

IN PREPARATION FOR
THE 6TH PARTY CONGRESS
(Addresses)

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the Communist Party of Vietnam

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THE 6TH PARTY CONGRESS**

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**FIRMLY GRASP THE THREE GREAT LESSONS AND
SUCCESSFULLY IMPLEMENT THE TWO
STRATEGIC TASKS**

Dear Comrades,

After days of work with a high sense of urgency and responsibility, you have studied and heatedly discussed the draft Political Report with the aim of fully understanding its basic contents and have contributed a great many good opinions to the report. On behalf of the Central Committee and the Political Bureau of the Party, I warmly welcome the results of the conference.

Over the past fifty-six years, with our rich experiences in revolutionary struggle, our Party has led our people to overcome a host of difficulties and trials and won glorious successes. Since the complete liberation of South Vietnam and the reunification of our Homeland, our whole country has entered into the period of transition to socialism. In the light of the resolutions of the 4th and 5th Party Congresses, in the conditions of our country facing numerous difficulties, our Party has led the people to continue to win great successes in the socialist construction and the defence of our socialist Homeland, in fulfilling our national duties and our internationalist obligations. Besides these great achievements, we have committed a number of serious shortcomings and mistakes in the building and management of our national economy.

These successes and victories, these shortcomings and mistakes, as well as the orientations, objectives and tasks of our Party and people in the years ahead have been reflected in the draft Political Report to be submitted to the forthcoming Party Congress. Comrade Vo Chi Cong has presented the essential contents of the draft Political Report for you to study and discuss over the past few days. Here, I will not recall the guiding strategic thoughts of the Party, but only wish to make some additional comments aimed at further elaborating them.

As you know, the 4th and 5th Party Congresses have correctly pointed out the salient characteristics of our country in the period of transition to socialism and in the initial stage of that period, namely: we advance straight to socialism, bypassing the stage of capitalist development, from a predominantly small production, with several economic sectors, with a still very low output of commodities, and with a number of areas still retaining the autarkical character of a natural economy. A number of material-technical bases, built years ago, have been heavily destroyed in the past 30 years of war, the imbalance between grains and food, energy, raw materials, material supplies, infrastructure, etc., is acute and serious. No sooner had our people emerged from a long-drawn-out war than they had to cope with a land-grabbing war at our northern frontier, coupled with a multi-faceted war of sabotage conducted by the Chinese expansionists who team up with the US imperialists and other international reactionaries, preventing us from concentrating on economic construction.

The salient features I have just described, on the one hand point out that the starting-point in our advance to

socialism is very low, and on the other hand spell out the extremely complex character of the situation. Our subjective shortcomings and mistakes have further rendered the situation still more difficult and complex. The heavy task of the 6th Party Congress is to sum up the realities, and draw up deep lessons of experience. On that basis we will further concretize the line and undertakings propounded at the 4th and 5th Party Congresses. In this extremely important sense, we will resolutely make good preparations, and ensure the success of the Congress, thus meeting the wishes of our entire Party, army and people. On the basis of further concretizing the line and strategic orientation for development of our country raised by the 4th and 5th Party Congresses, our Party will lead the people to struggle perseveringly, display courage in labour and national defence, overcome all difficulties and trials, and steadily advance to socialism.

To implement the Party's line set by the 4th and 5th Party Congresses, the process of socialist revolution in our country demand from us renewal in many respects: renewal of our way of thinking, especially economic thinking, renewal of our work style, renewal of our organisation and our cadres. The 6th Party Congress shall have to meet that demand. This renewal should be materialised in the contents of the documents of the Party, first of all in the Political Report, and in the orientations for positioning cadres of the Party Central Committee, of the various executive committees of the Party at the congresses of various echelons as well as the forthcoming National Party Congress.

That renewal is based on the lessons summed up from the successes obtained and the shortcomings and mistakes made over the past eleven years, when the whole country entered into the period of transition to socialism. Here I would like to bring out some important lessons of experience:

First, the strength of a country, of revolution, comes from the people. To really give full play to the working people's right to collective mastery of society, we must have faith in the people, all our undertakings, all our policies must take the people as the starting-point. From time immemorial, our forebears have thought so and done accordingly. In the present era, from the years preceding the August Revolution of 1945, then the anti-French and anti-US wars of resistance, and the resistance against the Beijing expansionists, our Party has done in the same way. In our advance to socialism today, we should all the more do

Our Party's policies must proceed from the interests, desires and level of our people. To evaluate our policies to decide whether they are right or wrong, good or bad, we should see whether the majority of our people enthusiastically approve and are eager to implement those policies or not? We should see whether production has been boosted, our economy has developed, life has been stabilized and gradually improved, national defence and security have become steady and strong or not?

Who implements our Party's policies? It is the people, and nobody else. Even when a policy is right, if the people do not yet understand it, do not yet approve it, it is impossible to carry it out. In this case, we should strive to educate the people, explain things to them, and

should know how to wait for them. Sometimes, we should re-adjust a policy to make it suit reality and the level of the masses.

We should educate the people, help them understand, make them trust the Party, thereby creating a broad and seething revolutionary movement of the working people who voluntarily and enthusiastically strive to build socialism. Since our whole country entered the stage of transition to socialism, not a few cadres and Party members have alienated themselves from the people, forgetting the years and months of hardship and sacrifices in which they shared weal and woe with the people, thinking that only when they were engaged in underground revolutionary activities and conducting a liberation war did they have to rely on the people, whereas in the construction of socialism the people only have to obey them. Lenin said, "The danger facing a party in power lies in severing ties with the masses."

The peasants have a spirit of private ownership. That is true. To advance to socialism, it is necessary to get rid of that spirit. That also is true. But the problem is how to get rid of it? We should do it through three simultaneous revolutions (revolution in the production relations, scientific-technical revolution, ideological-cultural revolution — *Ed.*), to develop and gradually raise the level of socialization of production, associating it with continuous, active and persevering education, helping the peasants change their way of thinking step by step, along the line of progress, and not by issuing orders, or using administrative and coercive measures to get rid of it overnight. Neither can we say that people who still have a spirit of private ownership are not patriotic. Such an

allegation cannot win the people's approval, and only alienates us further from the people. In the recent wars of resistance, few families did not have members who laid down their lives for the independence and freedom of the Homeland. Peasants in particular and our people in general deeply love their country and love socialism, yet they cannot agree to our imposing on them things contrary to their legitimate interests and compelling them to obey our subjective will.

The lesson "revolution is the cause of the masses" which we have learned so far is very important. Now it is still more important. It is a priceless historical lesson of the revolution in our country.

Second, in the work of leadership, we should respect the objective laws of development, apply them to reality. Comrade General Secretary Le Duan said, "To be the master of society is to firmly grasp the laws of development and act according to them." That is true. By going counter to laws, we not only fail to be the master, but instead they will react on us.

The past ten years and more have clearly shown that to change the socio-economic situation, it is necessary first of all to change our outlook, our way of thinking, especially our economic thinking. Marxism-Leninism has set general principles of a universal character. But how to apply those principles to the conditions of Vietnam is our business. Nobody can do it in our place. To this end, we should proceed from the realities of Vietnam, with the concrete Vietnamese people, with the specific conditions for development of history, of the economy, of social conditions, of the traditions of Vietnam.

The system of objective laws is developing its effects, they interact on and complement one another, creating a unified system in which the peculiar laws of socialism play the leading role. We should apply them judiciously, re-adjust our policies through the practice of reality, so as to apply ever more harmoniously and judiciously the whole system of those laws, and not any single one.

The criteria for evaluating the level and capacity to correctly apply the system of laws through our policies are: production develops, the circulation of goods runs smoothly, the material and cultural life of the people is stabilised and step by step improved, society is wholesome, civilized, the ethical and spiritual values are daily heightened, national and defence and security are daily firmer and stronger. Any policy that lowers the labour zeal of the masses, creates obstacles, even causes production to stagnate, freezes the circulation of goods, renders life difficult, multiplies negative phenomena and creates disorder in society is a manifestation of an incorrect application of the objective laws of development, and therefore must be abrogated or amended.

Over the past years, we have committed mistakes due to wishful thinking, impatience, and our failing to respect objective laws of development and even going counter to them. At the same time, we have indulged in conservatism and sluggishness, maintaining for too long the mechanism of bureaucratic centralism based on State subsidies. As a result, our production capacities were restricted and could not develop, the working people could not in practice fully exercise their right to be master of society, there were more people to feed than people who produced, productivity, the quality of products

and their economic effects dwindled daily, society did not have or had very few products, the flow of goods were blocked as a result of the splitting of the markets, causing prolonged difficulties to our economic situation, causing endless inflation and price hikes, the people's life was unstable, ethical and spiritual values were eroded, and negative manifestations multiplied.

The 6th Plenum of the Party Central Committee (fifth term) and especially the 8th Plenum, made a profound analysis of our shortcomings and mistakes, pointed out their nefarious and lingering effects in many respects. Proceeding from that analysis, the Party Central Committee has decided to abolish the system of bureaucratic centralism based on State subsidies, switch the economic activities to socialist cost accounting and business transactions based on planning. The resolution of the Central Committee's 8th Plenum, followed by Resolutions 28, 31 and 306 (draft) of the Political Bureau and the recent conclusions of the 10th Plenum of the Party Central Committee on prices, wages and money marked a step of maturation of our Party in its leadership in general and economic leadership in particular on the way of a correct understanding and application of the laws of economic development, switching from economic leadership chiefly by administrative orders to leadership through a correct application of the system of objective laws. This is the essence of deep revolutionary significance of the Resolution of the Central Committee's 8th Plenum.

It is regrettable that, due to an insufficient understanding of the spirit and contents of those resolutions, in guiding the implementation of policies, we have committed

a number of shortcomings and mistakes in the recent conversion of money and overall re-adjustment of prices and wages, the grave consequences of which we are striving by all means to overcome.

We should add that in the conjuncture of the present era, when the community of the socialist countries has become a world system, an ever more powerful and steadier force and favourable objective conditions are plenty, we should and are in a good position to elicit the priceless assistance of fraternal countries, first of all, the Soviet Union.

However, no matter how favourable the objective conditions may be, our subjective conditions are always the main factor. It is evident that we have lost that precious opportunity when in the past ten years the Soviet Union has given us a dozen billion roubles in aid, yet with our mechanism of State-subsidised bureaucratic centralism, we have led an idle life, failing to produce enough, tapping each year hundreds of millions of roubles for social spendings, State subsidies and compensation of deficits, while other hundreds of millions of roubles were scattered over a host of construction projects. This was a big mistake on our part. It is regrettable that even now a number of comrades have not yet fully realised the deep effect in many respects of that mistake, they fear that by thinking and doing otherwise than State-subsidised bureaucratic centralism they would depart from socialism!

Some comrades worry that if we boldly made use of and developed the potentialities of the various economic sectors, promulgated policies aimed at widening production, and provided more jobs created by the State or by

the people themselves, the situation might become more chaotic, for our limited supplies, raw materials and energy would flow from State-run establishments into collective and private production sectors. Such a worry leads us to ask: should we restrict production, not letting everybody get jobs? Would that be the right solution, and would it prevent disorder? Moreover, that worry shows that we do not yet believe in the strength of the people, do not yet understand the movement of the objective laws governing socio-economic development. The truth is that with the policy of widening production, creating conditions for the working people to have employment, because of the distribution of social labour, a section of the people will direct their trades and occupations to creating new raw materials and supplies for production to meet the needs of society. The working people will give full play to their creativeness in overcoming difficulties and boosting production.

Correct policies not only help develop production but also make an important contribution to strengthening the worker-peasant alliance, giving a fillip to the peasants, making them more confident in, and steadily advance to, socialism along the line charted by the Party. An erroneous policy, not consistent with the objective laws of development, and running counter to the desires of the people, will not only cause production to dwindle, but also impair the worker-peasant alliance, and push the peasants into the hands of private traders and speculators.

With regard to the socialist transformation of private industry and trade, we must speed up transformation, carry it out continuously, in suitable forms and steps in

each area and in the whole country, implement well the guideline of "transforming for the purpose of using them, and using them to transform them better", making the production relations always conform with the character and level of the production forces. We should by no means allow impatience to urge us to quickly get rid of those economic sectors, thereby causing production to decrease and the markets to shrink. The best way to carry out the above-mentioned guideline well is to widen the economic integration in suitable forms between the various economic sectors on the basis of giving full play to the key role of the socialist economic sector. Of course, we must punish the speculators, traffickers, and makers of counterfeit goods who cheat consumers, punish thieves, corrupt, degenerate and debauched elements, those who pass out State-owned goods to traffickers. We should by all means strengthen management so as to bring the market under control by correctly combining economic, administrative, educational and juridical measures. However, the market we should bring under our control must abound in commodities, meeting the social needs, and not a market devoid of goods, or with scarce commodities. To manage such a poor market, how can we realise the basic economic laws of socialism, which is to meet the increasing material and cultural needs of the working people?

We can say right away that if we go counter to the objective laws of development we cannot advance to socialism, and the more we violate those laws, the longer our road to socialism. By burning stages of development, and contravening the objective laws of development, we will move very slowly instead of faster.

In short, to abide by the objective laws of development, to apply them correctly, to act according to them is the most correct and quickest way to advance to socialism. There is no other way. That is our second lesson.

Third, to fully mobilize the strength of the people in the advance to socialism, to ensure a conscious application of those laws, to create favourable conditions for developing their positive effect, it is absolutely necessary to maintain and enhance the leading role of the Party.

The leading Party must firmly grasp the system of laws that affect society in each historical stage. On the basis of a correct assessment of that system of laws, the Party's leadership should strongly develop the people's right to socialist collective mastery of society, lead them to act consciously according to those laws. The strength of those laws is invincible. Whether the powerful forces of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the great potentialities of the working people will be fully developed or not, depends on whether those forces, those potentials are directed to act according to those laws or not.

To abide by those laws means to meet the people's desires, to be in harmony with the forward trend of the country and of our time. For this reason, if we act according to the objective laws of development, production will surely develop, goods will flow smoothly, the situation will gradually stabilise and step by step move forward.

The process of seasoned leadership of the revolution of our Party over the past fifty-six years has testified

to the correctness and creativity in combining national and international factors, traditional and epochal factors, subjective factors related to the strength of the people and objective factors in the application of the system of objective laws of development. For this reason, over the past years, the revolution in our country has gone from one success to another.

In the past ten years, we have entered the period of transition to socialism, that is a still new process of revolution. Our people have been fighting foreign aggressors, developing the tradition of heroism of our forebears in building and defending the homeland for thousands of years now. As for building socialism, this is for the first time in our national history. In the process of probing in our advance, besides the successes obtained, we have committed not a few shortcomings and mistakes. After experiencing difficulties and setbacks our Party and our people have further matured. We can firmly believe that with the correct leadership of our Party, the creative application of the principles of Marxism-Leninism, and the initiative of action according to objective laws of development, the great strength of the system of proletarian dictatorship and right to collective mastery of society of the working people of our country will highly develop in the years ahead.

To ensure the Party's leadership, we should strengthen unity in the Party on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and the Party's line and policies. In face of the difficult and complex situation, divergency of opinions is something natural. We should take a sincere, frank and constructive attitude in discussions to find out the truth, with the aim of reaching high unanimity of views, and

we should by all means refrain from impatience and hastiness, and from imposing our ideas on others. The present situation requires that our Party renew its style of work following Uncle Ho's example, renew our organizational and cadre work. We should firmly maintain democratic centralism in Party life as well as in our socio-economic leadership.

Some comrades propose that in the relationship between centralism and democracy at present, priority should be given to centralism. Such an opinion is wrong both in theory and in practice. Democratic centralism is a principle manifesting a well-knit unity. Without giving full play to democracy we cannot firmly maintain centralism. Without giving full play to democracy and ensuring the autonomy of the grassroots, ensuring the legitimate interests of the working people both in agriculture and industry, in production and the circulation of goods, we will have no or very little marketable goods, and the latter will not circulate normally. In such a situation, can we ensure centralism? If we over-emphasize centralism to the point of having no goods, and of bringing circulation to a standstill, will centralism have any meaning? This is precisely the state of bureaucratic centralism in which we have been enmeshed so far; the Resolution of the 8th Plenum of the Party Central Committee has analysed, criticised and rejected it.

Centralism must be based on a full development of democracy, and development of democracy must aim to ensure the right to centralised management. These are the two aspects of a single whole, they interact on and complement each other. In the present situation, we

should at the same time oppose State-subsidised bureaucratic centralism, and oppose individualism, the low sense of organisation and discipline, and the tendency to care only for local and regional interests, thereby weakening the centralised and unified management of the State.

In the present situation, to correctly implement the Resolution of the 8th Plenum of the Party Central Committee and subsequent resolutions of the Political Bureau, we should put the right cadres in the right places, in keeping with the need of renewal in the leadership and management of our economy. The competence and quality of cadres must manifest themselves in the renewal of their outlook, of their way of thinking and doing, particularly their way of economic thinking and doing, in accordance with the need of switching economic activities to socialist cost accounting and business transactions based on planning.

We are facing a special situation in which, besides advantages, we have a host of difficulties to overcome. To fulfil well the two strategic tasks (socialist construction and national defence — *Ed.*) in the new situation, the consolidation and strengthening of the Party's leadership is of decisive significance. That is our third lesson.

These major lessons of experience help us understand the essence of the draft Political Report, correctly assess the situation over the past years and determine the orientations, objectives and tasks in the years ahead. This also is the basis for shaping up our new economic thinking, it will help you work out your own report on the situation and the tasks of your Party organisation.

At the same time, according to the plan and under the guidance of the Party Secretariat, you should well organise the collection of opinions of the Party congresses at various levels, of the whole Party and people to the draft Political Report to be presented to the forthcoming 6th National Party Congress.

You should help each cadre and Party member thoroughly understand their tasks, give full play to democracy, organise the study and serious discussion in the Party, make them frankly contribute lots of sagacious opinions to the draft Political Report and work out a number of proposals on the amendment of the Party Statute.

The Party Secretariat should guide the Party committees at various echelons to organise well the collection, classification and systematisation of opinions contributed by the Party organisations of various levels, help give appropriate and important opinions to the documents, with the aim of perfecting and raising the Political Report to the level of the 6th National Congress of our Party.

The Party congresses at various levels should apply the thoughts, viewpoints and guidelines raised in the Political Report to the specific conditions of each Party organisation and each locality, lay down realistic orientations, tasks and programmes of action for their localities and their units, do well the election of the executive committees of the Party organisation at various echelons, elect worthy delegates to attend the National Party Congress, in keeping with the guidance of the Party Central Committee.

To enhance the Party's leadership and increase its militant power, we should pay utmost importance to the Party-building work, making it pure, steady and strong; we should carry out well the drive of self-criticism and criticism, hence creating oneness of will and action in the Party and the people, so as to overcome the present difficulties and further move forward.

Alongside urgent preparations for the 6th National Party Congress and the congresses of Party organisations at various levels, we should firmly grasp and lead well the performance of pressing immediate tasks, take the initiative of action, and solve in good time the difficulties in supplies, energy and other conditions so as to boost agricultural and industrial production, carry out measures to implement well the Resolution of the 8th Plenum of the Party Central Committee, Resolutions 28, 31 and the conclusions of the 10th Plenum of the Party Central Committee on prices, wages and money, rapidly expanding the implementation of Resolution 306 (draft) of the Political Bureau on ensuring autonomy in production and business transactions of grassroots economic units. At the same time, we should heighten our vigilance, stand ready to cope with the land-grabbing and sabotage schemes and acts of the enemy, and firmly maintain national defence and security.

We should strive to overcome all difficulties to ensure an autumn crop with high yield and output, boost the production of consumer goods, take a further step in re-adjusting the distribution and circulation of commodities, making the market, prices and daily life change for the better; and create an enthusiastic atmosphere among the people at the time of the Party congress.

This is an economic, political and ideological problem, taking a step in stabilising daily life, while bringing peace of mind, ensuring the success of the Congress, and at the same time creating favourable premises for widening our work after the Congress.

These are practical jobs to be done to give full play to the working people's right to socialist collective mastery of society, motivate the entire Party and people to ardently emulate one another in fulfilling the 1986 State plan, creating a drive for making practical achievements to welcome the Party congresses at various levels and the 6th National Party Congress.

Dear Comrades,

With our great determination and firm confidence in the success of the National Party Congress, I wish you good health and new successes. Please convey the best regards of the Party Central Committee and Political Bureau to all the cadres and Party members, to all our fellow-citizens and combatants in the whole country.

I wish fine success to the Party congresses at all levels.

Thank you, Comrades.

*(Address delivered at the Conference of
High-Ranking Officials for Studying
the Draft Political Report to be presented
at the 6th Party Congress,
July 7 — 10, 1986)*

CONSOLIDATE THE SOCIALIST RELATIONS OF PRODUCTION, DEVELOP THE FORCES OF PRODUCTION AND MAKE OUR CAPITAL CITY STRONG, PROSPEROUS AND BEAUTIFUL

Dear Comrades,

On behalf of the comrades recommended by the Party Central Committee to Hanoi for election as delegates to the 6th National Party Congress, I take this opportunity to convey to all the cadres, Party members, combatants and people of the capital the best regards of the Party Central Committee, the National Assembly, the State Council and the Council of Ministers.

Over the past ten years since our whole country entered the initial stage of the period of transition to socialism under the leadership of the Party, our people have done their best and made remarkable progress. However, in economic leadership, we have made serious shortcomings and mistakes. Besides basic advantages, our country is facing numerous difficulties in the socio-economic field which requires clear-sightedness and calmness so as to find out correct solutions.

In this conjuncture, the 6th National Party Congress is of special significance. At this congress, we must further concretize the Party's line as expounded at the 4th and 5th congresses, make clear the strategic guiding ideology, define the tasks of the Party and the people

In the remaining years of the initial stage of the period of transition to socialism. With a sense of honouring the truth, facing the truth and speaking out the truth, we should deeply analyse our shortcomings and mistakes. On that basis, we will work out policies and take firm and practical measures to make our revolution overcome difficulties quickly and continue to advance steadily.

In the process of perfecting the Party Central Committee's draft Political Report to be presented at the 6th Party Congress, the Political Bureau has discussed and come to unanimous conclusions on a number of the Party's economic viewpoints. These are conclusions drawn from the real situation of our country, from the great lessons of experience over the past ten years, from the analysis and consideration of opinions of the Party congresses at various levels, of mass organizations, political and social organizations, of scientists, technicians, personalities and intellectuals throughout the country who have made contributions to the draft Political Report. These conclusions show the creative application of the theory of Marxism-Leninism to the transitional period, as well as the practical experience in building socialism in the past decades of fraternal parties in the socialist community, especially in the spirit of thorough-going renewal of revolutionary and scientific significance put forward at the 27th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Over the past years, we have made mistakes due to "leftist infantilism", idealism, and to the contravention of the objective laws of socio-economic development. Those mistakes were manifested in the arrangement of

the economic structure along the line of developing heavy industry on a large scale beyond our practical capacity, in the maintenance for a very long time the bureaucratically centralised mechanism of economic management based on State subsidies with a huge superstructure which overburdens the infrastructure. As a result, we had to rely mostly on foreign aid for our subsistence. We wanted to achieve the socialist transformation by trying to quickly eliminate the non-socialist sectors of our economy. We have indulged in wishful thinking, shown impatience and hastiness, tried to do too much and too quickly bigger undertakings than we could afford on the one hand, and after making mistakes, we have indulged in conservatism and inertia, wanted to keep things in status quo, and lacked the courage and determination to correct them on the other.

Those shortcomings and mistakes have hindered the production forces, caused imbalances in economy, lowered productivity, the quality of products, and economic effects, and led to the scarcity of products and commodities and the bottleneck in the circulation of goods. The potentials of our country as well as the great assistance of the Soviet Union and of the other fraternal socialist countries are not brought into full play, on the contrary, they have been seriously wasted and are running the risk of being lost little by little. The land, labour force, material-technical foundation, capital, capabilities, experience, know-how and working skills of the whole country, of various branches, of each area and each working person are not put to full use. Meanwhile, the increasing rate of unemployment, the price hikes, the instability of life, the spread of a negative attitude, the attrition of traditional spiritual and ethical values, and the prolonged

disorder of socio-economic activities have given rise to widespread doubt about the future and the lack of confidence in the leadership of the Party.

In face of the evolution of the situation, we are at a loss to find out effective measures to cope with it. We fail to control the situation and turn rightist. It is quite clear that the more we stick to our old way of thinking and old style of work, the more difficulties crop up.

The world situation nowadays is changing rapidly. Socialism should strive to demonstrate in practice its superiority over capitalism in all domains. To the socialist community, renewal is the path to the development to meet the requirements of our times, the ever-growing reasonable needs and aspirations of the people. For our country, renewal is more imperative and of vital importance. This requirement is an internal demand of our economy and is in keeping with the trend of renewal of our epoch. Only by renewing our way of thinking and of doing, especially our economic thinking, and our working style and by renewing our organizing and cadre work can we get out of the present predicament.

Our potentials are in no way small, but our outdated concepts and way of thinking are hindering the use and full development of those potentials. We have the necessary strength but owing to the mistakes in the strategic array of our economic structure and management, we have tied our own hands. Therefore the 6th Party Congress shall have the very important task of resolutely changing the economic structure and renewing the managerial mechanism on the basis of renewing our way of thinking and working, so as to release the

present production capacity, tapping and bringing into full play all potentials of the country to strongly develop the production forces. To materialize the above strategic thinking, it is necessary to link the development of the production forces with the acceleration of socialist transformation, considering it a regular and continuous task in the transitional period, with appropriate forms and measures, making the relations of production conform to the characteristics and level of the production forces and constantly speeding up the development of production forces. What has just been said can be considered as the most important step in the renewal of our Party's economic thinking.

Advancing towards socialism from a state of backwardness and poverty, we should find out the best way to tap and make full use of potentials in order to provide enough jobs for all working people, contribute to producing more wealth for society to step by step realize the fundamental law of socialist economy, namely, to satisfy the working people's ever-rising material and cultural needs. Basing ourselves on our own experience and that of the fraternal socialist countries, we reaffirm that it is possible to advance towards socialism from an economy largely based on small-scale production bypassing the stage of capitalist development, but we cannot bypass the development of commodities and should make a judicious use of the relations between money and commodities in planning our national economy.

The renewal process has been raised in the resolutions of the 6th Plenum of the Party Central Committee (4th term), in the resolutions of the 6th Plenum of the Central Committee (5th term) and especially in the

resolutions of the 8th Plenum of the Central Committee (5th term). That plenum has profoundly analysed the great sequels in many respects of the mechanism of economic management fraught with bureaucratic, centralism and based on State subsidies, and decided to get rid of that outmoded system by making a complete switch to the system of cost accounting and socialist business operations with planning as its core.

The new spirit and contents of the resolutions of the 8th Plenum indicate the Party's growth in its economic thinking. The Political Bureau's recent conclusions on a number of economic points of view continue to make those spirit and contents clearer and more systematic. To firmly grasp the viewpoints in the Political Bureau's conclusions, we must set them in the process of development of the Party's economic thinking in an ever-deeper and more comprehensive manner.

Our new economic thinking is the application of Marxist-Leninist tenets to the conditions of Vietnam in conformity with the objective laws of development, with the economic level at each period of development. That is a dialectic, scientific and revolutionary way of thinking.

While guiding the implementation of the resolutions of the Party Central Committee's 8th Plenum we have made serious mistakes. In face of temporary difficulties, setbacks and trials, a state of bewilderment and doubt has appeared about the Central Committee's 8th Resolution, coupled with a tendency to return to the bureaucratic system of State-subsidied economic management. We should do away with all manifestations of wavering, resolutely defend the sagacious, scientific and deeply

revolutionary character of the Central Committee's 8th Resolution. At the same time, while implementing them, we should encourage and welcome all timely and constructive suggestions aimed to make that Resolution more and more practical, so that it can fully and correctly reflect the needs of production and daily life, thus enabling the basic contents and spirit of the Resolution to quickly go into daily life.

In guiding the implementation of the 8th Plenum's Resolution, tactically we should calculate every step forward, every appropriate way of working, and by all means refrain from impatience and hastiness as was the case when we suddenly made a drastic nationwide readjustment of the whole price-wage-money system. But strategically, we should resolutely follow the new in conformity with the objective laws of development, namely to abolish the bureaucratically centralised system of economic management based on State subsidies and make a complete switch to the system of socialist economic accounting and business transactions.

Our task at present is to find out, from the experience of our recent successes and setbacks, practical and effective measures to overcome difficulties, rectify our shortcomings and mistakes along the line of persistently going ahead with renewal, taking homogeneous, positive, firm and ever-wider steps, and never to turn back to the old path. Turning back to bureaucratic centralism, to the system of economic management based on State subsidies, means turning back to a blind alley where we have been groping for years without finding a way out. To abolish bureaucratic centralism and the State-subsidied system of economic management and carry out

the system of cost accounting and socialist business transactions is the right way out. There is no other way.

To oppose bureaucratic centralism and the system of State-subsidied economic management is an extremely hard struggle between the new and the old, between the progressive and the backward, between the dynamism of the demand for renewal on the one hand and conservatism and the inertia of habits on the other, between the need to establish the real right to socialist collective mastery of the working people and the individualism of certain people who, in the name of defending socialism, try to keep their own special rights and gains. This struggle is taking place within our Party, within our State bodies and mass organizations, within our people, within each level and each branch of activity, and within every one of us.

The future of our Homeland and the interests of our nation call on all cadres and members of our entire Party, especially leading cadres, to set examples and take the lead in that struggle. We must courageously do away with our own conservatism and backwardness, free ourselves from simplistic concepts of socialism, give up special rights and gains (which run counter to the principle of distribution according to work) which we have enjoyed for years in the mechanism of bureaucratic centralism and State subsidies, thus contributing to the birth of the new. Through this process we will assert ourselves as truly "loyal servants of the people" as beloved Uncle Ho put it. Through the struggle for renewal, our Party, and each Party member, will grow up, step by step. Those who cannot get rid of their conservative and outdated way of thinking, cannot over-

come their individualism, and dare not give up their special rights and gains will inevitably deny themselves before the people and alienate themselves from our country's advance.

At this Congress, you will discuss and contribute your suggestions to amend the draft Political Report of the Party Central Committee to be submitted to the 6th Party Congress. At the same time, you will define the objectives, orientations and tasks of the Hanoi Party organization for the next five years (1986 — 90). To do these things well, it is necessary to thoroughly study the viewpoints expressed in the recent conclusions of the Political Bureau, which have been sent to the provincial and municipal Party congresses. The few points I mentioned above are further suggestions to you in your study of the draft Political Report.

Dear Comrades,

The Political Bureau and the Secretariat of the Party Central Committee have always paid attention to the Hanoi situation. They have followed each of your steps forward and encouraged you, for the progress of the capital is a common joy for the people all over the country. Over the past years, under the leadership of the Party Central Committee, the guidance of the Party Secretariat and the Standing Committee of the Council of Ministers, in coordination and collaboration with all branches, provinces and cities in the whole country, and with the implementation of the Party resolutions, particularly Resolution 08 of the Political Bureau on the work of the capital city, the Hanoi Party organization and people have striven hard to surmount difficulties

and trials, and obtained important achievements. These achievements are valuable, your endeavours and those of the city people are commendable.

On behalf of the Party Central Committee and the Political Bureau, I welcome your achievements and highly commend the persistent and vigorous efforts of the Hanoi Party organization and people.

What you have done is considerable; however, the tasks to be done are greater and heavier still. They require the Hanoi Party organization and people to further enhance their spirit of initiative and creativeness and make still greater efforts.

As a key political, cultural, scientific and technological centre as well as a great economic centre and an international crossroads, Hanoi has the very fundamental advantage of being a place where an important part of the country's potentials in all domains is concentrated. To overcome the slow change of the city as compared with the requirements, capabilities, as well as with the desire of the Hanoi population and the people in the whole country, you should take more initiatives in seeking every measure to tap the city's powerful strength and its existing potentials.

The resolutions of the Party Central Committee and the Political Bureau, especially the economic viewpoints adopted by the Political Bureau, are paving the way for you to make full use of the existing conditions so as to rapidly bring into full play these strength and potentials. At the same time, it is necessary to appropriately build the infrastructure of society such as electricity, water supply, transport and communication, etc., in order to meet in good time the needs of increasing

production, broadening the circulation of goods and stabilizing the people's life. To build the capital city in general and its infrastructure in particular is an important task of the Hanoi Party organization and people, as well as the common task of our entire Party, of all the echelons, branches, services and the entire people, because the city is the pride of the whole country, and represents our country in its relations with the outside world.

In addition to the Hanoi Party organization and people's efforts, all central branches and all localities should take the building of the capital city as their own task. Contributions should be made to quickly and firmly change the face of the capital.

On the basis of a harmonious overall plan, combining immediate with long-term tasks, economy with politics, culture and social activities, modern and traditional architecture, and with the strength of the whole country, with the assistance from the Soviet Union and other fraternal and friendly countries, we can and should build Hanoi one step ahead compared with its economic development. This is aimed at ensuring conditions for meeting the political, cultural and social requirements, which are necessary for any capital city.

The Political Bureau's Resolution 08 on the capital's work has clearly defined these requirements and tasks, but our comprehension of it is insufficient. Now it is necessary to recall and emphasize them so that we can understand them more thoroughly and do them better in the coming period.

Efforts should be exerted to make Hanoi worthy of its role as the capital of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, with its original features and style, inheriting

and promoting the fine centuries-old culture of Thang Long (ancient name of the capital—Ed.). In this endeavour, the Party organization and population of Hanoi should take the lead; the central branches of activity should regularly coordinate and closely cooperate with Hanoi; and other localities throughout the country are duty-bound to actively join in this endeavour.

I approve Hanoi's orientation for building its economic structure as expounded in the report on the city's situation and its Party organization's tasks, including industry, agriculture, the service branch and export economy. I would like to make some additional suggestions.

In recent years, with the remarkable expansion of the Hanoi suburbs, it was necessary and right to pay attention to agricultural production. We should build the new rural areas to make them worthy of their status as the capital city's outskirts. We should carry out the three revolutions (revolution in the production relations, scientific-technical revolution, and ideological-cultural revolution—Ed.), strengthen and develop the worker-peasant alliance, step by step perfect the system of product-based contract quotas assigned to production groups and individuals, give up the policy of giving a free hand to producers, and gear the development of the suburbs to that of the inner city. We should also work out appropriate policies to boost agricultural production, including crop and cattle farming in order to strike the balance right in the agricultural sector and meet part of the city's needs in grains and food.

On the other hand, we should bear in mind that now as in the future, Hanoi must be and will always be an industrial centre. Greater efforts must be made to

develop industry, especially consumer goods industry, engineering and electronic industry, processing industries and the production of export goods. This is a strength and also the responsibility of the capital toward the whole country. The whole country should care for Hanoi, inversely, the latter should make its worthy contributions to caring for the former.

To vigorously develop Hanoi's industry is to make an important contribution to boosting agriculture in the whole country, first of all, in provinces of the Red River delta and the former Fourth Zone (north Central Vietnam—Ed.) and in the midland and mountain provinces of northern Vietnam. At the same time, it is also aimed at developing agriculture, industry, small industry and handicrafts on Hanoi's outskirts.

Our view should not be confined to Hanoi's economy itself but should be all-embracing. We must boost the production of industrial goods especially consumer and export commodities, and make Hanoi's industry play a leading role in developing economy in the region.

With the potential of workforce and the material and technical infrastructure with the great concentration of intellect and high workmanship, with the effective integration and assistance of Hanoi-based central industries, we are firmly confident that the possibility of economic development, first of all, the rapid and vigorous growth of industry, is within reach of the Hanoi Party organization and people. With its labour productivity higher than the average level in the whole country and with better economic integration with other localities and branches, Hanoi can stabilize and improve its people's living conditions, constantly carry out its enlarged reproduction, and make accumulation

for the national economy. To this end, we should renovate, dare to think and to do, work with dynamism and creativeness, realize in-depth investment and compatibility of equipment, and quickly apply scientific and technical progress to production in industry, agriculture and the service industry.

It is necessary to build an ever-stronger socialist economy with the State-run sector as the core. At the same time, we should mobilize and make the best use of the other economic sectors under the motto "use for transformation and transformation for better use", with a view to exploiting and bringing into full play the city's potentials to develop its production forces. We should work out correct policies aimed at restoring traditional trades and crafts, developing new trades and occupations, encouraging household economy, creating more jobs to attract more labour forces, and stepping up the production of small industry and handicrafts and the service industry, especially technical services directly catering for production. This is a heavy and glorious task entrusted by the whole country to you delegates and to the Hanoi population according to the distribution of social labour.

Alongside the intensified production of export commodities, Hanoi plans to promote its comprehensive cooperation with Moscow, the capital of the Soviet Union. I fully support that guideline since it conforms with the spirit of my meeting with CPSU General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev in Moscow last Summer. At these talks, the two sides agreed on further widening their "mutually beneficial comprehensive cooperation, from the production of goods on orders placed by the Soviet Union with raw materials supplied by its joint ventures

to direct investment. This will not only be applied to heavy industry and agriculture as has been done over the past decades, but also to other fields, including the consumer goods and processing industries, tourism, and the service industry. That is Lenin's idea about the transitional period applied to the present international conjuncture in which the Soviet Union and other countries in the socialist community have become a powerful system.

I hope that with the experience drawn from its cooperation with Moscow, Hanoi will widen its cooperation with the capitals of the republics of the Soviet Union and with the capitals and cities of other fraternal countries. Besides, it is necessary to study the gradual enhancement of cooperation with Third World and other countries, and encourage overseas Vietnamese to make investments in Vietnam's development.

The import-export policy in particular and the external economic policy in general are of great importance. They have a strong impact on the development of production and circulation of goods in the country. Under the united guidance and management in law and in policies of the Party Central Committee on foreign trade and external economy, the central branches and services should help Hanoi implement well this orientation. Hanoi's experience shall be popularized to help other provinces and cities follow that way.

Our country is changing. Hanoi should be one of the localities taking the lead in this process of renewal. You should implement well the Resolution 8 of the Party Central Committee and the Resolutions 28 and 31 of the Political Bureau, the conclusion adopted by the 10th Plenum of the Party Central Committee and the

recent conclusions of the Political Bureau on the price-wage-money system. We must resolutely step by step abolish the mechanism of bureaucratic centralism based on State subsidies and carry out cost accounting and socialist business transactions. That is the right way to eliminate the negative activities in our society.

You should actively implement the Resolution 306 (draft) of the Political Bureau, really giving the right to autonomy of grassroots economic units in production and business, at the same time firmly hold the right to united and centralized management by the State in all key economic sectors. You should firmly oppose conservatism and inertia, and at the same time fight liberalism, undiscipline, parochialism, factionalism and the habit of caring overly for the private interests of one's unit and oneself.

We should boost production along the line of increasing productivity, quality and efficiency to have more goods for consumption and export. We should widen the circulation of goods, remove restrictions to and cease unwarranted prohibition of marketing and splitting of markets. At the same time, the socialist trade sector should swing into business and control the market through a logical and appropriate mode of marketing and a judicious price policy; efforts should be made to cool down the price "fever" so as to reduce difficulties in the people's life.

Hanoi is a cultural centre of the whole country. Therefore, besides material life, you should pay proper attention to improving the cultural and spiritual life of the people in the capital, help build a new culture and foster a new, socialist type of people in the whole country. We should strive to build a new, socialist life style, to

help the people fully develop their personality, and live in unity, mutual affection and respect. Cultural activities should be real opportunities for contact with the noble and beautiful cultural values of our nation and of mankind, to enrich our knowledge, and heighten our ideological, ethical and aesthetic level.

We should guide the Hanoians to lead a simple, civilized and wholesome life, treasure their ancestors' legacy, honour reason, admire talents, and love arts. Our capital city should be a place where the aged are cared for, children are loved, and women respected and assisted. This is a manifestation of a civilized life-style, and of real respect for human dignity in our society. The cultural life in our capital city should become an exemplary model for the whole country.

To fulfil these heavy tasks of our capital city, you should do well the Party-building work, strengthen unity on the basis of maintaining the principles of democratic centralism, upholding the Party's combativeness, strive to make the Party organisation pure and steady, to make it strong enough to lead the capital well in all fields of activity. As expounded in your draft Report, the cadre work is becoming the problem Number One of the Hanoi Party organization. This conclusion is also correct for the whole country. We must take into high consideration the work of training and fostering cadres and assign them tasks suited to their ages, competence and capabilities, in keeping with the principle of continuity and succession. Capabilities must be demonstrated first of all in the renewal of concepts and the way of thinking, the capacity to assimilate, apply and

take actions according to the spirit and contents of the Party resolutions. This is a concrete manifestation of our loyalty to the Party in the present stage of our revolution.

With the ensuring of the grassroots economic units' right to autonomy in production and business transactions, the directors will be given wider powers. It is necessary to have norms for a judicious choice of directors, whose activities must be regularly controlled and supervised, especially by the collectives and the masses so as to help grassroots establishments boost production and business transactions along the right line, at the same time, help the contingent of our Party cadres to uphold their revolutionary qualities.

Through practical trials and training, we will foster a contingent of cadres capable of assuming any task and gradually replacing their elders. The selection of cadres must be carried out in a democratic and fair manner with due attention to be given to the masses' opinions and to the approval of the majority. We must curb all manifestations of favouritism in the cadre work. The consolidation of organization, the perfection of the apparatus and the renewal of cadres are a routine work which should be carried out regularly before and after the Party congresses, and should not be done hastily in anticipation of Party congresses.

Corruption is seriously dwindling the people's confidence in the Party. We must rely upon the masses, Party cadres and members, on honest people, to discover in good time and get rid of degenerate and corrupt elements, and those who indulge in fraud, bribery, back-door

connections, and those who take revenge and reprisal on honest people and protect bad ones, who lend a hand to speculators and traffickers. For such people, we must use Party discipline to punish them and bring them to book before the law, thus purifying the Party and State organs.

All Party cadres and members at all level are equal before the Party's discipline and Statute. All citizens are equal before the law and in society. As our Party is in power all Party cadres and members at all levels, without any exception, must live and work in accordance with the law. We do not permit any Party cadre and member to break the Party's discipline and Statute. We do not permit anyone to use his powers to breach the law, and infringe the principles of social equity. You should do this work very well so as to restore the Party's rules and regulations and maintain the Party's discipline and the laws of the State.

As the hub of both external and internal relations. Hanoi is an important and relatively complex theatre of operation.

This is a place where spies and intelligence agents of the enemies are engaged in sabotage activities, where speculators, traffickers, hooligans, and thieves can easily mix up with other people to disturb public order and disrupt the market. You should always keep high vigilance, standing ready to nip in the bud all schemes and acts of sabotage of the enemies, detect and punish in good time speculators, traffickers, hooligans and thieves, strengthen national defence and security, maintain public order and social security.

Dear Comrades,

The report of the Hanoi Party Committee has dealt with every problem in a comprehensive way. Here I only wish to emphasize some essential matters.

I wish this 10th Congress of the Hanoi Party Organization fine success, I wish the delegates good health to make further contribution to the capital in particular and to the whole country in general. I wish the cadres, armymen and women and other fellow citizens in Hanoi will record plenty of outstanding achievements, enthusiastically take part in the emulation drives to fulfil the 1986 plan as a practical deed to welcome the 6th Party Congress, thus creating a jubilant atmosphere for carrying out the Resolutions of the National Party Congress and the Hanoi Party Congress as well.

Thank you, Comrades.

*(Address delivered at the 10th Congress
of the Hanoi Party Organization,
October 17 — 23, 1986)*

THE STRENGTH FOR SAFEGUARDING THE COUNTRY COMES FROM OUR ENTIRE PEOPLE AND OUR ARMED FORCES

Dear Comrades,

In the jubilant atmosphere of the Party Congress of the Armed Forces, I would like to send to all cadres and fighters of the Vietnamese People's Army and national defence workers and employees the warm greetings and best regards of the Party Central Committee, the National Assembly, the State Council and the Council of Ministers.

After thirty years of hard war full of sacrifices, under the leadership of the Party, our people have recorded great victory, liberated the South, reunified the country, and achieved the people's democratic national revolution, and have embarked on the socialist revolution to take our entire country to socialism. This great victory belongs to the people, with the people's armed forces as the core. We are proud of our efforts to materialize the sacred Testament of our venerated Uncle Ho, the teacher of the Vietnamese revolution, the founder and teacher of our Party, and the beloved father of our people's armed forces.

Over the past eleven years, our entire Party, army and people have held aloft revolutionary heroism, worked hard to overcome countless difficulties caused by our

enemies and natural calamities, recorded numerous successes in the building of socialism and defence of the Homeland, and fulfilled our international duty toward the peoples of fraternal Laos and Kampuchea. But we have also made serious shortcomings and mistakes in economic leadership, which our Party and people are striving to redress to take our revolution forward.

Starting almost from scrap and in the present complex situation, we are facing numerous difficulties on our road to socialism. However, with our love for country and socialism, with our army and people's revolutionary tradition of dauntlessness and bravery in fighting, diligence and creativeness in labour, combined with the might of our time, with the pure internationalist spirit and the great and wholehearted support and assistance of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet people, of the fraternal socialist community and friends the world over, we will surely tide over all difficulties and trials.

To successfully carry out the two strategic tasks of our revolution, our entire Party, army and people should promote their glorious traditions, turn the revolutionary heroism in our liberation war into revolutionary heroism in our socialist construction and defence of our Homeland. We should resolutely correct our shortcomings and mistakes, get rid of "subjectivism, rashness, conservatism and sluggishness", in the shaping of our economic structure and the mechanism of economic management, in our policies and in our guidance of their implementation, in the setting of concrete tasks and in the appointment of cadres to fulfil these tasks. The importance and

great significance of our forthcoming Sixth National Party Congress lie precisely in the necessity to meet these urgent requirements.

In the light of the general line and the economic line laid down by the Party at its Fourth and Fifth Congresses, proceeding from the realities and the great experiences in the past ten years, with the spirit of renovating our way of thinking and doing, our thoughts and work style, our Sixth Congress will have to further concretize this line, adopt policies and tasks for the remaining years of the initial stage of the period of transition to socialism. To this end, the Party Congresses at various levels, cadres and Party members as well as the mass organizations, political and social bodies and the entire people are enthusiastically contributing their views to determine the tasks of our revolution in the years to come.

In the seething atmosphere of our entire Party and people looking forward to the Sixth Congress, this Party Congress of our Armed Forces is of paramount significance. You should gather all the opinions of the Party Congresses at various levels in the armed forces to contribute to the draft Political Report of the Party Central Committee. Of late the Political Bureau has discussed and reached important conclusions on some Party views on economy. While studying the draft Political Report of the Party Central Committee and those conclusions of the Political Bureau, discussing them with a high sense of responsibility, openmindedness and democratic spirit, the Party Congress of the Armed Forces has to make worthy contributions to the Political Report to be presented to the Sixth Congress.

Meanwhile, your Congress has to assess the implementation of the task of defending the Homeland and building the armed forces in an objective and serious way, sum up the experience of the past years, and on this basis, set the tasks of national defence for the coming period, of building a strong army, a true army of the heroic Vietnamese nation, born of the people and serving the people, faithfully carrying out the venerated Uncle Ho's teaching: "Our army is loyal to the country, pious to the people, loyal to the Party and pious to the people, ready to fight to the end for the independence and freedom of the Homeland, for socialism, fulfilling any task, overcoming any difficulty and defeating any enemy".

Dear Comrades,

Carrying on the socialist revolution in our country at this stage, we should always associate closely national construction with the defence of the Homeland, associate economy with national defence, so as to build an ever-stronger economy and national defence.

To do these tasks well, we must thoroughly understand the Party's viewpoint on people's war and national defence by the entire people, and carry out the mottos "the entire people build the country and defend the Homeland" and "the entire army defend the Homeland and build the country". This is the very basis for our people to be the real master in the building and defence of the country. It is the invincible strength, the law to win victory in people's war. We have to promote and foster the people's strength, strive to stabilize and gradually improve the people's material and cultural standard, simultaneously carry out the three revolutions, and enhance the people's political and spiritual oneness

of mind, thereby increasing their might to defend the country. We have to build the rear areas, a necessary factor for victory, an abundant source of material and moral supply to the front, ensuring to our combatants the necessary conditions to stand firm and with self-confidence on the frontline, ready to fight and to defeat any enemy of our revolution.

We have to build strong people's armed forces, build the military science and art of the Vietnamese revolution, study the military cause and thoughts of President Ho Chi Minh, Comrade Le Duan and other leaders. The strength to defend the country is that of our entire people, with the people's armed forces as the core, comprising three categories of forces, a regular and ever more modern people's army.

Our Party has assessed that the successes in fighting and army-building in a very difficult and complex situation over the recent past show that the revolutionary nature and fine traditions of our army have been preserved and promoted. At the same time, the Party has pointed out the army's weak points. They are due partly to the shortcomings and weaknesses of our economy and society, and partly to our subjective shortcomings of cadres and fighters.

At this Party Congress of the Armed Forces, while contributing opinions aimed to set right the shortcomings of the entire Party, you should hold aloft the spirit of self-criticism and criticism, analyse the subjective shortcomings of all levels, units and individuals so as to resolutely get rid of them. You comrades, especially those who are holding key posts, should deeply realize that your own strong and weak points and shortcomings —

in level, ability, quality, moral, work style, and life style — have an influence on the quality of the combatants and the completion of the tasks assigned.

Our army boasts tradition of unity and one-mindedness, unity around the Party Central Committee, absolute obedience to the leadership of the Party, internal unity, unity between the people and the army, and unity among our armed forces. The situation and our revolutionary tasks require that we firmly preserve this tradition, strive to promote our strong points, resolutely do away with our shortcomings and get rid of the negative manifestations which weaken the fighting strength and lower the prestige of the army and the people's confidence. We should at the same time promote our political and ideological, organizing and policy-making work, raise the level of management and command, meet definite requirements in material and technology, and step by step fulfil the tasks entrusted by the Party. Our army also has to set a good example and do its bit to fight negative manifestations in society.

It is necessary for us to maintain and promote the fine revolutionary traditions of our army, of "Uncle Ho's soldiers who are deeply loved and appreciated by the people. Officers and men of our army are all children of the working people. They must be of one mind. Leading cadres and commanding officers should love their soldiers with the revolutionary sentiments of comrades, respect the dignity of their juniors, absolutely refrain from being arrogant, repressive, or revengeful towards officers and men under their command. You should take severe disciplinary measures against the leading or commanding officers who have made such mistakes. You, soldiers of the people's army, should

train constantly, regard life in the army as a school, seriously observe discipline and regulations, cultivate revolutionary ethics and behave properly as people's armymen so as to win the esteem, confidence and affection of the people.

I have heard reports on the living conditions of our armymen. I deem it necessary to remind you to pay yet greater attention to the material and spiritual life of the rank and file, especially those men and women, now stationed at the frontline, in border areas, on offshore islands, on fraternal countries' battlefields or in remote, out-of-the-way places. In face of the difficulties now confronting our country, alongside the task of national defence, you should help your officers and men to take part in production and economic construction, creating more wealth for society, building the economy while caring for the material life of cadres and soldiers, and of national defence workers and employees.

In face of the present international conjuncture, we should further consolidate our strategic alliance with Laos and Kampuchea, with the Soviet Union in particular and with the socialist community as a whole, and discharge well our national and international obligations. The army plays an important role in carrying out these tasks. Our victories in the struggle for national liberation in the past and in national construction and defence at present have been possible because our Party has always upheld the banners of national independence and socialism, combining the strength of our nation with that of the era, and the strength of our nation with that of international solidarity.

Historical realities over the past years have proved that the revolutionary struggle of the people of the

three countries — Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea — the comradeship-in-arms and the strategic alliance between the peoples and armies of the three countries constitute an important factor for the victory of each country on the one hand and of the three countries on the other. National duties and international obligations are closely linked together: to fulfil national duties is to contribute to fulfilling international obligations and, inversely, to carry out international obligations is to contribute to implementing national duties.

Following the victory of the war of resistance against the US imperialists and their stooges, the three Indochinese countries have gone ahead with their revolutionary pursuits, further tightened their relations with the Soviet Union and other fraternal socialist countries in their common struggle, thus creating a new situation very favourable for the world revolution and for the struggle for peace in the world in general and in the region in particular.

Now as before, our Party considers our special friendship and all-round cooperation with the Soviet Union as the cornerstone of our foreign policy. The Communist Party of Vietnam and the Vietnamese people will be for ever grateful to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet people for their enormous support and assistance to the Vietnamese revolution over the past decades and at present as well. We are doing our best to further promote the all-round cooperation between the Parties and peoples of the two countries and make them ever more efficacious.

We wholeheartedly welcome and respond to the initiatives of strategic significance on Asia and the

Pacific of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union put forward by Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev in his important speech delivered in Vladivostok.

As a nation that has undergone some long drawn-out wars full of sacrifices and hardships, the Vietnamese people earnestly cherish peace so that they may pool their efforts in national construction. We have many times made proposals for normalizing the relations between Vietnam and China and restoring the time-honoured friendship between the two peoples. We are prepared to resume bilateral negotiations at any place, any time, and any level with a view to seeking a solution acceptable to both sides.

At the same time we should realize that the US imperialists and other international reactionaries have never stopped nurturing wicked schemes to weaken our country and eventually conquer it. Therefore, our people and army must always uphold their vigilance, stand ready to smash all schemes and acts of sabotage by the enemy and take the initiative in coping with them under whatever circumstances. We are resolved to defend our national independence and sovereignty, firmly safeguard our land, airspace and territorial waters and the borders of our Homeland, and are ready to fight against all expansionist and hegemonist schemes and all ambitions to infringe upon our country's independence and sovereignty. While concentrating all our efforts on building economy, we do not neglect the task of national defence. We must know how to combine well the duty of safeguarding the country with economic construction and cultural development — the two strategic tasks put forward by our Party.

Dear Comrades,

- With the confidence and the most profound affection of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Vietnam and of the Political Bureau towards the Vietnam People's Army, I wish the Party Congress of the Armed Forces fine success. I wish you, delegates to the Congress, and to all the cadres and soldiers, and national defence workers and employees good health and many outstanding achievements so as, together with the whole Party and people, to fulfil all the tasks of the year 1986, ensuring the success of the Sixth Party Congress and standing ready to carry out the glorious and heavy tasks after the Congress.

Thank you for your attention.

*(Address delivered at the 4th Party
Congress of the Armed Forces, October
13 — 18, 1986)*

