism to socialism and communism, violence is still necessary to defend the nation, to oppose foreign aggression, repress the resistance of the bourgeoisie and other reactionary classes which have been overthrown but not yet entirely annihilated, so as to defend the interests of the working class and the working people. But the birth of the proletarian State is not only in order to repress exploiting classes but also to achieve another, more important objective: that is to build socialism, remove the system of exploitation of man by man and set up a new regime, a new society, establish a new culture and form new type people. That is why violence is not the main function of the proletarian

State. It is only a provisional phenomenon: when classes no longer exist, violence will disappear and the State will wither away.

The bourgeois State will never disappear by itself: its disappearance comes only as a result of the resolute revolutionary struggle waged by the working class and the working people. The idea of disappearance of the State is a new one in connection with the proletarian State. The self-disappearance of the proletarian State is a long process which depends on the development of the higher state of communism. But we can ascertain that the State of proletarian dictatorship is a "*transitional form from State to non-State*" and that "*proletarian dictatorship is the last stage of existence of social classes, and also the last stage of existence of States.*"

Marxism — Leninism points out that in history, dictatorship and democracy are closely combined. Democracy is a form of administration, a form of State. While observing democracy vis-à-vis a given class, the State exercises dictatorship and coercion in a systematic manner towards other classes. The problem is to know who practices dictatorship against whom and democracy towards whom.

Dictatorship and democracy always have a class character and concrete historical content. In our country in the stage of democratic national revolution, dictatorship was directed against the colonialist aggressors, the feudal class and their agents, the traitors to the nation, while the most basic content of democracy was land reform. Now we have attained the stage of socialist revolution, dictatorship is directed against the bourgeoisie and forces opposing socialism, while the main and highest content of

democracy is collective ownership of principal means of production, a system of economic management along socialist lines and a fair and reasonable system of distribution of products.

To understand the true nature of a political system, we Marxists have to examine which class's interests are defended by State power, which class it serves which policies it implements in the political, economic and social fields. From this viewpoint we see that in history, with the exception of the autocratic regimes of kings and emperors, there existed only two kinds of democracy: bourgeois democracy and proletarian democracy, and of the two *the highest form of democracy is proletarian democracy.*

Bourgeois democracy is democracy for bourgeois, parasitic and exploiting elements only, while for the working class and working people democratic institutions are restricted by all kinds of limitations and exceptions, so much so that there remains only the appearance of democracy. To put in Marx's way, it boils down to "giving the oppressed people the right to decide, once in several years, who among the representatives of oppressing classes, will represent them in Parliament and oppress them."

In the stage of passage to socialism and communism. State power may have various, forms, but it is a new-type State and a system of highest democracy. For the first time in history those who were oppressed and exploited can enjoy the broadest democratic rights, not only in the political field, but also economically and socially. Workers, peasants and other strata of the working people hold the power machinery and decide all State affairs from

central to local levels. Socialist relations of production ensure them the right to be masters of factories and lands, and give them the conditions to take increasingly a direct part in the management of the economy enterprises and co-operatives. The socialist State defends the system of collective ownership of means of production, and at the same time ensures that everybody enjoys equal rights in work and in the distribution of social products. Alongside the revolution in economy and in so far as is allowed by social production, democratic rights in the social field are also ensured.

For various objective reasons, however there are still limitations to socialist democracy. First, exploiting classes who have been overthrown do not resign themselves overnight to obeying revolutionary orders without showing any kind of reaction. Hence, parallel to the application of measures ensuring the people's democratic rights, proletarian dictatorship should not at any rate allow freedom of action to counter-revolutionaries.

Moreover, a democratic regime is always linked with the economic basis of society; it exerts an influence on the economy and pushes forward economic transformation; but conversely it is influenced by economic development. So long as the forces of production are still underdeveloped and cannot turn out a very large quantity of products, we cannot talk of perfect democracy and perfect equality. Socialism as the lower stage of communism, can only remove the monopoly and prerogatives of the oppressors and exploiters and can only liquidate "bourgeois legality" in the field of ownership of means

of production. With regard to distribution of products, although there occurs a fundamental qualitative change in the principle of distribution compared with the old society, elements of inequality still remain. Among workers, some are stronger and others weaker, some have many children and others less; therefore although those doing the same labour receive the same salary their incomes are in practice unequal. So long as old parents and children not yet of working age are still dependent upon the income of these workers, there can be no absolute social equality.

For all these reasons socialist democracy is not yet a truly perfect democracy. Only when communism is achieved and the slogan "from each according to his ability to each according to his needs" is turned into reality, only when classes are erased can there be truly perfect democracy. We are now at the first stage of the period of transition to socialism. We will have to go a long way before attaining the fullest freedom and democracy. At present, objective conditions of social production still bind us in many respects. However, we should not make objective economic conditions a pretext to limit or infringe upon the people's democratic freedoms. On the contrary, while building the new regime and new economy, our socialist State must of necessity enlarge democracy and apply measures to guarantee the people's democratic freedoms. Moreover, our Party and State are in perfect a position to take advantage of objective economic laws and of new facilities afforded by the current period to win victory for socialism in the quickest way and on this basis to achieve the best system of distribution so as to limit

and gradually to remove all discrepancies between workers.

According to a universal law of proletarian revolution, the struggle of the working class to destroy the State machinery of the bourgeoisie and set up proletarian dictatorship often takes place with some form of violence. After the right to mastery of the working class and working people has been established, class struggle will continue until classes are totally liquidated. This principle was mentioned by Marx and Lenin time and again. So class struggle is not a new problem for socialist revolution in the period of transition to socialism and communism. What is important is to discover the content, form and method of class struggle fitting each revolutionary stage. Lenin outlined many forms and means of struggle—*bloody and bloodless, violent and peaceful, military and economic, educational and administrative*.

Proletarian dictatorship does not mean only the use of violence against the exploiters, nor does it consist mainly of violence. In different periods, proletarian dictatorship has different content, forms and methods of work. In the period of the fight against foreign imperialist and their close allies the national reactionary forces, violence is the outstanding aspect of proletarian dictatorship. But that does not mean that in this period no constructive work is undertaken. On the other hand, in the period of socialist construction, the outstanding tasks performed by proletarian dictatorship are: economic transformation and development, cultural work, organizational work and legislation. Of course, that does not mean that violence no longer exists in this

period. What should be noticed is that we cannot achieve the goal of building socialism and communism only through the overthrow of exploiting classes, but in the whole transitional period we should carry out socialist transformation and construction of the entire national economy on the basis of collective ownership of the means of production, and we should bring about a renewal in all aspects of moral and material life of society. This is a long-drawn out, difficult, and complex work.

The present people's democratic State in the North is a new form of proletarian dictatorship. It is the State of the working class and working people, the State of the overwhelming majority of the people. It enjoys the support of at least 98 per cent of the population, therefore it is not hard to use the violence of 98 per cent of the population to crack down upon the remaining 2 per cent representing the overthrown exploiting class and other reactionary elements. And this by no means represents the main aspects of our State's activities.

Lenin said in this connection, "The special organism, the special machinery of repression, which is the States is still necessary, but it is already a transitional State, and no longer a State in its original sense, because the repression of a minority of exploited people by a majority who *yesterday* was slaves and hired wage-earners is relatively easy, simple and natural, therefore it costs less blood than the repression of rebellions by slaves, serfs and hired workers"¹.

1. Lenin, *Selected Works*, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1959, vol. II, part 1, p. 253 (in Vietnamese).

This does not mean that we may indulge in slackening vigilance with regard to opposition plots and reaction by reactionary forces especially when the country is facing foreign aggression. While in the world an extremely acute class struggle is taking place against imperialism headed by the US, and in our country class struggle is taking on a decisive form — the form of national liberation war and war for the defence of the Fatherland to oppose the war of aggression by US neo-colonialism and imperialism. — we must of necessity have at our disposal very powerful, very efficient and very sharp instruments of violence to hold firm our sovereignty, defend our independence and freedom so as to stem in time any political rebellions which the US imperialists and their lackeys in the South are hoping to stir up.

But the problem is put in different terms with regard to the people. We often say that our State is the "highest organ of power". But it should be understood that power here belongs to the people, a power "of the people, for the people and by the people". All State organs and cadres are but faithful servants of the people as President Ho often said. The violence we often have to use in the transitional period should be directed at the people's enemy. The exploiting classes in general, and the bourgeoisie in particular, in order to maintain their regimes, have to make use of violence against the people in a decisive way, since their interests are opposed to those of the working people. The interests of the working class which is the leading one, and those of the working people and of the entire nation fall together; if the proletarian State uses violence

against the working people that would mean that the interests of the working class no longer concord with those of the majority of the people, and that would be something unwholesome, a bad phenomenon in the Party's policy and leadership. The success and superiority of the socialist system lies in the fact that the proletarian State applies more and more democratic measures aimed at ensuring real respect for the people's right to collective mastery.

...

To wrest power, to set up proletarian dictatorship is to secure mastery in politics. But it is not enough to be master politically, to be emancipated from slavery, to progress towards full democracy and freedom, the working people should extend their mastery towards society, nature and their own persons.

Up to now, men have to struggle against nature for their own survival, and each step towards civilization gives them a new degree of mastery with regard to nature; — a progress which ends in freedom. But men struggle against nature in their capacity as social beings, that is through social relations. In former societies the ruling classes took for themselves the big gains of mankind in the conquest of nature, and turned them into their own property. All social revolutions at those times only led to changes in the form of exploitation. Only with the appearance on the historical stage of the working class which assumed the mission of transforming society and secured its true right to mastery could all sorts of class exploitation and enslavement be terminated and the working people advance towards mastery of society, nature and their own persons.

To carry out three revolutions: revolution in relations of production, scientific and technical revolution, and ideological and cultural revolution, is aimed at meeting these requirements. Our proletarian dictatorship is closely linked with those three revolutions. If we lose sight of proletarian dictatorship, the line for those three revolution will be deviated and their class content will be blurred. Conversely, if the three revolutions are not taken as the basic content of activities, we would not attain the objective of winning victory for socialism, which proletarian dictatorship is aimed at. That is why we say that in the conditions of proletarian dictatorship, to carry out the three revolutions is to continue class struggle in new forms. To win mastery in politics, to set up proletarian dictatorship is a prerequisite for carrying out the three revolutions. But political mastery is guaranteed only when we have new social relationships, and no longer class exploitation and repression, when we dispose of a highly-developed force of production that can give abundant products to society and when there emerge new men entirely emancipated from the remnants of the past. In other words the working people's right to mastery in politics is guaranteed only when they have become absolute masters of society, nature and their own persons. Once this absolute mastery is secured, men will have taken a leap forward, "from the realm of necessity to the realm of freedom" as Engels said.

To achieve proletarian dictatorship, we must build up new political forces while repressing and transforming reactionary ones.

To build up and consolidate new political forces, first of all there should be *a strong and solid Communist Party*, because no proletarian dictatorship can be materialized without a correct leadership by the Party, and no State power can stand firm if there is no Party with a strong revolutionary motivation, a Party loyal to the interests of the class and nation, enjoying the full confidence and support of the masses, and capable of serving as a general staff for the working class and of leading all the working people onto the path of struggle against class oppression and exploitation for the liquidation of the old society and the building of a new one.

Such a Party can only be *a Party following Marxism — Leninism, a Party of the working class*. Some comrades believe that the Communist Party is the Party of the poor. Such a simplistic conception of the Communist Party is neither accurate nor scientific from the viewpoint of Marxism — Leninism. The working class is not only a poor class and an exploited one in a general sense. The capitalist mode of production not only gives the working class a growing power with regard to nature, it also transforms the working class into an organized social force capable of overthrowing the old regime, setting up a new one on the basis of grasping the objective laws of development of history. The systems of slave ownership and serfdom could not give such capabilities to the classes of slaves and serfs, consequently all uprisings of slaves and serfs were more or less spontaneous, unorganized and anarchic. In modern times, the working class is the only class capable of leading the revolution, and it is in fact playing the role of leader of the revolution, this is because the

working class is provided with economic, social and historical conditions consonant with the objective development of society. That is why it is a class representative of the inevitable trend of history and the future of human society.

In the conditions of our agricultural country, it is no easy task to build up a Party that is really one of the working class. Most of our cadres and Party members are born from working peasant families. Peasant and petty bourgeois conceptions are inherent in them not only in the field of ideology, but also in economic thinking, in the management of industry, agriculture, finance and trade. We cadres and Party members should be fully aware of this, strive for our own ideological remoulding, and train ourselves so as to have the platform and viewpoints of the working class, otherwise we may be exposed to deviations and errors in putting into effect the Party's lines and policies.

To have the platform of the working class is not only a matter of intellectual thinking, it is also a matter of sentiment. Many of our comrades, especially the intellectuals, have taken part in revolutionary activities for long years, but they have understood the working class only in an intellectual way, and have not fostered in themselves the genuine sentiments of the working class; they need a long process of tempering to heighten their working class consciousness from the intellectual to the sentimental level. Only in this way can they have revolutionary zeal and staunchness.

As we know, Marxism — Leninism is a weapon for class struggle and socialist construction in the hands of the working class. It reflects, and is the epitome

of, the workers' movement; it represents the platform and viewpoints of the working class in the fields of philosophy, economy and sociology. Therefore, if one does not stand on the platform of the working class, one cannot understand Marxism—Leninism; and conversely there can be no Marxism—Leninism outside the platform and viewpoints of the working class. Moreover, Marxism—Leninism is a science. To understand it and be able to apply it to the work of social transformation, we must devote strenuous efforts to study it. That is why it is not enough to have the sentiments of the working class, we must also have knowledge of the revolution. Class sentiments help us grasp knowledge of the revolution, conversely knowledge of the revolution helps us consolidate class sentiments.

To perform socialist revolution is not only to overthrow the exploiting classes and crack down upon reactionary forces, but is fundamentally to build up a new society. To lead socialist revolution and to bring to success such a revolutionary undertaking, our Party should be fully capable of applying Marxism—Leninism to the realities of the Vietnamese revolution. Our Party should grasp the universal principles of scientific socialism and the laws of economic and social development of Vietnam, it should have knowledge about economic management, about science and technology and on this basis it will correctly chart the line of socialist construction in our country so as to give guidance to all economic, cultural and other activities of the Party and State.

To become a strong and solid Party, ours must have not only a correct line, but also a contingent

of excellent cadres. Cadres form a general staff for the masses, they provide a link between the Party and the masses and must elicit the people's confidence, admiration and affection. We always conduct meticulous investigation and selection in admitting new Party members; in spite of all that, we cannot avoid admitting into the Party bad or inadequate elements. Moreover the poisons of non-proletarian ideologies, which were rife in the old society, and remnants of the past which cannot be easily removed from human minds, may turn a small number of cadres and Party members lacking militancy into "prisoners" of individualism and cause them to change colours and fall into decadence. That is why control should be exerted regularly on cadres and Party members to remove from the Party all bad elements. Concurrently we should drive ahead educational, propaganda and organizational work so as to inculcate continually into cadres and Party members the sense of dedication, loyalty and self-sacrifice for the cause of the class and the nation, to urge them to tighten the bonds between the Party and the masses, and to observe discipline strictly so as to increase constantly the Party's fighting capability, and preserve its ideological purity and organizational unity.

The Party's leadership is the determining factor in the achievement of proletarian dictatorship. However proletarian dictatorship is not the Party's dictatorship, nor is it the rule of any political group. Proletarian dictatorship is the rule of the working class in its capacity as the class leading the revolution. As far as the Party is concerned, it is only the most politically awakened, and the most organized

segment of the working class. The Party's leadership and the content of proletarian dictatorship cannot be viewed as one. With its own strength alone, the Party would not be able to carry out economic transformation and construction, cultural development, national defence, repression and prevention of counter-revolutionary elements. All policies and lines of the Party will become reality only through the will and actions of the working class and working people and through their support, their goodwill and their ability to carry them out. That is why in its lines and policies the Party should take into account the will, aspirations and political consciousness of the masses.

If proletarian dictatorship is understood as of the dictatorship of the Party, then the Party would be attributed the function of practising violence against the working class and working people. Such a conception would result in turning the Party into a group of dictators, losing all relationship with the working class and the labouring masses. This would undermine the Party's strength in a fundamental way, because the Party can in no way make use of violence to win the confidence of the working class and the labouring masses, nor can it in any way build up its prestige on unlimited power over the masses.

Second, we should build up and consolidate the *block of worker-peasant alliance*. This is a matter of principle, to consolidate the leadership of the working people and to maintain and strengthen proletarian dictatorship. The practice of revolution in our country has shown that the workers and the peasants are the main forces of the national democratic revolution, and now the working class and the class

of collective peasants are the principal forces to fulfil the tasks of socialist revolution.

This alliance manifests itself first and foremost in the establishment of a worker-peasant state. We say that our people's democratic State assumes the function of proletarian dictatorship, this means that our State is the main instrument to carry out socialist transformation and construction. The line of our State power is that of the working class, and the instruments of violence, such as the army and police, are submitted to absolute leadership by the working class through its vanguard Party. State power results from elections by the workers, peasants, intellectuals and other working people; participants in State power include not only the representatives of the working class, but also those of the collective peasantry and other strata of the labouring people, including the intellectuals closely linked with the workers and the peasants.

Our State is representative of the will and aspirations of various strata of the labouring people, in the first place of the workers and the peasants, and only through the forces of these two classes can proletarian dictatorship fulfil all its functions. Hence our people's democratic State is in its essence a worker-peasant State.

The main content of worker-peasant alliance in socialist revolution is mutual assistance between the working class and the collective peasantry in the work of economic transformation and construction and cultural development. To consolidate the block of worker-peasant alliance, we are carrying on two big undertakings: agricultural collectivization and

socialist industrialization. As I have repeated, co-operativized agriculture is the product of both classes, the peasants and the workers; socialist industrialization is the work of the working class and at the same time the work of the collective peasantry and the stratum of socialist intelligentsia. To achieve co-operativization, develop the agricultural economy in an all-round fashion and build up socialist rural areas, the working peasantry absolutely needs leadership by the working class and its increasing aid in finance, equipment and training of cadres. The more industry is developed, the more it is capable of helping agriculture. The working class is the main force in building up socialist big industry, but were it not for the contribution in labour power, food and raw materials by the class of collective peasants, industry would not be able to develop, because agriculture is the foundation for the development of industry.

To achieve worker-peasant alliance in the two above-mentioned revolutionary undertakings, our Party must have sound policies concerning prices, taxes, State purchases and distribution of products. For the last few years, the policy of prices with regard to industrial commodities and agricultural products, the policy of paying factories of profits to the State, and the policy of State purchase of agricultural products have been mapped out on the basis of calculations of the relationships between the workers and the peasants' productivity. The percentage of mobilization and the percentage of investment into industry, agriculture and the various branches of economy and culture are all aimed at meeting political and economic requirements in each stage of the period of socialist revolution.

In the last thirty years the Party's line of socialist transformation and construction and the Party's line of economic construction and cultural development have been basically correct. They have tightened the bonds of worker-peasant alliance and mobilized all the talents of the workers collective peasants and socialist intellectuals into national construction. Up to now our Party has advocated no discrimination between workers and peasants with regard to their political, economic, cultural and social rights, since this would run counter to the goals of socialism and communism, which is to blur gradually the discrepancies between cities and countryside, and to turn the peasants' labour into a kind of industrial labour. We cadres and Party members should be fully aware of this and respect the equality between workers and peasants and unceasingly consolidate the worker-peasant alliance, which is the highest principle of proletarian dictatorship.

Third, we should build up and consolidate such organizations as *trade unions, co-operatives, people's councils at various levels and the youth and women's unions*, as they constitute transmission belts linking the Party to the masses, and, together with the Party, are components of the system of proletarian dictatorship. The strength of proletarian dictatorship is not based on bayonets, on the police or on money. It springs from masses. Each of the above organizations has its own objects and functions, but all of them are mass organizations under the Party's leadership, and are entrusted with the task of transforming the policies and lines of the Party into aspirations and acts of the masses. If those organizations do not exist or are not relied upon proletarian

dictatorship would not be able to carry out its functions. In the present stage, on the foundation of a consolidated worker-peasant alliance, we should attach importance to the work of the *Front*, with a view to rallying and uniting broad patriotic forces to impel forward our anti-US patriotic resistance and socialist construction.

While building up new political forces, we should do a good job in *repressing counter-revolutionary elements*. Repression is directed against those belonging to exploiting classes. Although they have lost their political and economic positions, they do not resign themselves to accepting the revolutionary order, and still nurture plans to stand up and oppose the new regime. Repression is also directed against agents of imperialism, such as spies, *commandoes*, *pirates* carrying out underground activities, and attempting to set up sabotage groups and reactionary parties with a view to opposing the revolution. They are not numerous, but are very dangerous, because they have a spirit of class revenge or are "uprooted" elements who had sold themselves to the reactionaries and strongly hate the new regime. We must be highly vigilant and efficiently use our instruments of violence to punish them as they deserve. For the last few years, the enemy has introduced many spies and *commandoes* into the North, hoping to use them and internal reactionary organizations to sabotage our rear bases, but their plots have been smashed and our order and security safeguarded. This shows that we have in the main succeeded in repressing counter-revolutionary elements, that political forces in the north are very good and very

powerful, and our political regime very solid. However we should not indulge in subjectivism and self-complacency. We should not overestimate their forces, on the other hand we should not underestimate their opposition which may be very fierce in times of difficulty and where our leadership slackens, shows deficiencies or lacks vigilance.

Beside repressing reactionary forces, we have to perform preventive and reformatory work well. Repression and reformation are connected with each other, but we must draw a distinction between them, as it is not correct to put them on the same footing. Reformation opens the way to progress to those who formerly took a direct part in exploitation but now prefer to engage in honest activities to earn their living so as to become working people under the new regime; or to those who formerly willingly or unwillingly were members of reactionary military or political organizations but now return to the just cause and to the nation. Communism admits no personal grudge. It advocates the ending of exploitation and oppression, and brings a new life to everyone; that is why only in cases of necessity do use resort to violence to repress those who oppose the common cause of the class and the nation. Punishment is reserved for those who take the path of betrayal or refuse to renounce their faulty past. Apart from this minority, the new regime opens its arms to all those who still have a minimum of national feeling and is ready to reserve them a meritorious place in the community of working people. As regards the children of members of former exploiting classes, or of these subjected to reformation or repression, we do not consider them to be at fault because we know that people cannot choose

the milieu they are born into. Hence our policy is to create conditions for them to study and work so that they can progress, develop their talents and contribute to the building of a new society. We may use them in the economic, cultural or social branches in accordance with their capabilities and their ardour. We trust that the overwhelming majority of those people will follow the same path as we do. Nevertheless we should not slacken vigilance when dealing with concrete cases, and should be very careful and abide by fixed regulations.

Such a policy applied by us is consonant with the Marxist — Leninist goal of social transformation which is to strengthen continually political and moral unity among the people in order to consolidate further the block of national unity. Some branches of activity are given the task of looking minutely into the social relationships of certain people: they have to examine both the good and the bad, both the positive and negative influences exerted on those people, and what is very important, they should have a very high sense of responsibility not to let anyone be mistreated by error.

We should understand that Marxism — Leninism can not only explain things, it can also reform them. We have a solid Marxist — Leninist Party, a solid worker-peasant alliance, a monolithic unity of the virtual totality of the people; we dispose of instruments of violence, consequently we can successfully reform the old society. We have every condition to liberate the above-mentioned people from the complex relationships of the past, provided that they themselves exert the necessary efforts, and are animated by a sincere desire to become new men in

the new society. Our Party's policies and lines in reformation work will be more efficient and more attractive if comrades in the organizational, police, control and judiciary branches correctly understand and implement them.

II — Some Ideas on Socialist Legality and on the Work of People's Control Boards ¹

Under any social regime, law is the expression of the will and aspirations of the ruling class. The bourgeoisie considers its law as the highest principle of social order fitting all people and to be respected by all people, but as a matter of fact law under capitalism is but the expression of the will and aspirations of the bourgeoisie. This law in its essence defends only the interests of the bourgeoisie, which are to exploit people and make money, while trampling upon the interests of the working class and working people.

Law under our system ensures the right to mastery of the people and serves the cause of socialist construction. It also defends the vital interests of the working class and working people, which are to remove exploitation, achieve equality at work and

1. In Vietnam, the Control Branch is organized down to district level. The Supreme People's Control Board provides leadership to Control Boards of provinces and centrally-run cities, Control Boards of the Army, and Control Boards of district and city quarter level.

in the enjoyment of the fruits of labour. That is to say that law defends the people's democratic rights in the political, economic and social fields. It is the manifestation of the will of the working class and working people, reflects the aspirations of the people engaged in building the new society. It is the instrument ensuring all the rights of the people. But in society not everybody willingly abides by law. Apart from counter-revolutionary elements who consciously oppose the socialist regime and whom we have to punish, there are — besides vanguard people — backward ones, and as a result we cannot avoid having to deal with violations of the general rules of social life. That is why coercive measures should be taken against citizens who act counter to State laws, and this is necessary to defend the collective will and interests of the working people.

Our laws should embody all three aspects of socialist democracy:

First: they should ensure strong dictatorship against the enemy, smash in time their plots directed against the new regime, and aimed at sabotaging the revolutionary gains of the people.

Second: they should uphold the right to mastery, on the political, economic and social planes, of the working class and working people, uphold the people's democratic freedom, ensure that they will not be violated by State bodies and law enforcers.

Third: they should ensure the reformation of retrograde habits and customs, the removal of remnants of the old society and prevent contraventions that may harm public interest and order, and infringe upon the democratic freedoms of other people.

While enacting laws, we should have a standpoint based on dialectic and historical materialism, oppose the idealist and metaphysical viewpoints of bourgeois law. The bourgeoisie advocates that freedom is the essence of humanity, an absolute will that has nothing to do with the existence of society; that human action is bound by no law whatsoever; that individual criminals should be punished but that society has no responsibility towards the criminals and their crimes.

According to this logic, murder, theft, etc. are acts of free will. This is entirely incorrect since these evils do not come from man's essential freedom, they are rather the results of feudalism and capitalism. Nobody fails to notice that in the southern part of our country today, the aggressors and the traitors are driving many young people of both sexes living in areas under their control into the morass of the American way of life which gives free rein to bestial instincts and to crimes, reversely, our social regime in the north prohibits all decadence and is doing away with the rubbish left over by the old society. The viewpoint of the bourgeoisie is intended to hide the deep roots of criminality, which lie in the rotten social system and the exploitation of man by man. The bourgeoisie in fact resorts to "justice" and other instruments of violence only to repress the masses of workers and peasants with a view to maintaining their capitalist regime, an outdated one which has been condemned by history.

Marxism — Leninism holds that there are social causes for crimes; it goes without saying that people's initiative plays a share in wrong-doing, but the fundamental cause lies in society. Once the main

cause, i.e., the system of exploitation and oppression, has been removed, the excesses committed by some people will sooner or later come to an end. When social relationships have changed and productive forces have developed to such a high level that society can organize a life of plenty and happiness, for everyone, people will feel more affection toward each other and contraventions of law will decrease. Men are born neither with a good nor an evil nature. Human society will reach perfection when attaining communism.

We are not Utopians however, and we fully understand that the building of a perfect society will require a long process of struggle. At present, the North is making the first steps in the transitional period, the antagonisms between the enemy and ourselves are still there and take many different forms. That is why it is necessary to mete out punishments to counter-revolutionary convicts in order to defend our regime and keep socialist order. As regards contraventions of law committed by backward people among the workers, we should analyze them with the greatest care and objectivity, paying special attention to cause-and-effect relations between men and their social environment so as to allot appropriate punishments.

The law of our State should fully embody the lines and policies of the Party; the will and aspirations of the working class and working people, both guaranteeing its principled character and consonant with the Vietnamese nation's historical features and traditions. It must be imbued with the spirit of intransigent struggle of the working class and working people to defend national sovereignty and the new social order and to win victories for socialism. At the

same time it must be impregnated with love and affection and a sense of tolerance which reflects the traditions of solidarity, fraternity and mutual assistance of our people.

To ensure the protection and correct implementation of the law of our State, the most important point is that the State organs, and the cadres of the Party and State should seriously abide by law and fulfil their duty as executives of the people's will, and as defenders and servants of the people's interests. This is a problem I want to stress, because a Communist Party in power should guard against two dangers: either committing errors in policies and lines; or indulging in corruption and decadence.

The ruling Party enjoys the wholehearted support of the working people; this gives it a considerable strength and prestige, but at the same time it causes a number of cadres and Party members to be complacent, self-satisfied, bureaucratic and standing aloof from the people. Hence after the Revolution is successful, in inner-Party life special attention should be attached to criticism and self-criticism to promote internal democracy, oppose inertia, conservatism and opportunist deviations, and prevent errors in lines and policies.

On the other hand, when the Communist Party becomes a ruling Party opportunists, fame-seeking people and those actuated by selfish interests seek to penetrate the Party, and a small number of cadres and Party members may degenerate. Some comrades were once very dedicated and loyal to the interests of the Party and the nation when fighting against the enemy, but now they abuse the power given them by the people, and take advantage of the Party's prestige to act against State law, Party policies and

the people's interests. The same comrades, when still full of revolutionary ardour, exerted real efforts to stand on the platform of the working class, but when their revolutionary zeal cooled down and their military decreased, they yielded to individualism and backward ideas which turned them into elements opposing the platform of the working class. That is why it is imperative to apply a system of very strict control inside the Party combined with the stringent supervision by the people and by legal departments with a view to preventing arbitrary acts violating the people's democratic freedoms and the democratic institutions of the socialist State stipulated in the Constitution and laws.

In State management, the system of democratic centralism must be strictly enforced. Democratic centralism responds to the requirements of socialized production. This means that the minority should obey the majority, lower echelons should obey higher ones, the part should obey the whole, localities should obey the centre, which leads the affairs of the entire country. All organs of state power are elected by the people and have to report on their activities to the people. They have to rely on the people, keep contact with the people, listen to the people's opinions and are subjected to the people's control. The basic difference between a system of democratic centralism and one of bureaucratic centralism lies in the fact that democratic centralism means centralism *emanating* from the people. Everything must be put to discussion by the people, either directly or through elected bodies at different levels, through social organizations, or through Commissions and councils set up beside organs of State power. With regard to issues of national interest, the National

Assembly as the representative of the people should discuss them and take decisions on the basis of the Constitution which is the basic law reflecting the people's will and aspirations. Within the limit of a commune or a city quarter, issues dealing with the close interests of the people — either economic issues or regulations on behaviour in public places — should be subjected to discussion and decision by the People's Council at that level. The administrative Committee of the commune or city quarter is there to carry out the people's will as expressed through the people's council discussions.

In factories measures should be taken to ensure the workers' increasing participation in economic management and in the management of the factories. In agricultural co-operatives which represent a form of socialist collective ownership, the Congress of co-operative members or of their delegates constitutes the highest organ empowered to decide on matters of production and distribution in the co-operatives. When faced with issues beyond its competency, the management committee must raise them for discussion among the members and not settle them at its own will. The cause of stagnation or progress in agricultural co-operatives lies first and foremost in whether this principle of management is respected or not.

An important characteristic of our system of planning, and our system of management of economy and culture is extensive democracy. Those systems should draw the participation of broad masses in management activities, they should promote the initiative and creativeness of each locality and each economic unit. As Lenin pointed out, "Centralism, understood in its genuinely democratic sense, has for the first

time in history created a possibility to develop to the full not only characteristic local features, but also local initiatives and the diversity of paths and means leading to a common objective"¹

Under the system of socialist democracy, mass organizations have a very important role to play, participating in the management of the State and society. These organizations have the right and obligation to express their views on how to draw up regulations aimed at ensuring the people's democratic freedoms and supervising the implementation of laws by the organs of State power. Organs of State power and organs entrusted with the management of economy and culture should pay great attention to the voice of mass organizations, and listen carefully to their views which are the views of the masses.

Coercive organs of proletarian dictatorship, such as the army, the Control Office, the Security Service, and the tribunals also a deeply popular and democratic character. Our Army is born from the people and in return serves the people's interests. Tribunals are organized in accordance with the principle of election. They draw the participation of people's delegates in judgments, and those delegate in return constitute an instrument of education for the people.

To stress the democratic and popular character of the whole State apparatus of proletarian dictatorship, does not mean that the Party's role as a general Staff is to be denied. The Party should provide leadership, put forward directives and policies, for only the Party can grasp the laws of development of

1. V. I. Lenin, *Complete Works*, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi 1971. Vol. 27, p. 261 (in Vietnamese).

revolution and understand in depth the people's will and aspirations.

In all its lines and policies, the Party always starts from the aspirations, interests and degree of consciousness and understanding of the masses. After lines and policies are put forward, the Party should propagate them among the masses, put them to discussion by the masses so as to transform those Party lines and policies into the masses' own ideas. Through the masses' ideas and revolutionary actions, the Party sums up experiences and perfects its lines and policies. Only by applying democratic methods widely to make them more all-round and sharper can we fully promote the inexhaustible creativeness of the masses, can we link the Party closely to the masses and thereby increase the Party's strength. Therefore we should increase control and see whether the organs of State power have acted in conformity with the principle of democratic centralism or not; we should intensify criticism and self-criticism from the lower echelons upward, and we should know how to use the press as an instrument for criticism and self-criticism and promote the people's right to mastery.

The Party's leadership must be ensured, distinction must be made between the Party and the State. The Party leads the State, but does not replace it, the Party leads the organs of economic management, the managing committees of co-operatives, but does not replace them or do their work. Such distinctions are not only a matter of understanding, they must also be materialized in the field of organization, so that the Party does not do the work of organs of

State power, which leads to abuse of power especially at the grassroots. People's Councils and administrative Committees of communes and management committees of agricultural co-operatives should include both Party and non-Party members, persons who genuinely represent the views and aspirations of the people. We should outline regulations determining concretely the rights and obligations of the organs of State power, and those of economic management, and the relationship between them and the people. We should also define the people's right to control and supervise the activities of those organs and the cadres elected by the people. Otherwise cases of bureaucratism, commandism, authoritarianism and abuse of power may easily occur.

To ensure strict respect for, and implementation of laws, we should actively work at propaganda and education to help the people grasp the rights and obligations of collective masters.

It is worth noticing that in our country, ever since the triumph of the August (1945) Revolution, our people have come to know the Party better than the organs of State power. It is good that the people know and understand the Party, but it is not good that they know little about State power, because this means an incomplete understanding of the people's right to mastery. This shortcoming has its own cause. Lenin said, "After the revolution, workers and peasants are still reluctant, they are not accustomed to the idea that *they* are now the *ruling* classes, they are not yet very self-assertive in this connection: Revolution cannot give *immediately* these virtues to millions of people whom famine and misery had compelled to labour painfully under the menace of

rods and sticks¹. It should be noted that if the people are not fully conscious of their right to mastery and do not fully exert their right to control and supervision, then a number of cadres may commit abuses of power and infringe upon socialist legality.

We must be aware of the fact that management of Society and State is not achieved simply by ideology, or through individuals separated from their organizations, *but rather by law, and by an organizational system which ensures that State laws are respected and discipline of society is enforced*. To this end the people, real masters of society, should fully understand the organizational principles of the Socialist State, they should fully grasp their right to mastery in order to correctly implement laws and at the same time fight and prevent all violations of law and of socialist legality.

We must pay due attention to raising the people's understanding of State laws and of their right to mastery which is instrumental in ensuring the vitality of the socialist regime. The organs of State power at various levels, and more particularly those concerned with home affairs, such as the Ministry of the Interior, the Police, the Tribunals, the Boards of Control, should carry out propaganda and information to explain to the masses the content of laws, the rights and obligations of citizens, the necessary elements of democratic freedoms stipulated in the Constitution and State laws, including the regulations on community life in cities and countryside. We should publish booklets to popularize the content of laws among the masses: we should rely on mass organizations to

1. Op. cit, Vol. 26, p. 461.

educate the people in the spirit of socialist democracy and to promote the people's right to mastery, while building up a system ensuring their real participation in the political, economic, cultural and social life of the nation, and also ensuring respect for the popular masses' voice and initiatives.

The Resolutions of the Third National Congress of the Party held in September 1960 pointed out: "The State has the responsibility to ensure all rights of the people, to enlarge ceaselessly democratic practices, and to scrupulously implement the Constitution and laws that have been promulgated. To build up socialist legality and educate everybody to respect legality and to promote the people's right to mastery, heighten their political and cultural level." The control branch is one of the tools in the hands of the people's democratic State, its duty is to control constantly the observance of laws and to ensure that laws are implemented in a scrupulous and unified way, as a contribution to the respect for the people's democratic rights and the increase of dictatorship against counter-revolutionary elements and of social discipline among the masses. When we talk of control of the observance of laws, we should first and foremost pay attention to the observance of law on the part of State organs, because any violation of law by citizens cannot be as detrimental as the abuse of power by the organs of State power, the organs of economic and cultural management and by those in charge of the implementation of laws. If they themselves act against the laws, they not only violate the people's democratic freedoms, but also run counter to the lines and policies of the Party, which are the soul of State laws. This would be tantamount to a blow dealt at our system's source of strength which

is the people's trust and confidence in the Party and the State. Therefore, it is imperative first to ensure complete and scrupulous observance of laws by State organs and by individuals holding administrative power and in charge of economic, cultural and social management on behalf of the people.

To ensure serious implementation of laws among the people, the control branch should supervise criminals' arrests and trials and see that they are done impartially and carefully. With regard to contraventions of the law by a number of citizens, there should be adequate and firm solutions to them, so as not to condemn anybody by error, but also not to miss any law-breaker.

We should try to understand the social causes and concrete circumstances of each case with a view to passing a sound judgment. Generally speaking, our regime does not tolerate illegal acts, but in society, crimes may have very complex causes. Men are the products of history, hence they more or less bear the imprint of the past and the vices of former societies, their actions are more or less influenced by the objective social environment. In many cases, law-breakers may commit errors simply by ignorance, others are actuated by greed or by rivalry, in still other cases, the causes may be inadequate health, poverty, necessity, or deception, etc. We should base ourselves on a communist sense of communion and sympathy with human sufferings combined with the need to safeguard the rules of community life in order to mete out judicious sanctions with a view to educating and reforming the culprits and turning them into honest people, and also to preventing further wrong-doing. The problem is not merely one of judging a case or punishing an offence, *what is*

important is to seek by all means to reduce law-breakings and, better still, to prevent their occurrence. This is a struggle to get rid of the remnants of former societies. It will be a long drawn-out one which should go hand in hand with the building of a new regime, a new man and the revolutionary movement of the masses. Public opinion should be created which gives support and encouragement to what is wholesome and criticizes and prevents what is bad, illegal and immoral.

At present, the People's Control Board should concentrate on the central tasks of the Party and State and contribute to driving ahead production and combat and bring to total success our anti-US patriotic resistance.

*First, to take an active part in the "wave of democracy"*¹ initiated by the Party Central Committee.

The working people's right to collective mastery has been established by the existence of socialist relations of production as well as by the lines and policies of our Party and State in the reformation and development of economy and culture. However this right is still limited because in some agricultural co-operatives and other enterprises the principles of socialist management are not respected. A number of cadres are bureaucratic, stand aloof from the people and lack a sense of responsibility towards the people's life. Some of them have degenerated and become autocratic, and infringe upon the people's democratic rights. In this case the role of popular masses is not taken into due consideration and not

1. This "wave of democracy" aims at setting up the labouring people's right to mastery in agricultural co-operatives, factories, construction sites and State bodies.

fully promoted in economic management, production and distribution of commodities. If these shortcomings are not got rid of, the masses revolutionary zeal may be affected, and the tempo of socialist construction may be slowed down. If some time ago, "land to the tillers" was the most basic element of the national democratic revolution, now in the socialist revolution, after the new political system has been set up, the basic content of socialist democracy is how to ensure economic democracy for the people. This means their right to real mastery in labour, production and distribution. If this economic democracy is not guaranteed, political and social democracy will not be fully respected, and socialist democracy will be violated. Moreover in our country where we are to advance towards socialism bypassing the stage of capitalist development, socialist construction must be undertaken by democratic means with the conscious approval of the working people so as to take the system of small production to large-scale socialist production step by step. Expropriation and coercive methods taken against the people would not yield positive results.

The "wave of democracy" initiated by the Central Committee is aimed at ensuring the right to collective mastery of peasant members of co-operatives and promoting the role of workers and civil servants in taking part in the management of enterprises. In this way the working people are given a stronger push to their physical and intellectual capabilities to socialist construction and the anti-US patriotic resistance.

The responsibility of the Control Board in this "wave of democracy" is to control, together with other departments, the drafting and application of

the Rules of co-operatives, the Regulations of Enterprises; to seek out irrationalities in management; to help draft regulations ensuring the direct participation of co-operative members, workers and civil servants in the management of co-operatives and enterprises and in the control and supervision of the work of co-operative managing committees and directors of enterprises.

Second, it has the responsibility to control the protection of State property. At present as we have to cope with the destructive war¹ many enterprises, stores, etc., have to be scattered or evacuated, so there is an important and urgent problem of protection of State property. If the bodies in charge of economic management, the import-export, communications and transport have not a full sense of responsibility; if handling, storage, etc., of public property are not done carefully, losses and damage may occur. Moreover, inadequate maintenance will give way to breaches that may be exploited by bad elements indulging in corruption, theft and pilfering, or serious waste may occur. From corruption and waste it is only a short way to abuse of power and factionalism, because those evils are often linked together.

The Board of Control should take part in controlling the protection of State property and, together with other branches concerned, discover in time and punish severely cases of corruption. The maintenance and protection of national property must be perfected and at the same time the masses mobilized to participate in the protection of socialist property.

1. The destructive war waged against North Vietnam from 1964 to 1972 by the US Air Force and Navy.

Third, the Board of Control should contribute to combating the counter-revolutionaries, and to keeping order and social discipline. In protecting the North, we should not only defeat enemy attacks from the sky, but also sweep away all spies and other counter-revolutionary elements that carry out subreptitious actions inside our national territory in coordination with the US imperialists and their hirelings, the Vietnamese traitors. We should combat rightist deviations which underestimate the perfidious schemes of the imperialists and their agents to sabotage the socialist system and the security of the Northern rear base and which consequently lack vigilance and show insufficient determination in the fight against the enemy. On the other hand, we should be careful and know how to distinguish different cases of violation of laws and deal accurate blows at the right targets.

Among the coercive organs of proletarian dictatorship each branch — police, tribunal, Board of Control — has its own duty and each operates independently. This is necessary to ensure a just and objective enforcement of laws. But on the other hand, all three organs are tools of dictatorship in the hands of the People's Democratic State, and have all to materialize the lines and policies of the Party. They should therefore co-operate very closely, starting from the Party's viewpoints and from the interests of the State and people to arrive at satisfactory solutions to their problems of mutual relationship so as to ensure the efficiency of each organ and oppose regionalism.

All three branches are under the Party's leadership and this leadership must be tight. To this end attention must be concentrated on training a contingent

of cadres. Party organizations in each branch should continually educate cadres and Party members to heighten their Party consciousness and strengthen their working class viewpoint. Education should stress communist ideals and morality and the obligation to serve the people. Our ideal and our ethic is to oppose oppression and exploitation, build up a new regime, a new economy and new men.

In the period of passage to socialism, instruments of violence still need to be used and administrative means to defend the regime, the gains of revolution and the people's interests. But we must see to it that cases of violations should be diminished, culprits changed into honest people, and a wholesome society be built. Only that represents our hope and our happiness. Only when this ideal and this objective is well grasped can we enjoy peace of mind and discard all prejudice, hatred and personal grudges, can we devote ourselves entirely to serving the people and tolerate no unjust treatment inflicted on anyone. Wrong condemnation of a person not only makes this person suffer but also causes the suffering of members of his family, especially his children. As Communists we should not be able to tolerate unjust condemnations. Cadres working in the police, tribunals and boards of control should be aware of their heavy responsibility, always respect the truth, distinguish right and wrong, and be *always objective*, careful, just and upright.

Generally speaking, Party and State cadres of these branches are good, well selected and worthy of confidence, but the management of cadres is not yet perfectly done. Hence, parallel to increased political and ideological education, there should be increased

management of cadres and Party members. Party cells must hold sessions at regular intervals and those sessions must have a rich political content which follows the various aspects of work and everyday life of each Party member and helps the various branches acquire a habit of close management of cadres. The Party's Control Commission should make its contribution to this work.

The work of the control branch just like that of the police and tribunals, requires from each cadre not only correct platform and viewpoints but also professional and technical efficiency. That is why, apart from efforts to raise their ideological level and political virtue, cadres and Party members in the above-mentioned branches should study and heighten their professional qualification. While discharging their duties, cadres of those branches should rely on the masses. The masses are endowed with multiple eyes and ears and are in a position of objectivity, they can help discover problems, investigate and study them to arrive at judicious conclusions. Moreover, the building and maintaining of State power, the defence of our socialist system and the enforcement and respect of laws are all affairs of the whole people. If we detach ourselves from the masses, not a single branch can fulfil its duties.

In the first steps of the period of transition to socialism in the North of our country, the building up of law is a new thing just like so many other tasks. Nevertheless, in the consolidation and defence of State power, we cannot neglect it or the achievement of socialist legality, for, as Lenin said, "The will of the State must be symbolized under the form of a law drafted by the State power, otherwise this word

will amounts only to a meaningless move of the air"¹ This means that we must manage the society by means of law. We should apply Marxism — Leninism to the revolutionary practice of Vietnam and on this basis, study and build up our legal system in conformity with conditions of our country, fitting each revolutionary stage, and finally complete a scientific legal system. However we cannot and should not demand that legislation be completed at once, because only in the process of socialist construction can we accumulate and sum up experiences and set up a correct theory.

1. Op. cit., vol. 25, p. 97.

MAKING NEW, SOCIALIST PEOPLE

(Excerpts from "Under the Party's Glorious Banner, for independence, freedom and socialism, march forward towards new victories", article written on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the founding of the Party — 3 February 1970).

To build socialism means not only to build a new economy and a new society but also to make new socialist people. It means to give everyone their full value, enable them to develop in an all-round way and become conscious makers of history. Changing society is the basic factor for changing social consciousness. The new people can emerge only in the process of building a new society, through practical activities and through mass revolutionary movements. But the transformation of man, his ideological remoulding, is not and cannot be a spontaneous process. Moreover "building socialism calls for socialist men."¹ Therefore, together with the economic revolution, an ideological and cultural revolution must necessarily be carried out, aimed at changing radically the ideological, spiritual and cultural life of the whole society, of the broad masses. For our country in particular,

1. *Appeals by President Ho Chi Minh*, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1962, p. 174 (in Vietnamese).

the passage to socialism bypassing the phase of capitalist development is a new road forward which requires high creativeness and political consciousness. However, the ideology and customs of our society still bear the stamp of small-scale production, and our people's cultural, scientific and technical level is still low. Hence the particular importance of ideological and cultural revolution.

Socialist people possess noble virtues which reflect their communist view of life. They are boundlessly loyal to the cause of the working class and of the nation, and display a sense of collective mastery in life and work. "All for each, and each for all." The spirit of collective mastery we are endeavouring to foster is the one rooted in the working class. It not only opposes the individual mastery of capitalists and small producers, but also the "collectivism" of the guild type. That sort of "collectivism" divorces the small collective from the unified leadership of the proletarian State and sets the interests of one collective against those of others. In each person, the spirit of collective mastery must be shown above all in respect for labour, production, and public property. This is the most correct class stand after the proletariat has seized power and become the master of society. It is totally alien to the hireling mentality and the style of the civil servant: it is opposed to all manifestations of indiscipline and irresponsibility in work and in everyday life, it is opposed to the mentality of traffickers, liars, idlers and parasites, and to all manifestations of bureaucracy and of divorce from reality and production. One must realize that only work of the highest standard can make the worker a full-fledged master, and that only on the

basis of high productivity can we attain a rich material and cultural life and achieve socialism.

It is not enough to have a sense of mastery, one must also acquire scientific knowledge, which will turn one into master of society and nature and enable one to achieve socialist transformation and build socialism. Without revolutionary fervour there can be no revolutionary actions, but revolutionary zeal by itself can at best destroy the old order but cannot build a new one. To build socialism means to apply all scientific knowledge — social and natural science and technology — towards reaching the peak of civilization. Therefore the socialist person must possess an advanced cultural, scientific and technical standard, must understand society and work according to its laws, inherit and develop in a creative way all cultural and scientific achievements accumulated by the human race through the creative energy of thousands of generations.

The socialist person is endowed with ardent patriotism, love for his compatriots and comrades, great courage and indomitability, and deep attachment to independence and freedom. He would "rather endure any sacrifice than lose his country and be a slave." He is filled with revolutionary heroism not only in defending his country but also in creating the new society. He is at the same time deeply imbued with proletarian internationalism. He knows how to harmonize the legitimate interests of his nation with the common interests of the international workers' movement, and oppose all tendencies towards narrow-minded nationalism and great-power chauvinism.

The new socialist inhabitant of our country must not only be able to assimilate the latest achievements

of modern civilization, but also inherit and develop the fine qualities that are representative of Vietnamese ways of thinking and feeling forged during four thousand years of history.

To educate and train such people is the aim of the ideological and cultural revolution. The more results it attains and the quicker its pace, the more it will push forward the revolution in production relations and the scientific and technical revolution. Conversely the other two revolutions will provide economic and technical bases on which to expand the ideological and cultural revolution and consolidate its gains.

SOME PROBLEMS OF THE PARTY IN POWER

(Excerpts from the outline of the speech delivered at the 23th Plenum of the Central Committee — December 1974)

Party Building Cannot Be Dissociated from the Establishment of State Power

Strengthening the Party's leadership must be closely linked with increasing the State's ability to manage. Before it comes to power, the Party's task is to awaken the masses politically and organize them in a struggle to overthrow the domination of the exploiting classes, finally seizing power. Once in power, the Party has to build and firmly hold the State machinery. It must make the fullest use of the State machine and develop its authority to transform the old society into a new one and to repress opposing forces. The socialist State is that of the system of collective mastery, which embodies the Party's leadership, while expressing the right to mastery of the masses. The socialist State is not only an apparatus of ruling power, but above all an apparatus for transforming the social system and building a new society, economy and culture, and organizing a new life for the people in accordance with the Party line. The degree of Party leadership over the State is a factor determining the strength and efficiency of State management. Conversely, the growing consolidation and

efficiency of the State is a necessary condition for the fulfilment of all tasks set by the Party and is a basic means of increasing Party leadership over the whole society. Party leadership over the State is exercised in an integrated fashion. The Party decides all main policies programmes and measures, all important issues relating to the organization of State apparatuses and the disposition of cadres; controls the activities of the State machinery; educates the masses to take an active part in the building of State power and to abide by State laws and regulations; devotes some of the Party's most competent cadres for the core of State organization; and promotes the vanguard role of Party members working in State bodies. The Party obliges all Party organizations and members to respect the regulations on the rights and duties, the ~~principles~~ and systems of work of State organisms, to implement scrupulously the laws, decisions and directives of the State, considering this as a matter of Party discipline. The ability of Party organizations to provide leadership, and the State bodies' managerial power and efficiency, should increase in parallel. The extent to which they do so gives the measure of how far the Party is able to exercise leadership over the State. We must eliminate the confusion between Party functions and State functions. When Party organizations assume work that should have been done by State bodies, this only lessens the efficiency of the State machinery and in fact reduces the leading role of the Party, while violating the people's right to mastery. To enhance the managerial efficiency of the State we must pay attention to building up socialist legality and implementing it scrupulously. We

must promote the authority of elected bodies such as the National Assembly and the People's Councils, the government and the Administration Committees at various levels. All matters of national interest affecting the people's life must be given wide discussion in the National Assembly and People's Councils, which must really be collectors of suggestions and complaints of the masses. They must also be efficient supervisors and controllers of the activities of the government and Administrative Committees at various levels. On the other hand we must oppose the tendency to play down the role and responsibility of Party organizations in State organisms, considering Party organizations to be mere agitation and propaganda organs playing no actual leading role; we must also oppose the mechanical division of work, separating the activities of Party Committees and those of State bodies. In State organisms, we must do our best to prevent and eliminate manifestations of abuse of power, bureaucracy, falling backwards, violation of State and collective properties and of the people's right to mastery. The activities of the State are linked with those of the Party. Hence the removal of malpractice and negative tendencies in State bodies must go hand in hand with the consolidation of Party bases and raising the standard of Party members. We must energetically punish, through the legal apparatus, those who abuse their power and indulge in illegal practices, no matter whether they are Party members or not. We must transfer or dismiss in time cadres who have lost their moral qualifications out of weakness and no longer enjoy the masses' confidence.

THE ROLE AND TASKS OF VIETNAMESE WOMEN IN THE NEW STAGE OF THE REVOLUTION

*(Excerpt from the speech made at the 4th Congress
of Vietnamese Women — October 1974)*

... So, what does the question of women's emancipation and the achievement of equality between men and women imply in the present stage of the socialist revolution in North Vietnam? It is clear that after the decisive victories of socialist transformation and the establishment of the new relations of production, the main content of the struggle for the emancipation of women is mainly a struggle against poverty, against the wrong and backward conceptions of the old society with regard to women. It is mainly to achieve an ever wider participation by women in the management of society and production in line with their characteristics and capacities. It is to reduce the burden of housework by means of rational reorganization of their life; it is to work actively to raise the political, educational, scientific and technical standards of women. Thus in the socialist revolution, to emancipate women is essentially to ensure their fullest participation as collective masters in all three respects *masters of society, masters of nature and masters of themselves*. This is the content of the struggle for the emancipation of women in the period

of transition to socialism. It is only in the socialist regime that everyone is master. This is a quite new regime in history which can emancipate not only the whole society but also every family, bringing about a new life both for society and for each family, and harmoniously combining the interests and well-being of every family. Furthermore, not only does the regime of collective mastery promote women to the ranks of masters of society and of the State, it also creates conditions for them to master nature and themselves, and to make ever greater progress. Therefore, to establish a social regime of collective mastery conforms most closely with the interests and aspirations of women, and is a basic means of their thorough emancipation. Of course, this lofty cause can only be the product of the successful achievement of the three revolutions (revolution in production relations, technological revolution, and ideological and cultural revolution), of the transformation of small, backward production into large-scale socialist production. As Lenin has pointed out: "It is only when and where a struggle by the masses (under the leadership of the proletariat in power) begins against the small family economy, or rather when there is a transformation of the whole small economy into a large-scale socialist economy, that there can be a real start to the emancipation of women and that real communism can exist." In this revolutionary cause — a cause dearest to women — they ought to strive to set forth, move vigorously forward, trample under foot all difficulties and obstacles, doing away with their inferiority complex and self-complacency. With all their strength and intelligence, let the Vietnamese women rise up as a dynamic force to speed up the process of building a

new regime, a new economy and a new person so as to render our society truly fine and superior, and bring prosperity to the fatherland and happiness to every family. This is both a heavy responsibility and a great honour of the women's movement in the present new stage.

In order successfully to fulfil such a noble mission, the especially important task of the women's movement in the North is "*to build a socialist woman*". What do we mean by a new woman? It is one who carries out her duty as a socialist citizen, one who fulfils satisfactorily her noble function as a mother towards her children, and as a wife in the family. As a matter of fact, a given woman in a society is a citizen, mother and wife. But there is a basic and striking difference between a slave citizen, a hired worker in a regime of private ownership, and a socialist citizen who is collective master and master of the State; between a feudal or capitalist family and a socialist one; between a mother and wife in the old society and a mother and wife in the new one. In our regime, not only women's participation in public affairs (economic management, State management) but even their childbirth, the bringing up and education of their children, and housework, all assume a profoundly *social character*, are closely related to the general progress of society and constitute an integral part of the cause of transforming the old society and building a new one.

At present, following the great victory of our resistance war against US aggression, for national salvation, the Vietnamese revolution has entered a new stage in which the *general task of the North* was laid down by the 22nd Plenum of the Party's

Central Committee as follows: to unite the entire people, strive to carry out socialist industrialisation, speed up the triple revolution, build up, and rapidly, vigorously and steadily take North Vietnam to socialism; closely combine economy with national defence, remain vigilant, stand ready to smash all manoeuvres of the US imperialists and their henchmen, strive to fulfil one's duty in the revolutionary struggle for the completion of independence and democracy in South Vietnam, advance toward peaceful reunification of the fatherland, and fulfil our international obligations toward the Lao and Khmer revolutions.

In the two years 1974-1975, the tasks of the North is: to complete the healing of the wounds of war rapidly, to strive to rehabilitate and develop the economy, to promote culture, to continue to build the material and technical foundations of socialism, consolidate socialist relations of production and the socialist regime in every respect, stabilize the economic situation and the people's life, strengthen national defence, and strive to fulfil one's duty toward heroic South Vietnam.

To carry out the duty of a Vietnamese citizen who loves her country and socialism, each woman must do her utmost to contribute to the successful fulfilment of this general task.

Nowadays, the female labour force accounts for more than 60 per cent of the total labour force in agriculture, 42 per cent of the total number of workers and employees, 52 per cent of handicraft workers, nearly 60 per cent in commerce, nearly 60 per cent in the public health service, 52 per cent in education, etc. With their participation in all

branches of our national economy, with their industriousness and capacity to endure inclement weather conditions, Vietnamese women may actually become the mainstay of the movement for labour, production and the practice of thrift in socialist construction. If in the past Vietnamese women spared no sacrifices and devoted their lives to the independence and freedom of the fatherland, they now stand ready to dedicate all their strength and intelligence to the cause of national construction. If in the past Vietnamese women were capable of writing splendid pages in the history of our nation's struggle against invasion they are now all the more capable of, with their conscious and creative labour, making worthy contributions to enhancing the strength of our country, eliminating poverty and backwardness, wiping out all negative and unhealthy manifestations which are at variance with the nature of our regime and the line and policies of our Party and State.

In our society, when speaking of labour we should emphasize skilled labour, organized and disciplined labour, because labour in our system should be labour with high productivity, turning out as much material wealth as possible for ourselves as well as for society, for the present generation as well as for the generations to come. Labour without technique or without high productivity is rudimentary labour at variance with the nature of our socialist labour. Therefore, more than anybody else, Vietnamese women should strive to study, constantly raise their professional standards, master science and technology, set an example in the observance of labour discipline, criticize "hired labour" attitude, idleness, laziness and sluggishness. How many heroines and model women workers there are in various economic

and cultural branches who have upheld the new style in labour and have provided eloquent testimony to the great capabilities of women workers. The question is how to mobilize and, above all, how to organize and direct them.

Being good citizens in our society and a big part of the population women should assume a worthy position in the management of society and the State. At present, in our National Assembly, 30 per cent of the deputies are women and in the people's councils the rate is 40 per cent. There are 50 vice-chairwomen and women members in provincial administrative committees; more than 3000 chairwomen, vice-chairwomen of district and village administrative committees; 130 managers or deputy-managers of factories, 1200 college lecturers, nearly 7000 presidents or vice-presidents of agricultural co-operatives. This is a big step forward on the part of women and in realizing women's role as masters of society. In the days to come we must create favourable conditions for women to participate more effectively in the management of the economy and the State.

Our Party and State hope that this Congress will concentrate its discussion on discovering all measures to arouse an effervescent revolutionary upsurge among women, and, together with the trade unions and the Youth Union, strongly step up the movement for production with economization for the socialist cause, for the kith-and-kin South and for the reunification of the country.

A woman is a citizen, a worker in society, and at the same time a wife and a mother. Only if we

see all these aspects can we tackle women's problems, correctly solve the tasks of women's emancipation and thoroughly understand the women's movement. When we speak of a wife and mother, we speak of a family. The question of women's emancipation is closely associated with the building of a new, socialist family.

The family is a natural cell of society, a form of existence of the people's life. Without the family there cannot be reproduction of man himself and society cannot survive and develop.

As a product of society, the family has developed together with the evolution of society. The economic and social conditions in a determined period of development of history are the factors which decide the character and structure of the family. In societies with exploiting classes, the family is based on private interests; it therefore, in the feudal family, gives rise to the principle "the husband calls the tune", and, in capitalist marriage, to the principle "hand over the money first." These inhuman principles brought untold suffering and humiliation to women. In socialist society, which does away with the regime of private ownership, of oppression and exploitation the family is built on equal relations and genuine love. The family is no longer an economic as in former societies of small-scale, individual production. As an element reflecting the relations, feelings and virtues, the socialist family fulfils an indispensable social function in the life and development of the new society.

Hitherto, a number of people have not paid sufficient attention to the study of the problem of the family. Thus they have not seen clearly the relation between the family and society, the rights as well

as the responsibility of the family under the socialist regime. It seems that there are comrades who still think that, as a revolutionary, one should not speak of the family, that if we speak of the family we speak of individual interests, of private affairs which runs counter to collective morality.

This is not so. A revolutionary does not overlook the family. He is not a familyless person as the anti-communists pretend. On the contrary, a patriot, a person who cherishes the high ideology of socialism, a fighter who heartily struggles for the happiness of the people always pays attention to the family. With regard to this question, our basic viewpoint is: the interests and happiness of the family totally depend on the interests and happiness of society. And the happiness of society is manifested in the happiness of each member of society, of each family.

Indeed, there can be no family happiness if there is still class exploitation, if people are still suffering and the whole society has not yet achieved complete wellbeing. For this reason, in their resolute struggle to liberate the nation, liberate the class, the revolutionary and the patriotic citizen know how to put the common interests before and above all. For the sake of the common interests, they are ready to sacrifice all private interests. And what is the whole significance of this struggle full of sacrifices? It aims at realizing a happy society free from want and care. In a happy society each family is happy too.

The socialist revolution brings happiness to all families. Together with the building of socialism, the material and moral life of the family is secured and enhanced in quality with every passing day. On the other hand, a well-organized, cheerful and happy family life is a very important condition for the

peace of mind and enthusiasm of the working people in serving society. Organizing family living conditions well and in conformity with the norms of the new life constitutes an important condition for the building of a new society, of social progress in the field of economy, culture and morality. President Ho Chi Minh has said, "It is correct to pay great attention to the family, because many families make up a society, and a good society makes families better."¹

To satisfy the ever growing material and cultural demands of the people on the basis of continuous development of production is the requirement of the basic economic law of socialism. These requirements are met through families. That is why the Party, Government and mass organizations must take care of the life of each family, of the clothing, food, lodging, education and rearing of children. When we solve the problems relating to the people's life, we must pay attention to the family with its diverse requirements. We must see to it that families have the best services, the most convenient to their needs. What is to be done for a family, for the needs of family life? This question should naturally come forward when thinking of the economy, production and living conditions. This matter should be raised in cooperatives, at district and provincial levels, and in the State plan in general. Only when we have a deep sense of serving the people, knowing well the living conditions of each family, how it fares for

1. Ho Chi Minh: Speech made at the Conference discussing the Draft Laws on Marriage and Family, *Selected Works*, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1960, p. 728.

food and lodging, etc., can we really answer the questions "what should be done for a family? "What should one do to serve the people better?" Society as a whole takes care of each family and builds it into a happy and well-off unit so that it is able to put greater efforts into building a new society. Everyone must care for the life and happiness of the family, not with any selfish narrow-mindedness, but with a sense of being collective masters of society. Not only does he care for his own family, but he also pays attention to all other families in society. Efforts should be made to arrange family life rationally and in accordance with the general situation in the country so as to create conditions for each family member to fulfil to the utmost his obligation towards society.

In the socialist system, the conjugal relationship is based on genuine love. The wife and husband do not depend on each other economically, their marriage is based on love. This love is not transient but it is a lasting sentiment constantly consolidated by mutual respect and shared ideals. Their mutual respect means that they take into due consideration each other's habits and opinions and show constant concern and care for each other. Their true mutual love and respect will help them live in harmony and together settle their family's affairs, take good care of their children, help each other to make progress in all fields, and encourage each other to fulfil their social obligations. A Vietnamese saying runs: "A husband and a wife who live happily together can scoop dry the Eastern Sea." Such a family is a happy one and when all families are happy the whole society will enjoy great happiness.

I would like to talk especially about *the great social significance of the role of the mother in the family*. The mother gives birth to children, brings them up, maintains the existence of the race, ensuring social life and development. Of course the father's role cannot be neglected. However, "the father's begetting a child cannot match the mother's care." This Vietnamese saying reflects a particular feature of Vietnamese culture. In contrast to feudal culture which humiliated women, regarded them as "difficult to teach" and demanded that a "wife should obey her husband's orders," the people's culture upholds the spirit of "A husband and a wife who live happily together can scoop dry the Eastern Sea" and raises the mother to a respected position, that of a woman who takes care of her child. Our new culture, the socialist culture, has inherited and developed this noble tradition of humanitarianism of the national and people's culture.

The mother gives birth to the child, she has gone through many difficulties during her pregnancy and delivery, she brings up her child with her own milk and devotes her essential strength to the child. Besides the great obligation to the Fatherland and the revolution, what is more sacred than motherly love? Is there any sacrifice and devotion which can match that of the mother for her child? "Educate our children from infancy" — the child's acquaintance with human culture is first of all through the mother. Every second, every minute, the mother hands down to her child her own feelings, her own thoughts and her own experiences of life. Each word, each smile, each expression on her face, sad or joyful, leaves a deep imprint on the child's mind which he keeps throughout his life. To teach him how to talk,

how to smile, to lull him to sleep with meaningful songs, to give him good advice, etc. — it is precisely in this way that the mother contributes to safeguarding and handing down the national culture from generation to generation.

There is no assessment of the mother's contribution more correct and comprehensive than the following one by President Ho Chi Minh: "Our people are very grateful to the mothers in both zones, South and North, who have given birth to and fostered many generations of heroes in our country."¹ The Vietnam fatherland owes its heroic sons and daughters to the contributions of heroic, undaunted, faithful and responsible mothers. For many centuries, it was the Vietnamese mothers who handed down to us the mettle of the Trung Sisters and Lady Triệu, industrious labour and love of the country and of home. We should be proud of our Vietnamese mothers.

We understand the mother's function with all its noble social significance. The child in the socialist regime is the offspring of his mother and father and at the same time of the society as a whole. To give birth to a child, to foster him and educate him is a special function of the mother. However, it is also the responsibility and obligation of the whole of society, because in our society no one lives isolated from the community of working people and broad social co-operation. On the contrary, in the old society, giving birth to a child and bringing him up was regarded as a duty of the mother alone, of each family. That is why mothers in the oppressed and

1. *President Ho Chi Minh and the Problem of Women's Emancipation*, Women Publishing House, Hanoi, 1970, p. 60.

exploited classes who endured untold suffering as hired labourers, felt yet greater humiliation in delivering and bring up their children.

The mother in our regime no longer suffers these social evils. Women now enjoy a new life, they have become the collective masters of society, enjoying due social respect. The whole society cares for women in childbirth and in the bringing up of children. Society has to take such responsibility for it is for the sake of its own existence and common happiness, for the interests of social progress and the future of mankind.

The mother who brings up healthy and good children is, in fact, discharging a noble function for the happiness of the society and for her own happiness. The glorious contribution of the mother and father is to supply to the society their worthy sons, good citizens, strong, serious and resourceful workers. For the interests of the society and for the happiness of each family, for the present life and the happiness of future generations the State must seek measures to care for the material and spiritual life of mothers and children.

To build up the new man is a task of prime importance of the socialist revolution. The new man is the product of the entire socialist revolution and socialist construction. However, the new man must be formed and trained right from the start, from the first suckling, from the first care given him by the family and society from the first affection, advice and recommendations of his mother and father. Many traits of the mind and character of a man are formed very early, in embryonic form, in childhood under the direct influence of the family.

Many social influences have an impact on the child through the family environment. Only serious parents can bring up their children to be serious adults. The example of the parents alone constitutes a very great education system. Therefore, the mother, together with the father, has an important role and responsibility to play in the formation of a new man. The family should be an expression of all that is new, beautiful, progressive, emerging, in our society; it should meet everything that the new society requires from each person.

Dear comrades,

To form a new socialist woman is the common task of our Party, our State and our people's mass organizations. All of us must make it our duty to find effective measures enabling women to tackle successfully their three tasks as citizens, mothers and wives. This is also the basic task of the Women's Union—the organization representing the interests and aspirations of the Vietnamese women.

First and foremost, *we should mobilize, organize and manage the female work force in the best and most rational way*, in order to bring into full play women's abilities on the fronts of labour, production, and economic rehabilitation and development. On the one hand, the mass organizations—in the first place, the Women's Union—must step up political propaganda and education, raise the women's socialist consciousness, arouse their sense of collective ownership and of self-reliance, so that they may understand thoroughly the close relationship between the building of socialism and the emancipation of women. They must have a clear sense of their responsibility to the fatherland, society and the

family. On this basis, they are asked to take the most active part in the emulation drive for labour and production, to economize and to build socialism. On the other hand, the organs of economic management will do their best to help the women acquire and improve their scientific and technical knowledge, and raise their professional capacities. They will pay particular attention to ensuring that women get the right jobs. Irrational assignment harmful to women's physiological constitution must be firmly redressed. All public services of the State, from the centre down to the grassroots, all production and working units, are to be particularly concerned with the amelioration of women's working conditions, the improvement of the tools they use in order to alleviate the intensity of women's labour. The Women's Union must contribute ideas to the State and the trade-unions in deciding the directives, policies and regulations related to women's work such as training and fostering women cadres, using and protecting women's labour, etc. and, together with State organs and trade-unions, control and supervise the implementation of these directives, policies and regulations.

While it mobilizes women to participate in the emulation drive for labour and production in general, the Women Union should study to work out and launch emulation drives of the women in each branch, each locality, in the countryside, cities, enterprises and offices concentrating on very concrete tasks adapted to women's capabilities, such as the emulation drive in livestock breeding, in seedling, planting with new techniques, the women's movement in education and culture, in training and competition among skilled workers, the women's

movement against dishonesty in commerce, for the protection of public property, etc. Through its guidance and organization of such concrete activities at the grassroots, the Union carries out political education well and pushed the women's movement forward.

To strongly promote women's role and ability as collective masters, the Party, the State and the mass organizations should pay more attention to *the task of training and fostering women cadres* so as to have many capable women cadres with important responsibilities in the leadership and management of various branches at various levels. We must sharply criticize those cadres who are unwilling to assign women to important posts, on the grounds that women sometimes have difficulties with regard to their health and families. Sometimes women have been appointed to leading bodies in a formal, perfunctory manner. They are denied rational participation in the work and the necessary assistance for the effective discharge of their tasks. For their part, women must strive to study and unceasingly acquire more and more knowledge in every respect. They must have the courage to assume fresh responsibilities, to fight any sign of narrow-mindedness, envy and selfish speculation. More than anyone else women themselves must unite, love one another, give each other mutual assistance to make common progress and give full play to their revolutionary capacities. The Women's Union will attend closely to the conditions of women's cadres in the various public services, State-run or collective economic establishments, contacting them in this or that way, with a view to assisting and stimulating them to forge ahead, to do their best to work and study, carrying

out well the tasks assigned to them. At the same time, women must be given all facilities to do mobilization work among people of their sex.

A task of particular importance to enable our women to adequately meet their obligations as citizens, mothers and wives, consists in caring for their health — especially for the kinsfolk of families of war deads and invalids and armymen, or those in the worst-hit areas and mountain regions. This is an imperative task for our Party, State and mass organizations, and in particular the Women's Union. It is incumbent on us to exert ourselves to the utmost in relying on existing possibilities, co-ordinating State activities with the positive contributions of the people and of the women themselves with a view to overcoming difficulties in their everyday life, from living conditions and child care to study and working conditions. The State must complete all policies and regulations relating to the lives of our women; the State organs and the trade unions should build and efficiently run nurseries, kindergartens, canteens, medical stations, maternity houses, public bath-rooms and wells, and enlarge the network of distribution of consumer goods and home service groups in cities and townships. The Party committees and administrative bodies at all levels, and the mass organizations, should take the most practical and concrete measures to help our women surmount immediate problems in family life, and gradually alleviate the burdens of house-work, especially shopping and cooking. Those are the most practical tasks to achieve the emancipation of the women, ensure their right to collective mastery and equality between men and women.

We have been conscious of the function of the mother as well as of her role and obligations in the socialist regime. Therefore, our entire society, our Party and State, our mass organizations must care for the mothers so that each of them may fulfil with honour her lofty function. *The work of the Women's Union on behalf of mothers thus figures among the task that must be given first priority.*

We must pay great attention to the health of our women and help them bring up their children properly. The Women's Union should co-operate closely with the public health services to initiate them into a hygienic mode of life, guide them in practising gynecological hygiene, protection of the foetus, family planning and scientific child-rearing and persuade them to renounce backward habits in everyday life and child-rearing so that women lying in are properly delivered and are able to bring up their children satisfactorily and remain in good health to carry on with their work. The Women's Union must take the initiative in this work, discuss with the trade unions, the Committee for Mothers and Infant Welfare and other State organs to work out the most effective plans to enlarge the network of nurseries and kindergartens in the countryside as well as in the towns, and qualitatively improve the service of these establishments, so that mothers and families can confidently send their children to the nurseries and kindergartens in such ways as to conform with the concrete conditions of work of women in various production bases and offices, in order to create the

most favourable conditions for the mothers to have their children received in those establishments. The Union must exhort the women to contribute actively to building nurseries and kindergartens and launch "build good nurseries and kindergartens" drives.

In the socialist system, we attach much importance to family education and social education. Every child of ours must be brought up properly in the family and given adequate education in society, from nurseries, kindergartens to infant classes, from primary and secondary schools to universities, from the Ho Chi Minh Young Pioneer organization to the Ho Chi Minh Working Youth Union. The conditions of our children should be determined through close co-operation between family and society; however, nobody can be in a better position to understand, approach, help and educate our little ones than their parents.

The Women's Union is supposed, together with medical, educational and cultural organs, etc., to guide mothers in doing well the task of upbringing and education of their children so that they understand the social meaning of this task, are fully conscious of their responsibility as mothers, and acquire the necessary scientific knowledge in the matter, launching "Loving Mother Excelling in Rearing and Educating Children" drives. It is desirable to organize in grassroots units teach-ins dealing with the upbringing of children by their mothers, and collaboration between families, nurseries, kindergartens, schools and mass organizations in the education of our little ones.

The education of children, the guidance of the mothers in the upbringing of their offspring is a task of great importance. The Women's Union must sum up experience in its agitation work among mothers with a view to further improving work in the field of activity in the next period.

Thus, the activity of the Women's Union is very tightly associated with the vigorous efforts of our women as a whole to meet their obligations as citizens and mothers, with the formation of new socialist women.

THE ENTIRE PEOPLE UNITE TO MAKE VIETNAM A UNIFIED AND SOCIALIST COUNTRY

*(Excerpts from the Political Report at the first
plenary session of the National Assembly — 25
June 1976)*

To transform and build the economy, push ahead socialist revolution in ideology and culture, and mould a new man is to build the system of *socialist collective mastery*. To build the system of collective mastery is to turn our country into a society in which the true and supreme masters are the social community, the organized collective of working people, with the worker-peasant alliance as the core. Socialist collective mastery involves mastery in all fields: political, economic, cultural and social; mastery of society, mastery of nature, and mastery of oneself; mastery over the whole country, mastery in each place and each basic unit; on the basis of complete mastery of the collective and social community to ensure complete freedom for everybody; and conversely the "free development of each is the condition for the free development of all"¹

That is true and complete mastery in the broadest sense.

1. Karl Marx — Frederick Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, p. 90

The system of socialist collective mastery finds its precise expression in the *mastery of the working people through the socialist State under the leadership of the vanguard Party of the working class*.

Our working class and people in general must be well reorganized into a State if they are to work in a conscious, organized and planned way. As the masters of society, they engage in social activities and manage society themselves through the State. Mastery through the State is the highest and most efficient kind. The Socialist State is a new-type State, a State of the people, by the people and for the people. It is at the same time an administrative outfit, a coercive apparatus and an economic and cultural organization. It resorts to all means: administrative, economic, educational, legal, coercive, persuasive, organizational and ideological, to manage the economy and social life. It has the duty to ensure political security and national defence, build up and manage the economy and culture, assure the interests of the collective and the individual, and co-operate in the diplomatic, commercial, economic, cultural, scientific and technical spheres with foreign countries.

The vanguard Party of the working class is the social force representing the new society. It applies Marxist — Leninist methods to discover the laws of the Vietnamese revolution and social development. Science and revolution are the two aspects of the Party's nature. Only with the Party's leadership can the activities of the State and the people be deeply scientific, accord with the laws of our country's social development and consequently get the right

result. Only with the Party's leadership can the activities of the people and State be vigorously revolutionary, and the working people's creativeness be brought out to the full. In each historical epoch a nation has one most representative class. Today, when nation and socialism are blended into one, the Vietnamese working class and its vanguard Party — the Vietnam Workers' Party¹ are most representative for the Vietnamese nation. The Party's leadership is the basic factor determining the great victories of the Vietnamese revolution in the past decades. The Party's leadership is the surest guarantee for the victory of the socialist revolution in the new stage.

The exercise of the working people's right to collective mastery, through the socialist State, under the Party's leadership, will certainly bring into full play the working people's dynamism and boundless creativity and *make revolutionary movements follow one upon another*. It will give the working people's activities a higher organization, broaden them out to the scale of the whole society and fit them to objective laws. Thus will be created a strength to remove mountains, fill seas, overcome all difficulties, negotiate all obstacles, destroy the old, create the new in every minute of the day, everywhere, and in every aspect of social life. History will thus progress at an unprecedented pace in our country.

The working people's right to collective mastery, with the worker-peasant alliance as the core, is exercised through the State under the leadership of the working class's vanguard Party. That is

1. Now the Communist Party of Vietnam.

proletarian dictatorship. Our State, therefore, is a State of proletarian dictatorship.

For the first time in our history, the August Revolution set up a new-type State of the working people. With the complete victory of the patriotic war of resistance against US aggression, our people are now masters of the whole country and have a new-type State¹ over the whole country with which to exercise their right of mastery.

To strengthen and perfect this State is both a nationwide and one for each locality, North and South alike. The crucial problem is how to raise rapidly the efficiency of the State apparatus for administration and to manage the economy and culture. Both aspects are important. However, as economic management is the main aspect, relatively new and difficult, we should *give special attention to raising the capacity of the State with regard to economic activity and management*.

The State must have an organizational structure suited to its character.

As an organization concerned with economic management the State must be structured according to the principles of socialist management and planning: democratic centralism combining sectorial and territorial management and planning, central and grassroots-level planning. It must ensure both production and distribution; stress productivity, quality and economic efficiency; improve technology, promote personal responsibility, and oppose bureaucracy.

As an organization concerned with cultural management, the State must be structured to meet the

1. That is, the Socialist Republic of Vietnam.

needs of the socialist revolution in ideology and culture.

Representing the common interests of the whole country, our State must be a unified one of all the ethnic groups living in Vietnam. Its basic policy is to help all the ethnic groups to progress, defend the legitimate interests and right to collective mastery and ensure equality between them. Proceeding from its duty to protect the people's happiness and legitimate interests, the socialist State respects the right to religious belief and freedom of religion.

Our State must be strong enough to safeguard political security and social order and defeat quickly all the schemes of counter-revolutionaries. Our State must actively build up national defence by the entire people, improve the system of military service and step up the troops' participation in economic construction.

In our system, the *National Assembly* is the highest body of State power for the whole country and the people's councils are the local bodies of State power. The National Assembly and the people's councils at all levels are elected according to the principle of universal, equal, direct suffrage and secret ballot. The National Assembly and the people's councils are responsible to the people. Under the Party's leadership, the National Assembly decides the most important State affairs and the local people's councils decide local important affairs following the line and policies of the central State power. The Government Council is the National Assembly's executive body which it selects and the people's committees at the various levels are executive bodies of the people's councils which elect

them. The Government Council and people's Committees are responsible both to the National Assembly and the people's councils and to the people. The National Assembly and people's councils supervise all the activities of the State machinery at the appropriate levels. The responsibility of the Government Council and people's committees to the National Assembly and the people's councils must be clearly defined and embodied in concrete regulations. A system must be established and conditions created so that deputies to the National Assembly and people's councils can collect the people's views, report them to the State bodies and check how the matters are handled there. There must be a system of regular contacts between the electorate and National Assembly deputies, ensuring the right of the electorate to control and dismiss the deputies they have elected.

It is necessary to organize *a close and strict control of the activities of State bodies*. The controlling structure includes the self-control system within the State machinery, control by the mass organizations, and control by the Party. These must be a mechanism compelling each organization and individual to observe the laws, regulations and systems of work, and to do each job well, ensuring that products meet with the qualitative and quantitative norms set. All State bodies from the centre down must give proper answers to all the questions posed to them by the people. The people should exercise their constitutional rights to struggle against the errors and faults of the State bodies, compelling the State to ensure that the people's right to collective mastery can be exercised properly. The mass media must increase their investigations and studies to reflect the people's

constructive criticism of bureaucracy and authoritarianism in the State bodies.

Socialist legislation should be strengthened so that all activities of State bodies comply with the law and regulations. There must be a close control so that State bodies enforce the law strictly, really respect the citizen's right to collective mastery and guarantee their interests. At the same time, all citizens must fulfil their duties and abide by the law. Coercion shall be exercised against those who are unwilling to do so and due punishment given to law breakers.

The strength of our socialist legislation lies in that it is founded on the people's right to collective mastery. Together with the Constitution, the National Assembly will pass a law on the organization of the Government Council, the people's Councils and the people's committees, and other laws on State organizational activities. It is necessary to bring in soon a series of laws and regulations in various fields, in which special attention should be paid the economy.

In our society citizens have the right to work, to enjoy the fruits of their labour, to rest, to study, habeas corpus, the freedoms of opinion, the press, association, meeting, religion or having no religion, standing for election and electing State bodies. Citizens are equal before the law. Women and men are equal in the political, economic, cultural, social and family fields. Children have the right to be brought up well, the old, sick and disabled have the right to be cared for. Our State not only recognizes the citizen's rights, but also ensures the necessary material conditions for their enjoyment.

Along with rights, citizens have duties to society. These are the duty to work; to defend their country and socialist State; to abide by the Constitution, the law, labour discipline, public order and the rules of social life, and the duty to protect public property. Rights and duties should not be opposed to each other, for both are aimed at materializing the full right to collective mastery and on this basis ensuring full independence and freedom for the individual.

We should resolutely oppose laziness, embezzlement, corruption and waste. We should condemn and struggle against such evils as irresponsibility, arrogance, authoritarianism, cumbersome bureaucracy, aloofness and callousness in face of the people's difficulties and sufferings, and perfunctory responses to criticism. These evils violate the people's right to mastery, even harming their political life. We must also take efficient measures to prevent a number of State cadres and employees from becoming privileged and oppressors.

Together with exercising the right to collective mastery through the highest form of State under the Party's leadership, the working people also exercise their right to collective mastery through *mass organizations*: trade-unions, co-operatives and peasants' associations, the women's union, the Fatherland Front, etc. As schools of socialist collective mastery, the mass organizations represent their members to participate in the management of society and control State activities. Under the Party's leadership, the activities of the State and the mass organizations are in harmony and both are aimed at ensuring the system of collective mastery by the working people. The Constitution and trade-union laws define the vanguard role of the working class.

and give the trade-unions the right to represent the working class in participation in State affairs, the control of the State, and participation in the management of enterprises — This is one of the most important measures to consolidating and strengthening the State. It is necessary to give the Front a stronger role with regard to the State and particularly the National Assembly, for instance by proposing candidates to the National Assembly, following the deputies' activities, proposing that deputies who have lost the people's confidence be dismissed and passing on its members' opinions to the National Assembly.

THE WORKING PEOPLE AS COLLECTIVE MASTERS ARE THE STRENGTH AND THE MOVING FORCE OF PROLETARIAN DICTATORSHIP

*(Excerpts from a speech delivered in Thanh
Hoa — April 1977)¹*

Speaking of socialism, Karl Marx said that only developed capitalist countries with a large industry can make a socialist revolution, and that socialism requires the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, the conquest of State power, and the establishment of the domination of the working class. After Karl Marx, proceeding from the situation in Russia, Lenin put forward the thesis: "Communism is Soviet power plus the electrification of the whole country." Thus, according to Lenin, socialism requires two factors: Soviet power — a State form of workers and peasants — and mechanized great industry. The General Resolution of the Fourth Party Congress laid down as a general line for the socialist revolution in our country: "To hold firmly to proletarian dictatorship, to promote the working people's right to collective mastery, simultaneously carry out

1. Thanh Hoa is a large province with a coastline and forests, an area of 11,133.8 sq. km. and a population of about 2.5 million. A province developed in a relatively comprehensive fashion with agriculture, fishing and forestry.

three revolutions: the revolution in the relations of production, the scientific and technological revolution, and the ideological and cultural revolution, with the scientific and technological revolution as the kingpin; step up socialist industrialization which is the central task of the period of transition to socialism... Our thesis keeps to Lenin's basic viewpoint that there must be a proletarian State and large industry, while being more concrete with regard to the conditions in our country. We not only mention proletarian dictatorship but also stress the working people's role as collective master in order to make clear *the aim and motive force of proletarian dictatorship*. The aim of proletarian dictatorship is to eliminate the bourgeoisie as a class and build the working people's right to collective mastery, while the working people as collective masters of society are the strength and motive force of proletarian dictatorship. It should be noted that we do not establish the right to collective mastery of the entire people, but of the *working people*, of the formerly oppressed and exploited people, with the workers and peasants as the core. Moreover, this is collective mastery based on new relations of production, on an organized production, on a given political, economic structure and cultural system; that is collective mastery through an organized social community, but not an aggregate of individual masters, and that is real mastery. We say that socialism requires three simultaneous revolutions. We must wage a revolution in the relations of production to lay the foundation of collective mastery. Then we must unceasingly consolidate and perfect the relations of production: the system of ownership, management and distribution. However, as we start from small production, we must

take the scientific and technological revolution as the key. Only in this way can we achieve large-scale production and industry. At the same time we have to change people, bring up a new kind of person with a new culture, because consciousness and initiative are extremely important conditions for building socialism.

Collective mastery will not be achieved simply. We are building socialism before we have attained large-scale industrial production, so the task is much more difficult and complex than those facing our fraternal socialist countries. The Soviet Union and the Eastern European countries embarked on socialist revolution with a relatively developed industry. We have virtually no large industry. We can say that we proceed from hand production to socialism, with only 13% mechanization. *Our most important assets are the natural resources of land, forest and sea which are still untapped, and an abundant work force which is not yet distributed in the best way or used to the full.* We must start and build from these assets. As a first step, we must exploit this potential to create the initial material and technical base of socialism both in agriculture and industry, from small scale to large scale. And what do we base ourselves on to exploit this potential? One of our most fundamental and important bases is the *working people's right to collective mastery* which has been established after the people's power assumed the historic function of proletarian dictatorship. This is a tremendous motive force. I have just called at several families in Nong Truong commune, Trieu Son district. Each of them has one or two sons fighting in the South; there are families with only an old couple left. Thanh Hoa province has contributed to the resistance war against US aggression 200,000 heroic combatants

who have set countless examples of valiant sacrifice. This is due to their patriotism and also to the care that the co-operatives give to their families at home. Thus collective mastery gives a tremendous strength which made our victory over the US aggressors happen sooner. And now, as you have just reported, practically all the peasants of Thanh Hoa are staunch co-operators who want to strengthen their co-operatives. Therefore, a crucial and urgent problem is to promote this spirit and right of collective mastery to exploit to the full the potential of this province.

Collective mastery finds its expression in the line for the socialist revolution, in the economic line. It is both the aim of the socialist revolution and the means to wage this revolution. We must take the viewpoint of collective mastery to tackle economic matters' structure, planning, construction and management. Collective mastery involves mastery in many fields: political, economic, cultural and social. We must combine mastery over the whole country harmoniously with mastery in each locality and each basic unit. The system of socialist collective mastery has a base—socialist large-scale production; therefore, we must set up an adequate economic structure to ensure a correct and steady exercise of the right to collective mastery.

In our society, the working people are masters. Each of them is responsible to the whole society, while society is responsible for each person and each family. From birth, children are brought up, educated and given medical care by society as well as by their parents. When they grow up, they have a duty to

build society. That is why, together with the universal implementation of distribution of products according to work done, we are engaged in improving social welfare. Society will gradually come to assume children's upbringing and education and they will come to enjoy equal care from society. We must also give proper care to women: more so than for men, because our women have a hard life with maternity, childcare, productive work and household chores, while living conditions are still very low. To attend to the people's life and happiness is the foremost task of the provincial district and commune Party branches and other organizations in the province and district: It must be the number-one concern of all cadres and Party members too. The comrades in the provincial and district Party committees must realize that all their work should be devoted to the people's benefit. Party and State bodies must appoint people responsible for the masses' living conditions. On the other hand, the people must understand that in the present situation when agricultural production is still at the mercy of the climate, bad harvests are bound to cause difficulties and strains in their life. The people must pool their efforts with the Party and the State so as to overcome the difficulties of production and everyday life.

In the coming Congress of your provincial Party branch, besides explaining the line adopted by the Fourth Party Congress, you must discuss the orientation, tasks, aims and methods needed to develop the economy and culture in the province. Especially you need targets and methods for *pushing ahead production in agriculture, forestry and fishing*. You must

discuss the re-organization of production at the district level, the building of the district into an agro-industrial economic unit. That is to say that the district must become the level where plans are drawn up and the agricultural and industrial economy production is managed, as well as distribution and organization of the people's life in the countryside. You must also discuss the launching and organization of a mass revolutionary movement. Socialism is a product of science and revolution. The socialism we are building is scientific and not utopian. However it cannot become reality without a mass revolutionary movement. The development of production also requires a revolutionary movement. Production and consumption is a habit. For instance, some places are better than others at pig-rearing, in some places the orchards are full of banana and papaw trees, but in others the land is left idle. To take small production to socialist large-scale production requires changes in the way of thinking, style of work and habits of production and life. It means to destroy the old and build the new. Without a revolutionary movement this cannot be done. The movement for water conservancy in Thanh Hoa is a revolutionary movement, transforming the face of the countryside and even the people's way of thinking¹. That is a good lesson. We should maintain and develop the water conservancy movement, and at the same time use the experience gained in it to launch a mass revolutionary movement for other production activities, particularly new techniques in farming and stock-breeding. We must link the revolutionary movements to the moulding of a new kind of person.

1. Thanh Hoa is a province with a very advanced irrigation system.

You must have continuous revolutionary movements one upon another so that the correct achievements can be affirmed and pushed forward while wrong and out-dated things will be discarded. The new will take root and new people will gradually emerge. Through these movements, we are building the spirit of collective mastery, promoting our people's public-mindedness, forging village and nation, nation and family into one. We must uphold the duty to work, foster a spirit of self-conscious labour, a new labour discipline and work style. We must struggle against laziness so that the work-shy feel ashamed at their parasitic lives. Through these movements, we must imbue working people with revolutionary feelings and ethics so that they have affection for one another and unite to protect each other, rather than being envious rivals.

Your provincial Party Congress should thoroughly discuss the strengthening of Party leadership, the reinforcement of State bodies and the promotion of the working people's right to collective mastery. Our system works by Party leadership, collective mastery of the people and State management. The leader is the Party, that is the working class, but the collective masters are the working people as a whole with the workers and peasants as the core. The Party leads but does not settle matters on behalf of the people nor deprive them of their right to collective mastery. The Party leads through the State but does not replace it. And State power is an expression of both the Party's leadership and the people's right to collective mastery. The people are masters through the State, that is through the National Assembly, the people's council at various levels, and State bodies elected by the people. The

people are also masters through the mass organizations and other elected organizations. Only under the Party's leadership can the people be collective masters. Without this there cannot be a system of socialist collective mastery. Conversely, it is also an error to deprive the people of their right to mastery. At present, in some places, some cadres and Party members are autocratic and arbitrary. We must redress the balance. All cadres and Party members should be made to understand that the Party is not a privileged organization. Rather it is the general staff, the guide and the servant of the people. It has no special rights itself. The Party's job is to put forward lines and policies. Through State power it turns its policies into the people's aspirations and will. Then the Party directly mobilizes the people to implement the lines and policies through their revolutionary acts. Once policies are decided, the Party's job is mainly to educate, persuade, organize, and lead the masses through the exemplary acts of cadres and Party members. How can the people trust the Party if education and persuasion are replaced by orders, if organization and control are replaced by exhortations and laissez-faire, if cadres and Party members are not in the vanguard setting examples. In the Party's leadership there are various ranks and responsibilities, but these are meant to serve the people. If we confuse responsibility and power, interfere in everything and disregard the people and the collective, errors are bound to occur. All these defects spring from self-seeking and individualism and from the opportunists who have wormed their way into the Party for their own interests. To strengthen our Party and all its branches and cells, we must expel such opportunists from the Party. At

the same time, we must constantly educate cadres and Party members, raise their fighting spirit foster their revolutionary ethics, and sternly struggle against individualism and sectarianism.

We must get the people to understand their right to mastery and play their role as masters in economic construction, protection of socialist property, building and defence of State power, fulfilment of their duties and guarantee of their rights. Besides putting forward policies, the Party leadership looks after the day-to-day affairs, propaganda, education, organization, control and guidance of mass organizations. All other affairs about the organization for implementation and economic, cultural management, about production, distribution and organization of the people's life, etc., are settled through State organs. We must get the people to believe in the Party's leadership and realize at the same time that State power belongs to them. We must get the people to acquaint themselves with the use of State power so that they can exercise their right to collective mastery over society. The working people's deep awareness of their role and right of being collective masters and the strengthening and perfecting of the mechanism of collective mastery constitute an important guarantee for the strength of socialism. Therefore, the Party must attach particular attention to building the working people's right to collective mastery and unceasingly raise the people's level of mastery. Mass organizations — trade-unions youth union, women's union — must do the same. This will be a long-term job, linked to the launching of the revolutionary movement to build the economy, develop culture, foster a new culture and mould a new, socialist kind of person.

LET US MOBILIZE THE MASSES TO ESTABLISH THE RIGHT TO COLLECTIVE MASTERY

(Excerpts from a speech delivered at a meeting to study how the administrative apparatus was to be organized in southern provinces and cities, on 9 September 1977)

I am told that you are studying the establishment of the administrative apparatus at every level. As I do not have much time to deal with this question today, I shall only deal with the exercise of the working people's right to collective mastery. This very important question needs a lot of thought before it can be put into practice. The same point was underlined in Comrade Pham Van Dong's speech on 2 September, National Day.

You have studied the documents of the Fourth Party Congress. They contain many new features. Anyone who studies the Congress Resolution and does not find anything new in the line proposed for the economic structure and administration of our country has not understood the substance of the Resolution.

Socialist collective mastery is a basic question in our Party's line on socialist revolution. As cadres at various levels of the administration, you must understand exactly what this right is and how the system of socialist collective mastery should be built in order to do your work.

In the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, Karl Marx said that after overthrowing the bourgeoisie, the working class must organize itself into a ruling class. It was not until the Paris Commune that Marx raised the necessity of smashing the bourgeois State apparatus and setting up the State of proletarian dictatorship. Karl Marx welcomed the Paris Commune for it upheld the role of the proletariat and the toiling masses and revolutionary principles of distribution, etc. However, the Paris Commune did not answer all the questions about the contents and forms of the proletarian State.

In 1905 the Russian masses created a form of revolutionary administration—the Soviet. This experience led Lenin to the conclusion that the Soviet is the appropriate form of administration for the proletarian dictatorship. What is a Soviet? It is a council of worker and peasant delegates elected by the masses from the grassroots. It is completely different from the parliament under the system of representative democracy as it is not an apparatus of civil servants but of people's delegates to administer the State and society. After the October Revolution, to deal with the counter-offensive of fourteen imperialist countries and the White Guards, Lenin had to turn to the policy of "War Communism." After the civil war ended, there was a shift to the "New Economic Policy." Before he died Lenin did not have time to go very deeply into the problem of building a socialist State.

In 1936, when he drew up the first socialist Constitution of the Soviet Union, Stalin kept, in general, to Lenin's instructions. Answering the students' question "How does proletarian dictatorship accord with the worker-peasant administration?" Stalin

explained, "We speak of proletarian dictatorship because the State is led by the proletariat, and we speak of worker-peasant administration to show that the composition and structure of this administration are made up of two main classes: the working class and the peasantry — the immediate ally of the workers. Since then, in the socialist countries the fraternal parties are still thinking about and searching for the right contents of the socialist State administration.

The Resolution of the Fourth Party Congress stated that we must hold firmly to proletarian dictatorship and at the same time promote the working people's right to collective mastery. It said that we have to build the system of socialist collective mastery in which the working people are masters and the workers and peasants are the core; mastery in the political, economic, cultural and social fields; mastery over the whole country, in each locality and each basic unit; mastery of society, of nature and of oneself. This system of mastery must be based on an adequate economic structure, which will combine from the start industry and agriculture and the central and regional economies. This mastery must be guaranteed by a mechanism closely combining Party, people and State.

Besides its administrative function, the State also has the function of managing the economy and culture. In our country, both the State apparatus as a whole and the economic management apparatus in particular, from the centre to the grassroots, must be adapted to the task of advancing from small production straight to socialism. As well, they have to embody the working people's right to mastery in the political, economic, cultural and social fields.

Over the past thirty years our State has done a very great thing — to win two resistance wars against French and US aggressions¹. After the August Revolution² we established a people's democratic State, a true administration of workers and peasants. This administration mobilized and organized the bulk of our people to take up arms and fight the French colonialists. It gave land to the peasants. While the workers were not yet masters of the capitalists' factories, the peasants were given land of which they became masters right in the war years. Thanks to this innovation the resistance war was stepped up and ended in victory. At that time, the people were obviously the masters in the free zone from the northern border of Vietnam to Zone 9 (Nam Bo). Despite the war, life was easy and free. People helped one another, shared good and bad times and fought the enemy stubbornly. During the resistance war against US aggression half our country was engaged in socialist construction while the liberated zone in the South already had a people's democratic administration. Although our economic level was not yet high, we were already masters of more than half our country and managed to set up a firm political system. It was thanks to this system of mastery that our resistance war triumphed. It could be said that every family fought the enemy. The husband would be

1. The resistance war against French aggression (1945-1954) ended with the 1954 Geneva Agreement; the resistance war against US aggression (1954-1975) ended with the complete liberation of the South (30 April 1975) and national reunification.

2. By the August 1945 Revolution the Vietnamese people reconquered power from the Japanese fascists and founded the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (2 September 1945).

away at the front line and the wife at home carrying out production, looking after the grandparents, bringing up the children and participating in the resistance too. Everybody was ready to fulfil his or her duty to the country, bear any sacrifice and hardship, and think day and night about fighting the enemy and saving the homeland.

All this shows that our State is a revolutionary State and a very strong one. However, after the great victory we have won, our country is still facing many difficulties. The organization of economic management is plagued with snags, embarrassments and even errors. This state of affairs has many causes, both subjective and objective. On the subjective side, one can find fault with the theoretical knowledge, the organization of production, with policies, management, economic planning, the use made of trained and professional staff, etc. These problems must gradually be unravelled and brought into line.

What makes us uneasy is that besides the good sides of our system there are bad ones which displease the masses. We must put an end to authoritarian acts, establish the working people's real power, bring them the right to collective mastery in the political field, and make our administration, particularly at the grassroots, really a people's administration. Leaving aside the economic structure and the organization of the various levels of the economic management apparatus which are complicated problems, I want the provincial Party committees to ask themselves how they have perceived the working people's right to collective mastery in the political field over the past two years, and did they try to enforce it?

The greatest thing after the triumph of the revolution is to make the working people collective masters in the political field. That is our basic goal after half a century of revolutionary work full of suffering and sacrifices. That is also proletarian dictatorship. It is the hope of ceasing to be slaves and mercenaries and to enjoy the right to be masters of the country and society that the working people trust the Party and follow it to wage revolution. Once I told our Southern comrades that a Communist Party member who does not think about the Party every day and every hour immediately puts himself outside it. Now I should add that a Communist Party member who does not think every day and every hour about enforcing the working people's right to collective mastery immediately betrays his ideal and cause, and is no longer worthy of Party membership. This is a simple truth but we must have a pure heart and a clear conscience to perceive it deeply and at the same time we must have an adequate organization to put it into effect.

Our system is obviously better than any bourgeois democratic one. However, to enforce the working people's right to collective mastery we must have a correct relationship between the Party, the people and the State, and this relationship must become a mechanism of our system. The mechanism is like this: the Party is the leader, the people the masters, and the State the manager. The Party is only the leader, and the people the masters who exercise their mastery chiefly through the State. Thus we can say that *the essence of proletarian dictatorship is that the Party is the leader, the people the masters, and the Party leads so that the people be masters.*

In political matters, we must mobilize the masses, carry out propaganda and education to get all Vietnamese citizens from children to the old, particularly young people, to realize that they are the masters of Vietnam. They need to know that all this country's wealth belongs to the co-operative of the people, this generation and future ones. They must fulfil their duty as masters of the country, but they have all the rights of a master too: the right to work, to study, to leisure, to express their views on any State affair, to bring about prosperity for their country and happiness for their compatriots, to be free from oppression and coercion. In the system of socialist collective mastery, the working class is the leader and the worker-peasant alliance is the core. We must get the peasants to understand that over the past decades they have sided with the workers to obtain independence and land and that now they are advancing to socialism they and the workers will achieve collective mastery over the whole country and its society. We must get the peasants in the Mekong delta or in Western Highlands to realize that the Hanoi engineering plant, the Thai Nguyen iron and steel complex or the Quang Ninh colliery are their property too. The workers in these factories and enterprises are dutybound to turn out coal, steel and machines to serve agriculture and the peasants. Conversely, the peasants have to produce rice, subsidiary crops and pigs for the whole country and the workers' needs. Not only do parents have the right to mastery but they can also feel at ease about their children's future. It is certain that their youngsters will not be exploited, jobless or illiterate and any talented children can make the best of their skills. With such understanding about the right to

mastery, the people will be ready to exert all-out efforts for national construction. They will put up with all the unavoidable difficulties so that socialism can triumph. I am confident that the Vietnamese people who have sacrificed everything for their country during the resistance war will understand what is needed and readily carry it out.

To ensure the people's right to collective mastery in the political field, we must build good Party branches and cells without autocracy of factionalism. We must overcome and prevent any abuse of power. President Ho taught us that, "For a party in power, cadres and party members must be leaders and at the same time truly faithful servants of the people." In his Testament he reminded us of it again. A good branch must have truly vanguard and exemplary Party members fully able to lead the people, and practicing strict self-discipline so that they can serve the people better. We must rely on the masses to build the Party, keep an eye on the Party branches' work and the qualifications of their cadres and members. During the turning-points of the revolution, besides very staunch Party members and model fighters there are bound to be opportunists who worm their way into the Party. We must expel from the Party any opportunists who abuse the Party's name for condemnable purposes. If we rely on the masses, we will detect these bad elements because the masses are very perspicacious: they usually see through any scheming. We must bring corrupt, disqualified and sub-standard members out of the Party. Only by so doing can our Party be

pure and strong. Then through the mass revolutionary movement we shall select outstanding individuals among the working people for admission into the Party and thus build up its fighting strength. Together with building and consolidating the Party, we must build and strengthen the commune and district administrations. We must arrange this so that the working people can choose their delegates and realize that the administration is truly theirs. If there are outstanding Party members truly devoted to the people who are elected by the masses to administrative bodies, this is very good because it shows that the masses trust the Party and that the Party still keeps close ties with them. All the duties, rights and interests of the people must be guaranteed by rules, regulations and laws. The people must be educated about this through propaganda, and at the same time administrative cadres must be compelled by law-enforcing bodies to abide by the law. Only by so doing can we prevent corrupt cadres from turning the collective into a faction-ridden autocracy depriving the people of their right to mastery. If in a province, cadres and Party members constantly serve the people zealously without any violation of the people's right to mastery, this is the greatest happiness for our compatriots there, the greatest record of the provincial Party branch. The administration must look after the people's life and defend their interests. The people must be organized to discuss and contribute their views on the affairs of the commune, and commune delegates must be able to discuss and contribute their views on district affairs including politics, the economy and culture; how to run production, distribution, consumption and accumulation for enlarged reproduction.

Our people have defeated the US imperialists thanks to the Party's correct and creative leadership, and our people's ardent patriotism. This patriotism springs from the spirit of social community that has existed since the Hung Kings founded our country¹ and has kept on developing in the process of our nation's heroic fight against foreign aggression. The most typical expressions of this spirit were our victory over the Mongol troops in the thirteenth century² and over the US imperialists recently.

Each nation advances to socialism with its own features. Our people are proceeding to socialism with their age-old tradition of heroism, indomitability and self-reliance, as well as with their tradition of compatriots loving and protecting one another as a cloth protects a mirror from stains. Through the masse's revolutionary movement, we want to bring about a fine new life in our society in which people treat one another with consideration, justice, love and solidarity. To build socialism, our Party's policy is to enforce and promote the working people's right to collective mastery. Our Party has clearly stated what is needed: the Party's leading role, the people's right to mastery and the State's managerial function as an instrument of power materializing the Party's leadership and the people's mastery.

1. Legend has it that 2,000 years B.C. the Hung Kings established a state called Van Lang which eventually became Vietnam.

2. In the thirteenth Century the Vietnamese people defeated Mongol invaders on three occasions, in 1258, 1285 and 1288, maintaining their country's sovereignty.

UNITY OF THE ETHNIC GROUPS AND PEOPLE'S RIGHT TO COLLECTIVE MASTERY MEAN THE SAME THING

(Excerpts from a speech at a Meeting in Gia Lai — Kontum, on 14 April 1978)

I am very glad to revisit Gia Lai — Kontum province, a well-known base during the two resistance wars against French and US aggressions, which has been moving vigorously together with the whole country towards socialism for the past three years.

In the war years, Gia Lai — Kontum, the northern gate of the heroic Western Highlands¹, was a suffering but proud land. Fighting relentlessly for over thirty years, our compatriots, cadres and fighters on this battlefield have upheld a staunch and indomitable spirit in face of the enemy and shown a thorough and unshakeable loyalty to the revolution, and a love for President Ho and the Party.

It is this spirit which has helped the people and fighters here overcome countless hardships, set up

1. Western Highlands comprise the whole Trung Bo plateau leaning on the Truong Son range and towering over the coastal plains. It is peopled with national minorities who contributed very greatly to the victory of the two resistance wars against French and US aggression. With 36,800 sq. km. including Gia Lai — Kontum and Dac Lac provinces, and nearly one million people, the Western Highlands are being built into a rich economic zone based on industrial crops, cattle breeding and forestry.

heroic combat villages, impregnable guerilla bases like Xito, Xopdui, Dac Uy, Xa Giao, these fortresses of patriotism that no French nor US weapons could shatter.

It is this spirit which has united the fraternal ethnic groups, our cadres and fighters from all corners of the country who fought in Gia Lai — Kontum, and engraved their military feats on each road, each hill top, each stream, each village. Strategic Highways 14, 19, 7, mountain passes Mang Yang, An Khe, valleys Ia Drang, Chu Pong, Sa Thay, forests Play Me, Duc Co and hills Dak To, Tan Canh, Phu Tuc, Cheo Reo, all these names of places and villages in Gia Lai — Kontum have come to designate brilliant military feats.

It is this spirit which has multiplied the strength of the people and fighters in Gia Lai — Kontum. This strength allowed them, together with their comrades in Dac Lac, to liberate completely the north of the Western Highlands¹, opening the Spring 1975 General Offensive and Uprising, the historic campaign that brought a glorious end to the patriotic resistance war against US aggression.

In his lifetime, President Ho constantly followed the march of the revolution in the South, worrying day and night about the fate of our fellow-countrymen in the South and in Western Highlands. Even when he was old and weak, he still asked to visit the South then in the thick of the resistance war. Unfortunately, this wish of his was not fulfilled. Now that he is gone, his deep concern remains.

1. Dac Lac was liberated on 11 March 1975 and Gia Lai — Kontum, on 18 March 1975.

President Ho's concern for his compatriots is the Party's concern. I take the opportunity of this crowded meeting to convey the affectionate greetings of the Party's Central Committee to the delegates of our fraternal ethnic groups, the delegates of various sections of our people, delegates of the people's armed forces and representatives of all branches of activity at all levels in Gia Lai — Kontum. On behalf of the Party's Central Committee, I warmly commend the people cadres and fighters in Gia Lai — Kontum for having outstandingly fulfilled their tasks in the protracted patriotic resistance war to conquer independence and freedom for our people and country. Please let everyone know in our great family of ethnic groups that the Party Central Committee and the Government send their very best wishes to every household and every person in the province.

Visiting Gia Lai — Kontum I am most glad to see that everyone here is closely united. In the resistance war, the people and fighters had to share rifles and sticks, shared out even sweet potatoes and salt, to fight the enemy, defend their villages and country. Today, the ethnic groups are united and help one another in production and construction. The inhabitants of the mountain zones and those of the plains, the people who have been living here a long time and new arrivals help one another like kith and kin.

Unity is precisely the source of our people's tremendous life through thousands of years, the lesson that President Ho taught us during his lifetime, the secret for us to win our resistance war, and our strength to build socialism successfully.

Our people have a tradition of unity since the first days of our nation. The outstanding features of

this Vietnamese tradition is the unity between our fraternal ethnic groups. The peoples of the plains and the mountains have customs of their own, but they are bound to one another in the Vietnamese national community.

Bahnar, Sedang, Ede, Jarai, Muong, Tay, Thai or Kinh all of us are Vietnamese¹. The fraternal ethnic groups in our country have for long years been bound into a nation — the Vietnamese nation — having in common one territory, one economy, one culture, one historical tradition, one patrimony, one cause, and one future led by the Party and President Ho Chi Minh, one common life in the country and one common position in the world arena.

Our people have smashed imperialist chains to rise up in search of a new life. After national reunification, our whole country has shifted to socialist revolution, our people are waging the most thorough and greatest revolution in our history, in order to bring about a comfortable and civilized life, a new life of people bound together by ties of affection and hope for future generations for ever.

In the socialist revolution, our Party's policy of national unity has a new content. In the stage of national democratic revolution, we were united to save our country; now we are united to be collective masters, to build a new social system, a new economy, a new culture and a new kind of person,

1. Bahnar, Sedang, Ede, Jarai, etc., are ethnic minorities living mainly in Western Highlands.

Kinh constitute the major ethnic group, accounting for 80% of Vietnam's population. Muong, Tay and Thai mainly live in the mountains of northern Vietnam.

and to practise equality in all fields between the fraternal ethnic groups in the country.

Now nation and socialism converge, both mean to promote the unity between the ethnic groups and to promote the working people's right to collective mastery.

Under imperialist domination the entire Vietnamese nation was oppressed and exploited. There were great hardships and suffering everywhere. The ethnic groups in the mountain regions were all the more affected as they led an obscure life on a fertile land.

Socialism is the surest guarantee for our country's independence and freedom. Socialism is the most rapid, the most brilliant and the highest development of our Vietnamese nation, as well as of each fraternal ethnic group and of each Vietnamese. Socialism will bring about a perfect and all-embracing unity for the Vietnamese nation from Cao Bang to Minh Hai¹. The united bloc of 50 million Vietnamese based on collective mastery, the new social system, the new economy and the new culture will be knit-closer than before and will reach a new, higher level. At the same time, socialism will promote the historical and cultural traditions of each ethnic group and will give a diversity of form and shade to the great pattern of the Vietnamese nation.

Objective conditions in history impeded the development of the ethnic groups in the mountain zones causing more difficulties to their economy, culture and life than to the ethnic groups in the plains. Socialist revolution opens up new prospects and creates

1. Cao Bang is a province on the northern border of Vietnam. Minh Hai is the southernmost province of Vietnam lying beside the Gulf of Thailand.

favourable conditions for the mountain-dwelling peoples to study and raise their knowledge. They can learn to apply modern techniques in farming, stock-breeding, various branches of industry and handicrafts. They can adopt modern styles of work, foster a civilized life and establish the finest relations between individuals. By so doing, socialist revolution will boost the economic and cultural level of the ethnic groups in the mountains, eliminate the irrational gap between the various groups, help the mountain zones keep abreast with the plains, and enable all the fraternal ethnic groups stride forward to socialism together.

The old system of small-scale production has left a serious imbalance: in some places people are land-hungry, while in others the land badly needs people and tools. This is a major reason why our country's economy is poorly-developed and life is so difficult. Today our fraternal ethnic groups have become joint masters of the nation's work force and its farming land, forests and sea. This enables us to redistribute work force, equipment and materials so that we can build up the material and technical basis step by step. We can make use of the resource of plateau and forests, and harmoniously develop the various zones both economically and culturally.

On the basis of the developed economy, every aspect of the life of all the ethnic groups will gradually change for the better. In the near future, our compatriots' material and cultural life in the Western Highlands, the northern border provinces, Hanoi and Ho Chi Minh City will no longer be poles apart. All our people's children will be looked after in the same sort of way and get an equal education.

In socialist construction, the Western Highlands and Gia Lai — Kontum have a very important economic and strategic position in the country. Here is a zone of very valuable soils which need millions of labourers to develop them. When these millions of hectares of agricultural and forest land are turned into material wealth, a good and civilized life will be ensured for the local population and a great contribution made to socialist building in the whole country.

To tap our country's rich resources including those in Western Highlands, we must have developed heavy industry and a lot of iron, steel, electricity, coal, building materials, etc. One of our major difficulties at present is that our heavy industry is still too weak. Only when it is developed, can the rate of economic and cultural building be stepped up and the immediate difficulties of the economy and daily life be fully overcome.

However, we cannot wait. We must base ourselves on our most precious assets — our work force and untapped land — to develop the Western Highlands. We must draw up plans to build the economy in every district and bring in manpower from the plains in order to develop agriculture, plant industrial crops, push ahead forestry and gradually start industrial activities. In the immediate future, we must strive to solve the food problem rapidly while exerting ourselves to fulfil the strategic task of boosting the export of industrial crops and timber and forestry products.

To this end, we must do our best to build and promote the people's right to collective mastery over each commune, each district and the whole province

in political, economic, cultural and social fields, vigorously launching these four mass revolutionary movements.

First, the movement for production. We must carry on pushing ahead water conservancy, land reclamation and fixed settlement. The aim is to produce a lot of food, plant industrial crops, develop stockbreeding, plant and protect forests, actively develop regional industry, particularly small industry and handicrafts in the province and districts, develop transport and communications, expand production, and at the same time organize collective ways of working and improve management, circulation and distribution.

Secondly, the movement for education, science and technology. All sections of the population and all age groups have to study actively to raise their knowledge. New farming methods must be brought in, advanced technology applied and a new life built with culture and modern hygiene.

Thirdly, the movement for maintaining order, social security and consolidating national defence. Strong armed forces must be built and the borders defended firmly.

Fourthly, the movement for building the Party and raising its fighting strength, building and consolidating State bodies and the mass organization. This must be done particularly at the grassroots. Cadres must be trained and educated, especially people of local origin. Cadres and Party members must raise their revolutionary spirit, foster their qualities and integrity, and set good examples of solidarity, production, work and study.

These four movements will materialize our Fourth Party Congress line to hold firmly to proletarian dictatorship, promote the working people's right to collective mastery, while carrying out three revolutions: the revolution in the relations of production, the scientific and technological revolution, the ideological and cultural revolution, with the scientific and technological revolution as the kingpin.

Over the past days, I have called at a number of villages, production units and schools and visited many places in Gia Lai Kontum. On this immense and rich land, which was yesterday a fierce battlefield, one realizes all the more the great significance of the victory won by our people. At the same time, one understands even more deeply one's duty and responsibility toward socialist construction in the provinces of the plateau.

To reconquer this dear part of the nation, tens of thousands of our sons from all corners of our country came to fight. So many of the fighters had to die in combat! These martyrs have sacrificed their lives for us, for all our fraternal ethnic groups, both in the plains and in the mountains. When they fell in battle the martyrs carried with them the hope and the dream for a completely liberated country, a comfortable and happy life, and a brilliant future for our people.

The more we are attached to our present peaceful life the more we are grateful to our compatriots and comrades who shed their blood to bring us victory! We pledge to be worthy of their immense sacrifice and to strive to turn their hopes and dreams into reality!

Our fighters in the people's armed forces, ours compatriots who come here from plains provinces for

economic construction must consider it a glorious duty to the nation. Yesterday our combatants came here to fight the enemy and save our country; today fighters and working people come here not only to earn a living for themselves and their families, but also to open big production bases, build forestry-industrial economic zones, and together with our local people build Gia Lai — Kontum into a rich province strong in national defence. In this way they contribute their share to socialist construction in the whole country. These new arrivals must forge lasting ties with Gia Lai — Kontum, do their best to unite with their local compatriots, love and help them in every aspect as blood brothers and sisters.

Let our compatriots of the various ethnic groups in the province unite with the people from the plains, pool their efforts to build up their native province and the country. They responded to the Party's and President Ho's appeal to fight the enemy together with the army and Party cadres, and defeat the French colonialists and the US imperialists. Today the Party has shown them the road to welfare and happiness, the road to prosperity and civilization. True to President Ho's teaching, the Party has one wish — to get all ethnic group to progress, all families to be happy, all children to be well cared-for and study and play in happiness. The Party is determined to lead the whole nation to socialism.

Over the past three years, the Party branch, people and fighters in Gia Lai — Kontum have exerted all-out effort and recorded heartening initial achievements in the economy and culture. Such good examples as Nam, Bo Ngon, Dac La, Dac Tkhan villages and many others have shown that our Party

branch has found out appropriate ways of organizing a collective way of working and developing production following the orientation toward socialist large-scale production. This makes us confident that the Party line has an easy way into the hearts of our fellow-countrymen of the fraternal ethnic groups, and that thanks to the existing tradition of community they will certainly, together with the entire people, rapidly advance to socialism.

COLLECTIVE MASTERY REFLECTS THE NATURE AND STRENGTH OF THE WORKING CLASS

*(Excerpt from the speech at the Fourth Congress
of Vietnamese Trade-Union — May 1978)*

... In the light of Marxism — Leninism, summing up the realities of the revolution in our country and learning from the experiences of the fraternal countries, the Fourth National Congress of our Party¹ put forward the general line for the socialist revolution in our country as follows :

“To hold firmly to proletarian dictatorship, to promote the working people’s right to collective mastery, simultaneously carry out three revolutions : the revolution in the relations of production, the scientific and technological revolution, and the ideological and cultural revolution, with the scientific and technological revolution as the kingpin ; step up socialist industrialization, which is the central task of the whole period of transition to socialism ; build the system of socialist collective mastery, build large-scale socialist production, develop a new culture, mould new socialist people, abolish the regime of exploitation of man by man, do away with poverty and backwardness ; unceasingly uphold vigilance, and consolidate national defence, maintain political

1. Held in December 1976.

security and social order; successfully build the Vietnamese motherland into a peaceful, independent, unified and socialist country; actively contribute to the struggle of the world people for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism."

The most important point of the general line as defined by the Party Congress, the key link of the whole process of socialist revolution, lies in the building and promotion of the system of collective mastery by the working people. This is done in order to achieve the greatest leap forward in our national history, the most profound change in our social system and social economy, and the finest uplift of each member of our national community.

Socialist collective mastery is the essence of the new system, the new social structure. With the system of collective mastery, the working people do not passively receive and enjoy democratic rights from a power apart from theirs. On the contrary, they play their role conscientiously and of their own free will as real masters in politics, the economy, culture and society. The working people voluntarily exercise their right to collective mastery by means of the appropriate organizational structure, an adequate system of production and distribution, continuous revolutionary movements involving tens of millions of people. The system of collective mastery applied in every unit, in every locality and in the whole country, links together the individual interests and those of the collective and the entire society. With regard to each individual, the system of collective mastery guarantees the most comprehensive development and full interests alongside the duties that each person must fulfil.

As the aim and also the moving force of the entire socialist revolution, the system of collective mastery began to be established right from the beginning of the revolution and has unceasingly been perfected. It has permeated every sphere of activity, and manifests itself increasingly in all social relations, gradually becoming a natural consciousness, part of the character and everyday life of each individual.

The system of collective mastery reflects the nature and strength of the working class, the exponent of an advanced mode of production and a new social system. However, the working class whose ranks have grown rapidly, has been influenced by non-proletarian ideologies, the most typical of which is the way of thinking, (and the habits and style of work) of small producers. Building the system of collective mastery is a process in which the working class transforms itself, gets rid of all aspects which do not accord with the class ethnics and style of work, and promotes its inherent revolutionary nature. It is a process in which the working class incessantly trains, enhances and develops fine human qualities of the new society. And it is also a process in which the working class transforms and helps along other classes and strata of working people according to its image. The vanguard role of the working class is most clearly expressed in its necessity to be the model of consciousness and abilities of the collective master, that it exercises its right as collective master first and best, while guiding and helping other classes and strata to build the system of collective mastery.

The Fourth Party Congress has clearly pointed out that *the people's right to collective mastery is*

exercised mainly through the State and also through the mass organizations. Exercising the right to collective mastery through the State, the working class and the labouring people as a whole have in their hands the entire social work force, all the country's natural wealth, means of production and finance, as well as a most competent organ of power to organize production, manage the national economy, and distribute material and cultural wealth. With the exercise of the right to collective mastery through the State, the citizens' rights and duties are institutionalized as are the way society is managed and responsibility for this. The working class must endeavour to build the socialist State, a State which embodies the Party's leadership and the people's right to collective mastery. The State is to be an instrument for collective mastery by working people. Only through a State set up by the people themselves can the people's will become an organized and effective force on the scale of the whole society.

The working class exercises its right to collective mastery through the State, and also through the trade-unions. Both being organizations of the working class, they have a common objective ; to build the system of collective mastery by working people. But each organization achieves this objective according to its own function.

The State and the trade-unions are closely linked and harmoniously co-ordinated in the building of the new regime, the new economy, the new culture and the new type of person. The trade-unions must voice the workers' aspirations and embody the singleness of purpose between the workers and the State.

The State organs must really respect the trade-unions' opinions, viewing them as the masses' aspirations. With regard to problems of the economy, technology, work discipline, political and social matters and the workers' welfare, the State must define the relationship between the trade-unions at various levels and their corresponding administrative organs so as to ensure that the unions can reflect the workers' aspirations and play their role as a link between the workers and the State. It is necessary to study, revise and make amendments to the *Trade-Union Law*¹ to ensure full exercise of the right to collective mastery by the workers and working people.

The working class's awareness and capacity as collective master finds its full expression and exerts its decisive effect in the *drive for labour and production to build a new economy*, improve the relations of production, reorganize production and develop the productive forces. The working class must set an example for the entire people of enthusiastic work, so that all the working people can be drawn into a stirring movement of production.

Labour is the *raison d'être*, the conscience and the dignity of human beings, the first criterion of a collective master. Labour is the source and the foundation to gradually improve the people's life. It can provide the accumulation necessary to socialist industrialization. The fruits of labour are measured in minutes.

1. Promulgated in November 1957.

Waste, idleness and incompetence run counter to the class and the nation's interests. Any attitude or action which shows lack of work enthusiasm must be severely criticized. Any policy or procedure hindering the labour movement must be redressed in time. Every innovation in labour and production must be given due consideration and encouraged.

Everybody has the right to work and has the duty to work, at the same time everyone is entitled to a share in products in accordance with the work done. That is our watchword.

To strengthen discipline, learn skills, raise labour productivity and advance to large-scale socialist production all amount to the same thing. Strict labour discipline is the ethic of a worker. Skill is the weapon and talent of a worker. High productivity is the aspiration and ideal of a worker. To uphold discipline and use skills in order to achieve advanced labour norms and standards with a view to high productivity, high quality and high economy: that is the career of a worker.

Together with labour discipline, it is essential to acquire the industrial style of work. That is to say accuracy, diligence and neatness. The working class and the trade-unions must undertake persistent and resolute struggle daily and hourly against the ideas and habits of small production: loose discipline, casualness, thoughtlessness, etc.

As collective masters of the whole society, bound for life to their factories, the workers must "regard their factories as their homes and themselves as their masters." The workers' immediate and long-range interests are closely associated with the common interests and the future of the factories. Together with

the State, the workers have the duty to manage the factories directly and are responsible for the factories' production and business in all fields. They must save materials, keep machinery and facilities in good repair, make the best use of equipment, produce useful goods to meet society's requirements and achieve high economic efficiency. The voice of workers and trade-unions must be respected and reflected in the factories' production plans and economic and financial activities, in order to turn every factory into a fortress of socialism in which the stormtrooper is the worker as the collective master.

Along with production, the working class and trade-unions must organize a new kind of distribution characteristic of a life of collective mastery. Besides the wages and bonuses based on the principle of distribution according to labour, they must attach importance to extending the collective and social welfare facilities available as production and productivity are increased. These should include better care for the aged, the sick and children. The life of every worker's family and every factory must be closely bound to the common life of the province, city, district, and village so that private life and common life, the individual and the collective, the collective and society are harmoniously combined.

As well as performing its immediate tasks in industry, the working class must make huge efforts to coordinate with the collective peasantry and working people throughout the country. This will bring about rapid changes in the front of agricultural production, the foremost production front in our country at present, with a view to solving the food problem

steadily. The socialist relations of production in agriculture can thus be built and perfected, along with building the material and technical foundation for agriculture, thus gradually taking agriculture to large-scale socialist production. The working class should develop economic relations with the peasants and other working people, set examples in organization of production, technology and management, discipline and style of work. Through its Party, the working class guides and helps the peasants to build a new economy. The peasants' awareness and capacity as masters will gradually be brought up to the working class's level, thus making the two classes really the core of the system of socialist collective mastery.

The Fourth Party Congress has asserted that in our advance from small production straight to large-scale socialist production, we must regard *the scientific and technological revolution as the kingpin and socialist industrialization as the central task*. Therefore, it is of decisive significance that we must by every means create an adequate source of accumulation, train an assorted contingent of workers and technicians for their branch and job, skilled in production and enthusiastic in work.

As the main force in socialist industrialization, the working class must march in the van to carry out the scientific and technological revolution in each factory and in each industrial branch. All economic criteria and norms must be respected, as must all technical processes and regulations. Modern scientific and technological achievements must be applied. By so doing, the working class will enable the whole national economy to benefit from the effects of science and technology.

Each worker must take pride in his job, strive to become a skilled worker and then a highly qualified one. He must work out new methods, set new records, and reach international standards in every job, thus turning out more and more goods to meet the country's needs, and making our products ever more valued in international markets.

We can import equipment and materials from abroad, but the workers must be ours, Vietnamese workers. Each skilled worker must guide, help and train many more. The trade-unions must assume the important responsibility for training a contingent of workers necessary for socialist industrialization. The life and work of the workers are closely bound to the life of the factories. The trade-unions must follow and take care of the development of workers. They must launch among the working class a campaign for cultural, scientific and technical education, for raising professional skill, striving to master scientific and technical knowledge, scaling the heights of science and technology. In particular the greatest efforts must be made in the new industries which our country has built or will build.

To build a new system and a new economy is a revolutionary festival for the masses, a process of birth and growth of a new, socialist type of person. The working class must strive to train itself and rapidly become a model of the new person.

The Vietnamese worker must be a labourer fully aware and capable of being a collective master. The worker must work with all his professional conscience, show a correct attitude by observing labour

discipline, ensure technical quality in production with a will to march forward, learn and raise his scientific and technical standard so as to become the master of nature and of society. By creative labour, with our people's skilful hands and clever brains, with our country's abundant natural wealth, the working class and working people in our country will and must record big achievements in developing our economy and culture. Thus they will prove themselves worthy of our heroic people's tradition of indomitability.

The Vietnamese worker ardently loves his or her class brothers and sisters and fellow-labourers in national construction. This love is the crystallization of a noble ideal, a clear consciousness, and pure sentiments of the vanguard class. It creates a communion with the collective at large, helps bring about an all-embracing view point and a common responsibility, so that the worker understands that he works not only for wages and the upkeep of his family but also for contributing labour to the revolutionary cause, to the present and future generations. Such a love enhances the meaning of one's life, makes one happier and enables one to enjoy the country's great joy and to tackle the common difficulties of the class and the nation.

The Vietnamese worker knows how to build new social relationships based on labour and mutual affection among human beings, in all fields of activity, in any place, in labour and production, in study as well as in rest and recreation, in a factory, public place or in the family.

The Vietnamese worker is imbued with both patriotism and internationalism, brushing aside all racial enmity and chauvinism. In the socialist revolution, we must hold high or higher the banner of national independence and socialism, uphold our spirit of self-reliance and self-help, heighten our national pride, and strive to build our national economy into an independent sovereign and prosperous one. On this basis we can participate in the ever broader international division of labour and co-operation, and fulfil our internationalist duty.

To help the working class fulfil its mission of a vanguard force in socialist construction and the building of a system of collective mastery, the trade-unions must carry out their function as *a school of socialism and communism, a school of collective mastery for the working class*. The trade-union must concentrate their efforts on fulfilling the following tasks.

The prime and regular task of the trade-unions is to educate the workers to enhance their awareness, capacity and responsibility as socialist collective masters, to turn this idea into a force to push ahead the revolutionary movement of the working class and the working people.

The most important task of the trade-unions is to organize and mobilize workers and employees to engage in emulation for labour and production. They must build socialism with diligence and economy with the aim of raising labour productivity, ensuring good quality of products, practising thrift by saving raw materials, overfulfilling the State plan and improving management. Labour emulation is a law of

socialist building. The workers must uphold socialist emulation, regard it as their permanent task, a yardstick of their awareness, capacity and responsibility as collective masters.

Together with the State, the trade-unions must build and perfect managerial policies and regulations. But more important is supervising their implementation by the State organs to ensure the working people's right to collective mastery as defined by laws, so as to help the State organs and cadres correctly implement laws to prevent and eliminate encroachments on the workers' interests and right to mastery.

The trade-unions have the responsibility to care for and organize the workers' material and cultural life. In view of the present difficulties in our daily life, the trade-unions must, together with the State, make tremendous efforts to care for the workers' meals and housing conditions, ensure labour safety and gradually meet the workers' other needs in living and working conditions.

To make the trade-unions real workers' school for collective mastery, to help the working class mature in all fields and meet the requirements of socialist construction the most basic problem at present is to build a strong trade-union organization.

The trade-unions must concern themselves with training a big contingent of trade-union cadres who emerge from the movement for socialist transformation and construction, from the masses of workers directly engaged in production, from managerial, scientific and technical cadres at the grassroots.

Trade-union cadres must firmly grasp the Party line and policies, and have a knowledge of production, technique and economic management.

The trade-unions must resolutely eliminate bureaucracy. Trade-union cadres must instead be activists among the masses and practical organizers. Through practical activities in production and life, they must devise many forms of organization and various activities for the workers to exercise directly their right to mastery in each production base and in each locality. They must go down to the grassroots production units, construction sites, State farms, factories and mines, contact the workers and working people so as to get to know their work life, aspirations and needs. Then they must try to solve the problems, together with the workers, grassroots trade-unions and other branches.

We must urgently raise the capacity for organization and work of the whole trade-union network, first of all the grassroots trade-union organizations. The life of trade-unions stems from the grassroots level, the revolution begins at the bottom and that is where material and spiritual wealth is created. The workers and the trade-unions also draw up their plans and organize the revolutionary movement and the emulation movement from the bottom up. If the grassroots movement is steady, negative manifestation will certainly be eliminated. We must base ourselves on the workers' movement at the base to

strengthen Party organization, consolidate the administration, find talented people, train cadres not only for the shop floor but also for the trade-union movement and for the whole country. Therefore, the building of grassroots trade-union organizations is of utmost importance. Building the unions at higher levels, both departmental trade-unions and local trade-union federations, must serve the activities of the grassroots trade-union organizations.

