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EDITOR S NOTE

The Fourth Congress of the Communist Party of Viet Nam (Viet Nam Workers Party) was held in Hanoi from December 14 to December 20 1976

The present volume contains the Political Report of the Central Committee delivered by Comrade Lê Duan, Secretary General, and the General Resolution of the Congress

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**POLITICAL REPORT
OF THE
CENTRAL COMMITTEE**

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Comrade delegates,

Esteemed guests,

Sixteen years have elapsed between the Third Congress and this Fourth Congress of our Party

During this period our motherland has been through the most severe of trials. Hardly had our people emerged from the great war of resistance against the French colonialists, when they engaged in another struggle against the unprecedentedly atrocious aggressive war unleashed by US imperialism, the chieftain of imperialism, the international gendarme, the most cruel enemy of mankind. In this contest, the US imperialists hoped to crush our people within a short time. Yet under the correct leadership of our Party, and with the wholehearted support of brothers and friends the world over, our people and our army in the whole country fought with great heroism and won a most brilliant victory.

The victory of our people in the patriotic war of resistance against US aggression will stand the test of time, will go down in the history of our nation as one of the most brilliant chapters, a radiant symbol of the complete victory of revolutionary heroism and human intelligence and will go down in world history as a great exploit of the twentieth century, an event of great international importance and of profound epoch-making character.

For our people, this glorious victory marked a great turning point in the history of our nation. It put a brilliant

end to the thirty year war for national liberation and salvation which started with the August Revolution, shattered for ever the more than a century long imperialist domination in our country, brought the national peoples democratic revolution in the whole country to complete victory, safeguards and develops the fruits of the socialist revolution in the North, wipes out all obstacles to achieving the reunification of the country, and it takes the whole country towards socialism

In a world perspective, the victory of our people has smashed the greatest counter attack the chieftain of imperialism has mounted against the revolutionary forces since the Second World War rolled back the forward positions of imperialism, advanced those of socialism, breached an important defence line of the US imperialists in South East Asia, upset their counter revolutionary global strategy, driven the US to an unprecedented predicament, weakened the imperialist system, increased the strength and reinforced the offensive position of the revolutionary currents of our time, brought faith and enthusiasm to hundreds of millions of people in the world who are struggling for peace national independence democracy and socialism

With the great victory of the patriotic resistance war against US aggression, our entire Party, entire people and entire army have satisfactorily fulfilled the historic task of national liberation and reunification of the country laid down by the Third Party Congress, and accomplished both their sacred mission towards the motherland and their noble international duty

We are immensely proud to look back today at the long and glorious road of revolutionary struggle that our people have followed under the leadership of our Party. Unresigned to losing their independence, our people rose up heroically, defeated one after another the attacks of

many powerful imperialisms, threw off the yoke of Japanese fascism, first smashed French old type colonialism, and then defeated US neo-colonialism, our country now enters the era of independence, freedom and socialism. These glorious feats make our people worthy to join the ranks of the vanguard peoples struggling for the noble ideals of mankind, thus actively contributing to giving impulse to the evolution of the world revolution. Our Party, the organizer of every victory of the Vietnamese revolution, has now become a mighty Marxist Leninist Party, well tempered politically, ideologically and organizationally solid, a staunch contingent of the international communist and workers' movement.

The victory of the patriotic war of resistance against US aggression is a combined result of a series of factors which make up the invincible strength of the Vietnamese revolution. The basic element of all these factors is the correct leadership of our Party. The seasoned vanguard contingent of the Vietnamese working class, the faithful and thorough exponent of the vital interests and the profound and legitimate aspirations of the Vietnamese people and the entire Vietnamese nation, our Party successfully blends the revolutionary science of the working class Marxism Leninism and the extraordinary fighting energy, the boundless creative ability of our people, and what is best in the four thousand year tradition of the Vietnamese nation.

The victory of the patriotic war of resistance against US aggression is due to the most arduous, sacrificial, stubborn and persevering, valiant and resourceful struggle by the people and the army in the whole country, especially of Party organizations in the South, of cadres and fighters in the South, and of millions of our patriotic fellow-countrymen in the forefront of the motherland's struggle who

for over thirty years under the yoke of the aggressors set a fine example of dedication and indomitability

It is the victory of the socialist regime in the North, a completely new regime in the history of our country which promotes the right to collective mastery by the working people and the superiority of the new social relations, and thus marshals a gigantic strength, enabling the North firmly to construct and to combat for its self-defence, while mobilizing ever more manpower and resources to fight a patriotic war against US aggression in the South

On this solemn occasion, our Congress warmly hails the ardent patriotism and the supreme revolutionary heroism of our fellow-countrymen, fighters, Party cadres and members of all fraternal nationalities in the North as well as in the South who have united and fought untiringly for national liberation and the reunification of the motherland.

Our Congress commends the cadres and fighters of the heroic people's armed forces, who fought most valiantly decade after decade first with sticks and shotguns, later in mighty divisions and defeated their cruel enemies, scored glorious feats, from the battle of Dien Bien Phu to the Ho Chi Minh campaign, embellished the glorious tradition of our army, and together with our entire people wrote a wonderful epic of the Vietnamese revolutionary war

Our Congress bows in respect to the memory of the martyrs, who bravely laid down their lives for the independence and freedom of the motherland, for socialism and communism, for the sacred duty towards the nation and the noble international duty. Our people are proud of those loyal and devoted sons and daughters who shed their blood to embellish the glorious banner of our motherland!

The great victory of the patriotic war of resistance against US aggression as well as the brilliant pages of the

nearly half a-century old Vietnamese revolution will be closely associated for ever with the name of our great President Ho Chi Minh, the founder and educator of our Party, the father of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, the creator of the great national united front, the builder of the revolutionary armed forces, a leader of genius of our working class and our people, a great national hero and an eminent fighter of the international communist movement. At this glorious hour, how great our emotion is as we remember our cherished and beloved Uncle Ho, for our Uncle is no longer here to attend this historic Congress with us! But our entire Party, our entire people and our entire army are very proud to have succeeded brilliantly in implementing our Uncle Ho's sacred Testament. Our Uncle's earnest aspiration and behest has now come true. The US imperialists have been driven out of our country for ever. Our motherland has become completely independent and reunified and is advancing towards socialism. Our Southern and Northern fellow countrymen have been united under the same roof. Interpreting the most profound feelings of our fellow countrymen and fighters in the whole country, our Congress wishes to pay our respect by offering to our great President Ho Chi Minh our common exploits over the US imperialists and to express our boundless gratitude towards our Uncle who devoted all his life to the liberation of our people, the reunification of our motherland, the cause of our Party and our nation, brought glory to our country, and left us and future generations immortal legacies! Now we propose that our Congress stand and pay tribute to the memory of our Uncle Ho and those who sacrificed themselves for the motherland!

Our victory is also that of the unshakable militant solidarity of the three peoples of Viet Nam, Laos and

Kampuchea of the special relationship deep-rooted in history and tested in the fire of the fight against the common enemy of the three nations. On behalf of our entire Party and our entire people, our Congress warmly acclaims the great historic victories of the fraternal Lao and Kampuchean peoples, which we regard as our own victories, and wishes to convey to our comrades in arms, fighters in the same trench, our boundless gratitude and our unswerving solidarity.

Our victory is also a victory for the forces of socialism, national independence, democracy and peace the world over which have supported our people's struggle against the US imperialist aggressors. Our Congress expresses our most profound gratitude towards the Soviet Union, China and other fraternal socialist countries which have extended to our people their support and all round great and valuable assistance, out of their noble proletarian internationalism, and continue to assist us heal our wounds of war and rehabilitate our country. We warmly thank the Communist Parties and the working classes of all countries in the world, the national liberation movements and the nationalist countries, the peace-loving countries, the international democratic organizations and all progressive mankind for their strong sympathy, support and encouragement to our people's patriotic resistance war against US aggression as well as for their wholehearted support and assistance to us in the new stage.

Comrades,

The Fourth Congress of our Party is a Congress of tremendous historic significance.

The Congress of the complete victory of our national liberation!

The Congress of the reunification of our country

The Congress of the whole country advancing to socialism !

Our glorious Party comes to this Fourth Congress overbrimming with enthusiasm and revolutionary energy, rapidly grown up in its political stature and creative power, more united and of one mind than ever bound more than ever to the class and the nation to the great international army of communists, to the fighters who have been struggling for independence, freedom and social progress the world over Our Party is firmly confident in its own strength and in the correct lines blazed by this Congress for the Vietnamese revolution in the new stage

I

THE GREAT VICTORY, THE HISTORIC TURNING POINT OF THE VIETNAMESE REVOLUTION

Comrades,

The period from July 1954 to May 1975 was a period of extremely stirring and eventful struggle of the Vietnamese revolution. In the light of the line worked out by the Third Congress, our people throughout the country struggled most heroically and perseveringly to fulfil two strategic tasks: to liberate the South and to build socialism in the North, in order to achieve a peaceful, reunified, independent, democratic and prosperous Viet Nam. Hereunder the Central Committee would like to present a general report on our people's revolutionary struggle and the activities of our Party and State in implementing these tasks.

As we know, after the Second World War, US imperialism took advantage of their special position, became the richest and the most powerful imperialism. They assumed the role of an international gendarme to safeguard and salvage the whole imperialist system which had been seriously weakened and caught in a new general crisis, in face of the emergence and rapid growth of the world socialist system, in face of smiting blows of the national liberation movement and of the surging struggle of the workers' movement in capitalist countries. In view of the mighty offensive posture of these three revolution

ary currents, US imperialism had lost position after position and the world balance of forces kept on changing, for the worse for the imperialist camp. Having been frustrated in its "massive retaliation" strategy which relied on nuclear weapons, US imperialism has been forced to adopt the "flexible response" strategy since the early sixties, spearheading its main attack at the forces of socialism and national liberation in selected areas, with Viet Nam as the hottest pot according to the US strategic viewpoint.

US imperialism had coveted our country for a long time. When France got bogged down in the Indochina war, the United States, strove to help France on the one hand, and on the other hand plotted to replace her to monopolize control of Indochina. After the French colonialists were defeated at Dien Bien Phu, the US imperialists jumped into South Viet Nam, ousted the French colonialists, and from then on turned our country into a testing ground for their strategies and tactics in the hope of smashing the Vietnamese revolution and drawing experience in how to cope with the world revolutionary movement. Indeed, from a colony rising up to gain independence, valiantly defeating a big imperialism, the French taking half of the country to socialism, while resolutely struggling to complete national independence in the whole country, the Vietnamese revolution under the leadership of a Communist Party is the banner symbolizing the combination of the revolutionary currents of our time, and the ineluctable trend of development of the national liberation movement advancing to socialism.

The master scheme of US imperialism was to exterminate the patriotic movement of our people, annex the South, partition our country for a long time, turn the South into a new type colony and US military base, and set up a defence line checking the spread of socialism to South East Asia, at the same time, to use the South as a

base to attack the North, an outpost of the world socialist system in South East Asia, in an attempt to crush and roll back socialism in this area and encircle and threaten other socialist countries. Five successive US presidents carried on this plot by means of wars, obstinately sticking to a neo-colonialist policy and plunging headlong into military adventures at any cost. US imperialism hoped to subdue our people without being punished and causing extended international conflicts owing to the discord in the socialist camp. Thus, our country became a testing ground for US imperialism's power and prestige, as the US administration itself acknowledged. The aggressive war against Viet Nam played an important part in US imperialism's counter-revolutionary global strategy. The US wanted to demonstrate that its gigantic military and economic might is able to crush every national liberation movement and check the advance of socialism anywhere in the world.

In the protracted revolutionary war against the US imperialists' war of aggression, our people frustrated the various strategies of US presidents and led our patriotic war step by step to a most glorious victory.

Having gone through a difficult period from 1954 to 1959, in the light of the Resolution of the Fifteenth Meeting (May 1957) of the Party Central Committee elected by the second Congress and the Resolution of the Third Party Congress, the southern revolution shifted from a defensive posture to an offensive one. Late in 1959 and early in 1960, concerted uprisings broke out in large areas of the Nam Bo delta and the Central Highland. These partial uprisings developed rapidly, particularly after the Ap Bac victory, into a revolutionary war waging both military and political struggle, combining the struggle against the enemy in the highland and the countryside with the fierce struggle in the towns, driving the Ngo Dinh Diem puppet fascist

regime to collapse and frustrating US imperialism's strategy of "special warfare"

In 1965, the US war of aggression witnessed a new development. While the Johnson administration waged a "local war" in the South and unleashed a predatory war against the North, the Eleventh (March 1965) and the Twelfth Meetings (December 1965) of the Party Central Committee analyzed in a scientific way the balance of forces between the enemy and us, assessed the unavoidable defeat of US imperialism, mobilized our army and our people throughout the country to keep to their offensive strategy, to uphold the spirit of self reliance, and to promote our people's might, while striving to win international assistance, determined to score a complete victory over the US aggressors, liberate the South, safeguard the North and proceed to the reunification of our country. In answer to President Ho Chi Minh's appeal "Nothing is more precious than independence and freedom", our entire nation went to war with a great fervour, winning its first resounding battles at Nui Thanh and Van Tuong, then smashing each US strategic counter attack in the South, in turn and at the same time dealing masterly rebuffs at their air raids of destruction on the North. In Spring 1968, when the US war escalation reached its climax, the Fourteenth Meeting of the Party Central Committee decided to launch the general offensive and uprising of the *Mau Than Lunar New Year* to strike at the bedrock of the US will to aggression. The very brilliant victory of this daring and unexpected offensive blow upset the enemy's strategic posture, frustrated US imperialism's "local war" strategy, shook its aggressive will and compelled the Johnson administration to de-escalate the war and to sit for negotiations with us at the Paris Conference.

But in keeping with its extremely cruel and obstinate nature, US imperialism did not resign itself to failure.

From 1969 it adopted the "Nixon doctrine" and the strategy of 'Vietnamization of the war', while intensifying the war in Laos and extending it to Kampuchea. It made full use of its military might combined with extremely perfidious political and diplomatic manoeuvres, in the hope of gaining a position of strength while isolating and stifling our people's resistance. In face of their new US war strategy, our army and people in close co-ordination with the struggle of the fraternal Lao and Kampuchean peoples dealt heavy blows at the enemy. Following up the resounding victory on the front of Road No 9 Southern Laos, we launched the 1972 strategic offensive in all the battlefields in the South, further dealt annihilating blows at the puppet troops, broke up many strong defence lines of the enemy in Quang Tri, Central Highland and Eastern Nam Bo, foiled an important part of their plan of "Pacification" of the countryside. At the same time we shattered the second US war of destruction in the North. The tremendous victory of the 1972 *strategic offensive* and the outstanding exploit of our army and people *smashing the strategic B52 raid against Hanoi and Haiphong* at last compelled US imperialism to sign the Paris Agreement on Viet Nam and withdraw all US and satellite troops from our country.

The Paris Agreement was a great victory of our people. However, US imperialism and the Nguyen Van Thieu puppet administration systematically sabotaged it. Correctly appraising the design of US imperialism and its stooges, the *Twenty first Meeting of the Party Central Committee* (July 1973) assessed that in any circumstance the path to win victory for the revolution in the South lies in violence. Therefore, we had to firmly grasp the offensive strategy and to resolutely carry out the struggle on the three fronts: military, political and diplomatic, in order to proceed to the counter-offensive and score a complete victory. In 1973-1974, from the victory in Western Nam Bo

to the liberation of Thuong Due and Phuoc Long, the situation of the battlefield in the South continually changed to our advantage. The Political Bureau Meetings in October 1974¹ and early in 1975² correctly appraised in time the balance of forces between the enemy and us in the new situation, clearly pointed out the emergence of the historic opportunity and made a strategic pledge to completely liberate the South and utterly defeat the US neo-colonialist war of aggression during the Spring 1975 general offensive and uprising.

As a step in the stage of maturity of our whole patriotic war of resistance against US aggression, the combined result of all the forces and factors making up our people's invincible strength in the great patriotic resistance war, the Spring 1975 general offensive and uprising unfolded with the speed of 'one-day-equaling twenty years'. Within 55 days and nights, with overwhelming strength in both military and political fields our army and people won a complete victory in three key battles: the opening battle in Buon Me Thuot liberating the whole of Tay Nguyen, the second battle liberating Hue, Da Nang and wiping out the enemy in the Central coastal area, and the concluding battle codenamed the historic Ho Chi Minh Campaign liberating Saigon Gia Dinh and the remaining provinces of Nam Bo. Over one million puppet troops and the entire puppet administration were smashed. The neo-colonialist regime laboriously set up under five successive US presidents utterly collapsed.

Throughout 21 years of fighting our people have defeated the largest scale, the longest, fiercest and most barbarous neo-colonialist aggressive war ever waged since the Second World War. With the frenzied ambition to crush the revolutionary force in the South and to bomb

1 From September 30 to October 7 1974.

2 From December 18 1974 to January 8 1975.

the North back to the "Stone Age", US imperialism sent an expeditionary corps of over six hundred thousand US troops and troops of its five satellite countries to our country to serve as the core for more than one million puppet troops. In the US armed forces alone, at the height of the war, 68 % of the ground forces, 60 % of the marines, 32 % of the tactical air force and 50 % of the strategic air force were mobilized. If we add up the troops stationed outside the USA participating in the Viet Nam war, the number of US troops involved exceeded 800 000 and during the war, a total of 6 million GIs was mobilized. 7,850,000 tons of bombs were dumped on our country and 352 billion dollars spent. Besides, latest scientific and technical inventions were used to commit innumerable genocidal crimes against our people. Today, looking back at the character and the scale of the war, reviewing the forces deployed by the enemy and all the schemes they acknowledged, recalling the extremely complicated and difficult situation that our revolution had gone through, we realize all the more clearly the scope and the significance of our nation's patriotic resistance war against US aggression!

For US imperialism this is the greatest defeat they have suffered in the history of the United States. While the victory of the August Revolution and the resistance war against French aggression led to the collapse of old type colonialism, the victory of the resistance war against US aggression demonstrates to the whole world the inevitable total bankruptcy of neo-colonialism. At present it is clear that the revolutionary forces have grown up and gained the advantage more than ever before while US imperialism cannot play the role of international gendarme anywhere without being punished, cannot invade an inch of land of any socialist country, cannot roll back the national liberation movement and check the way of the development of the countries advancing to socialism.

Comrades,

The great victory of our people's patriotic war against US aggression is first of all the victory of our Party's independent, sovereign, correct and creative political and military line. Applying Marxism-Leninism to the concrete conditions of our country after US imperialism took the place of French colonialism and imposed its domination on the South, our Party mapped out a line of simultaneously carrying out the national people's democratic revolution in the South and the socialist revolution in the North, and holding aloft at the same time the banners of national independence and socialism. As the liberation of the South required the defence and building of the North, just like the latter required the defeat of the US aggressors in the South, these two tasks were closely combined on the strategic plane to reach a common goal, namely to achieve the national people's democratic revolution in the whole country and to achieve the reunification of the country. Our Party firmly believed that our people would certainly defeat the war of aggression by the ringleader imperialism and fulfil this great historic mission.

One Party led a country temporarily partitioned into two zones to simultaneously carry out two different strategic tasks, that was the greatest characteristic as well as an original feature of our revolution from July, 1954 to May, 1975. Holding aloft at the same time the two banners of national independence and socialism, our Party combined the fighting strength of the great front with the potential of the great rear base, mobilized the forces of the entire people and the whole country to the utmost for the patriotic struggle, crystallized, synthesized and developed the revolutionary traditions and the creative power of our Party and our nation to a new degree.

With these two banners, the Vietnamese revolution embodied the radiant truth of our time — the necessary integration of national independence with socialism, closely associated our people's patriotic war with the offensive posture of the three revolutionary currents, associated our people's fundamental requirement with the revolutionary goals of the world's people — peace, national independence, democracy and socialism. Thanks to the combination of our people's strength with that of our time, and to our Party's correct foreign policy, we have won the very great support both spiritual and material of the fraternal socialist countries and of all the revolutionary and progressive forces in the world, thus shaping an unprecedentedly broad international front in support of Viet Nam against US aggression .

The victory of the revolution in the South and of the patriotic war of resistance against US aggression is that of the offensive strategy. From the high tide of "concerted uprising" to revolutionary war triumphing over the aggressive war of US imperialism, the revolution in the South and the patriotic war against US aggression is a process of continually keeping an offensive posture and unceasingly carrying out offensive strategy. However fighting with small forces against big ones, we must know how to win step by step in order to foil the enemy's political and military schemes in each stage, to drive the enemy back step by step, unremittingly consolidate the revolutionary battlefield, build a position and a strength superior to the enemy so as to proceed to complete victory. During this process, our Party always paid due attention to consolidating and safeguarding the great rear base in the North — the constant and decisive factor of victory for the patriotic war. Therefore, while pressing ahead with the offensive, our Party advocated containing and defeating the enemy's ground forces in the South, and when the US

escalated to expand the war, our Party advocated resolute defeat of any kind of US warfare and at the same time forcing the US to de-escalate step by step so as to proceed to achieve a complete victory

The war of resistance against US aggression is an all people, all round and protracted resistance. Along with the organization of the fighting forces in the whole country, our Party paid the utmost attention to building and developing the revolutionary forces in the South. These are the *Party organizations of the South* which were consolidated and tempered into seasoned general staffs for the fight at the great front, the worker peasant alliance which was built laboriously by our Party in the national democratic revolution. *The masses' political army and the people's armed forces*, the two basic fighting forces in the revolutionary war, the *National Front for Liberation of South Viet Nam*, a patriotic front under our Party's leadership comprising the organizations of workers, peasants, youth, women, students, intellectuals, various religious organizations, and representatives of various nationalities, the *Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam* which, together with the National Front for Liberation, mobilized and rallied the broad masses from all strata of the Southern people to carry out the patriotic resistance war and won ever broader sympathy and support from the people and governments of many countries the world over.

The methods of the revolution in the South, the questions having the character of law of the revolutionary patriotic war against US aggression are to use revolutionary violence with two forces: political force of the masses and people's armed force, to stage partial insurrection in the countryside and develop insurrection into revolutionary war, to combine military with political and diplomatic struggle, to combine mass uprising with

revolutionary war, uprising with offensive offensive with uprising to strike at the enemy in all three strategic areas highland, countryside and towns, to attack the enemy with three prongs military operations, political action agitation work among enemy soldiers to combine the three categories of troops¹, guerilla warfare with regular warfare, to combine big medium and small size attacks, to exercise our mastery over the country in order to wipe out the enemy and wipe out the enemy and exercise our mastery over the land, to firmly grasp the strategic guidelines of protracted fighting while knowing how to create and avail oneself of opportunities to launch strategic offensives in order to change the situation of the war and proceed to a general offensive and uprising to crush the enemy and win final victory

All the above-mentioned forms and methods of struggle constituted a unified body, having organic relations with one another, making up the combined strategy and military art of the Vietnamese revolutionary war. That was the brilliant result of the creative application of the doctrine on revolutionary violence and Marxist Leninist military science to the concrete conditions of our country, of the upgrading of the experience accumulated through our resistance against the French colonialists as well as throughout our entire revolutionary struggle ever since the founding of the Party.

The above-mentioned political and military line, the method of carrying out revolution and revolutionary war have created a gigantic combined strength, with which our people have defeated the colossal forces and tremendous war efforts of the richest, strongest and most cruel imperialism in our time.

1 The three categories of troops are regular force regional force and militia and guerilla force

During the process of leading the revolution in the South and the patriotic resistance war against US aggression, the Party Central Committee saw through US imperialism's master scheme, correctly appraised the relation of forces between the enemy and us, and laid down accurate, sharp and flexible strategic directives in order to shatter all US and puppet war schemes and acts in each stage, and ultimately to utterly defeat their aggressive war. That was the striking success of the strategic guidance of the Party Central Committee. This is also the success of the work of organizing the combat achieved by Party Committees and Army Commands at different levels. However, in a war while US imperialism fought and probed, fought and tested its strategies and tactics, a step-by-step escalation war unprecedented in history, the knowledge about the enemy and about ourselves constituted a process of perception ever deeper, closer, clearer and firmer, through fighting practice and the concrete developments of the contest on the battlefield. On the basis of correct strategic guidelines, we set to work and learnt through practice. That is one of our important lessons. The resistance against US aggression is a very rich and valuable treasury of experience. Later, we had to organize the summing up of our patriotic war well in order to develop and perfect Vietnamese military theory and science with a view to meeting the requirements set by the tasks of defending our motherland and defending the socialist regime in the new period.

The victory of the Vietnamese revolution has demonstrated that *in the present era, when the world revolutionary forces are in an offensive posture a nation whose territory is not vast and whose population is not large, but who is closely united and fights resolutely under the leadership of a Marxist Leninist Party armed with correct revolutionary line and methods, raising aloft the banners of national independence and socialism and winning the*

sympathy support and assistance of the socialist countries, revolutionary forces and progressive people the world over, is fully capable of defeating all the aggressive forces of imperialism be it the imperialist ringleader

Comrades

The victory of the patriotic resistance war against US aggression is that of two revolutionary strategies carried out simultaneously and closely combined with each other the national people's democratic revolution in the South and the socialist revolution in the North. As the resolution of the Third Congress of our Party has clearly pointed out and events have now shown the national people's democratic revolution in the South has a direct and decisive effect on the overthrow of the US imperialists and the puppets' domination, while the socialist revolution in the North is the most decisive task regarding the development of the whole revolution in our country, and regarding the reunification of our country

Indeed, victory for our patriotic war of resistance against US aggression would have been impossible, if it were not for the socialist North, which has continuously and simultaneously carried out the two strategic tasks throughout the past sixteen years. Particularly since 1965, after the Eleventh Meeting of our Party Central Committee asserted that "the patriotic resistance war against US aggression is the foremost task of our entire Party, our entire people and our entire army", the North has devoted the full strength of the socialist regime to the war of national salvation and defence, and has brilliantly fulfilled its duty as the revolutionary base of the whole country, worthy of being the invincible fortress of socialism

In the field of socialist transformation and national economic construction, the North has recorded achieve-

ments worthy of pride. The biggest achievement is the liquidation of the exploitation of man by man. Two forms of socialist ownership — that of the entire people and that of the collectivity — have been instituted universally. By 1975, 99.7% of the fixed assets in the domain of material production belonged to socialist economy, the bulk of the national income as well as of industrial and agricultural output came from the socialist economy.

The exploiting classes have been wiped out. The working class, the class leading the revolution, has grown up both in size and quality. The peasantry has become a new class, the collective peasant class. Hence, the worker-peasant alliance has been strengthened on a new and better basis. The socialist intellectuals, trained for the most part under the new regime, develop with every passing day. Society in the North has come to belong to the working people. The political and moral unity among the people is ever more strengthened. The ethnic groups live in equality, solidarity and concord in keeping with the socialist spirit. Women now equal with men are assuming any task required by society.

In the light of the lines mapped out by the Third Party Congress, to implement the resolution of the Fifth, Seventh and Eighth Meetings of the Central Committee, we have built the first material and technical bases of socialism, oriented towards a modern, large-scale production and an independent, autonomous economy. From 1961 to 1964 capital investment in economic construction was 4.5 times greater than that from 1955 to 1957. By 1964, the North was largely self-sufficient in food, produced by itself 90% of its consumer goods and at the same time began creating an accumulating source in the country. But since 1965, the economy of the North had to be shifted from peace time to war time conditions and from then till 1975, we had to cope with the war of destruction punctuated by short

periods of economic rehabilitation. Nevertheless, socialist construction recorded remarkable achievements. By 1975 the fixed assets in the sphere of material production increased 51 times as compared with that in 1960, the number of industrial enterprises increased 165 times as compared with that in 1955. Many large industrial sectors had been and were being set up. In the industrial structure, the first bases for such important branches of heavy industry as electricity, coal, engineering, metallurgy, chemicals, building materials had been established as well as several branches of light industry, and the communications network had been developed.

In agriculture along with the cooperative movement and thanks to the success of this movement, a series of irrigation works had been built ensuring irrigation and drainage of hundreds of thousands of hectares of land. More than half of the agricultural co-operatives had been equipped with small engineering machines. Electricity output for agriculture water pumps and tractors increased many times in comparison with that in 1955. In agriculture there were great efforts made in applying a number of achievements and recent progress in cultivation and stock farming techniques, important achievements in raising rice-yield and crop multiplication, particularly in making the Winter Spring crop a regular crop with high yield.

A highlight of the socialist North is that education, culture and public health have been developed at a rapid tempo, even during the war years. Schools were expanded in towns and countryside, in the plains and the highlands. There are junior high schools in all communes and senior high schools in all districts. In the North, one in three persons goes to school at present. The contingent of scientific, technical and managing cadres with post graduate, graduate and secondary vocational level reaches 430,000,

that is 19 times more than in 1960. In 1975 out of every 10 000 working people there were 1,040 people engaged in technical work, 660 technical workers of secondary level, 120 graduate and post graduate cadres. The public health network was widely expanded, mother and child care was stepped up, the number of senior and junior doctors increases 13.4 times and that of beds 2.3 times the number in 1960. Cultural and artistic activities, many aspects of which are developing with a sound content, have stimulated the masses to engage in the struggle and in production for independence, freedom, socialism, and have contributed to the building of the new life and the moulding of the new type of people, finest examples of whom are the thousands upon thousands of heroes and emulation fighters and workers.

Viewed as a whole, after 20 years of transformation and construction, the North has taken its first steps towards establishing a socio-economic socialist system, socialist relations of production and an initial material and technical basis of socialism, the State being a consolidated proletarian dictatorship, as well as a socialist ideology and culture put on firm foundations, bringing about profound changes in all fields.

The working people in the North are now no longer exploited and despised. Although the population has nearly doubled over the past twenty years, everybody has enough food and clothing, every child can go to school, the general cultural standard of society has been raised to a remarkable degree. The new way of life is now widespread, the relationship between people is based on considerateness, solidarity and mutual love. In the war years, production was maintained and even developed in several branches and aspects, the vital daily needs of the people were met, neither famine nor epidemics occurred, political security and social order were firmly maintained, and although the

living standard was not yet high and life was fraught with many difficulties everybody understood the cause of these difficulties and was firmly confident of the future

These achievements and changes were still small in view of the objectives of socialism. However, considering that the North had to cope with millions of tons of US bombs and pour its manpower and wealth to the front together with its southern fellow-countrymen to carry out the patriotic war of resistance against US aggression and at the same time to discharge its international duty, these achievements were wonderful exploits undreamt of outside the socialist world. The extremely severe trials of war brought out full relief the superiority and strength of socialism. This enabled the North uninterruptedly to play its decisive role in the entire revolutionary cause of the whole country in this period.

The realities of economic and cultural transformation and construction in the North enable us to affirm that the line on socialist revolution mapped out by our Party's Third Congress and further elaborated by the meetings of the Party Central Committee is correct. We have rapidly transformed the North from a colonial and semi-feudal regime with an extremely backward agricultural economy to a socialist regime. We have successfully combined two laws—that of revolutionary war and that of socialist revolution, thus using the strength of the socialist regime to serve the war of national salvation and defence while continuing to develop several aspects of socialist construction.

While affirming that our achievements are great, we do not underestimate the weaknesses and difficulties of the economy in the North. Though already having covered a short leg on the road to large-scale socialist production, the economy of the North on the whole still has the marked character of a small-scale production, the material and

technical basis remains scant. The key industrial branches remain small, have not been built in an harmonious, co-ordinated manner and still fail to serve as a firm basis for the national economy. The productive forces in agriculture are only beginning to develop, the co-operatives are not yet firmly consolidated, and the district level is still slow in being strengthened. Agriculture cannot yet meet all the food and foodstuffs need of the people, nor provide enough raw materials for industry and farm products for export. Eighty per cent of the work force is still manual and social labour productivity remains very low. Our big social work force is not yet fully used while our natural resources, our land, forests and sea are not being exploited well. The gross national product and the national income cannot yet satisfy the fundamental daily needs of the people as well as the need for accumulation to establish a new material and technical basis. All this, added to the high population growth rate, accounts for various strains in economic and social life.

With a spirit of serious self-criticism, the recent meetings of the Party Central Committee¹ have pointed out in a detailed and comprehensive manner the defects, shortcomings and weaknesses of our Party and State in economic leadership, guidance and management.

The line for socialist revolution mapped out by the Party is basically correct. However, many aspects of this line have not been concretized in time, nor satisfactorily worked into the plans for economic and cultural development, into the guidelines, tasks and steps of each branch, each locality and grassroots unit. The fundamental principles of socialist revolution, especially questions concerning the advance from small scale production to large scale socialist production, which have the character of laws,

¹ They are the 19th, 22nd, 23rd Meetings of the Party Central Committee.

are generally speaking, not yet well understood. Because we have not clearly understood the close relationship between the transformation of relations of production and the development of productive forces in the conditions in which small scale production is developed to large-scale socialist production we have been late in mapping out guidelines for the development of the agricultural co-operatives and agricultural production. That "socialist industrialization is the central task of the transitional period", and that "rational priority is given to the development of heavy industry on the basis of the development of agriculture and light industry" has not been firmly grasped and concretized and it is this that is the basis of the gradual creation of an economic structure closely combining industry with agriculture. Not enough importance has been attached to agriculture and light industry, many major directives and measures mapped out for agricultural development have not been acted upon strictly with the sense of activeness and urgency. The existing heavy industry still falls behind in its task of promoting the development of agriculture and light industry. The correct relationship between central and regional economies has not yet been worked out, regional economies have not yet had adequate attention paid to them.

The system of economic management and production organization does not yet bring the role of each branch into full play and does not yet combine sectoral management with territorial management correctly. We are not yet doing good planning work, an important task of economic management. Planning bodies have not yet firmly grasped our capacity and needs. We should emphasize that one of our great shortcomings in economic management is the bureaucratic and administrative method of management as shown in the little consideration given to efficiency, productivity and quality, in the handicraft fragmented, partitioned

way of organization, in the style of work divorced from realities and estranged from the masses which is formal, fraught with red tape, and in the lack of revolutionary combativeness and the lack of responsibility at certain times and in certain places. In a whole series of problems regarding circulation and distribution such as finance, banking, price and wages there are still incorrect concepts and view on simple business, revenue and expenditure, profits and losses which have led to shortcomings in practice adversely affecting production and the people's life, especially the rational use of the social work force.

Another shortcoming which is also a cause of the above mentioned situation is that the managing and the implementation apparatus lack efficiency. The relationship between the Party, the State and the people at each level and in each unit has not been clearly defined, the individual sections and organizations in the system of proletarian dictatorship have not satisfactorily fulfilled their respective functions. The imposition of responsibility is not strictly followed up, socialist legislation is still bedeviled with many shortcomings. Party building work, cadre work and ideological work are not yet closely associated with economic work and fall short of the increasingly exacting revolutionary tasks. In Party organization, there are cases of irrationality and lack of dynamism, leadership and work methods have seen little improvement. Ideological work lacks sagacity, and still fails to make timely criticism of negative manifestations. The activities of the mass organizations have not been well enough adapted to production and life.

Of course, it would be unrealistic to think that the present difficulties in economy and life in the North could have been avoided altogether if we had not committed shortcomings. Because underlying subjective causes, the

origin of these difficulties is deeply rooted in an economy based on backward small scale production which has been very heavily devastated by the war. The North embarked on the path of socialist development more than twenty years ago, but it could devote only seven years to construction.¹ A short time after the completion of socialist transformation, the North had to fight off the war of destruction of the US aggressors directly and assume as its foremost duty the patriotic fight against aggression in the South implementing the watchword "All for the front, all for victory", and at the same time striving to fulfil its international duty. Moreover, the war destroyed almost every thing that the people had spent so much time and energy to build and slowed down by two or three five-year plans the progress of the North towards large scale production and even upset the practice of economic management.²

Therefore although we have recorded achievements in many fields, social production has not yet emerged from small scale production and the socialist regime in the North still does not have a large industrial basis. The crux of the problem at present is to create the material and technical basis of socialism rapidly and reorganize social production in the direction of advancing toward large scale socialist production.

¹ From 1958 to late 1964.

² Nearly all the cities and towns were attacked. 12 towns, 51 townships were completely destroyed. 4 000 out of the 5 728 villages were attacked, 30 of which were completely levelled. All the industrial sectors were attacked, and many of them annihilated. All the power stations were heavily damaged. Five million square metres of housing (not counting houses in the countryside) were destroyed. All railway lines, bridges, ports, sea and river lines, and storage facilities were attacked. The enemy wrought havoc upon 1 600 irrigation works, most of the State farms and hundreds of thousands of hectares of fields and gardens, slaughtered 40 000 buffaloes and oxen. The US imperialists also attacked 3 000 schools and 350 hospitals, 10 of which were razed to the ground.

Comrades,

"Viet Nam is one, the Vietnamese nation is one" For several thousand years, Vietnamese history has been that of one and the same country, one and the same nation, a history of continuous struggle against, and victory over all forces of aggression and partition

Since neo-colonialism was imposed on the South by US imperialism national independence and unification have been the iron determination and sacred aspiration of our fellow-countrymen and combatants in the patriotic fight against US aggression. The great victory of Spring 1975 which recovered complete independence for the motherland has consequently restored the unity of the country

Since in our time, national independence and socialism are inseparable and *when the working class holds in our country the leadership of the revolution, the triumph of the national people's democratic revolution is also the beginning of the socialist revolution, the beginning of the transitional period to socialism and the beginning of the period of carrying out the historic mission of proletarian dictatorship* This historic turning point was reached by the North over 20 years ago and on April 30 last year by the country as a whole. Therefore, national independence and unification are not only inseparable, but they create pre-conditions for socialism.

With the complete and sweeping victory in the patriotic war against US aggression *the Vietnamese revolution has entered a new stage, the stage in which the whole country becomes independent and unified and fulfils a single strategic task of carrying out the socialist revolution, advancing rapidly, vigorously and firmly to socialism*

Socialism is the immediate goal of the Vietnamese revolution, it is also the necessary evolution of Vietnamese

society in keeping with the law of development of human society in the transitional period from capitalism to socialism on a world scale. President Ho Chi Minh, embodying the quintessence of our nation, was aware of the salient features of our time, and combined patriotism with socialism. He said "If the country is to be saved and the nation liberated, there is no other way than that of proletarian revolution"¹ "Only socialism and communism can liberate the oppressed peoples and the working people in the world from the yoke of slavery"² Imbued with these great ideas, our Party pointed out in its first Programme that the Vietnamese revolution is a continuous process of revolution advancing from the national people's democratic revolution to the socialist revolution. And in the process of revolution when there was only one strategic task or when there were two for the whole country, our Party has always since its founding raised the two banners of national independence and socialism. This is the line, the strength and the origin of victory of the revolution in our country.

Now that our motherland has recovered complete independence, national independence and socialism have become one. Only under socialism can the age-old dream of the working people come true, i.e. liberation from oppression, exploitation, poverty, and backwardness, a life in plenty with an assured tomorrow, a civilized and happy life. Only socialism can bring to the working people the full right to mastery and restore genuine human dignity to man enabling him to be the real master of society, of nature and of himself. Under socialism, our motherland will have a modern economy, advanced culture and science,

1. Ho Chi Minh. *On Party Building* Vietnamese edition, Su That Publishing House Hanoi, 1970, page 82.

2. Ho Chi Minh. *For the Sake of Independence Freedom and Socialism* Vietnamese edition, Su That Publishing House Hanoi, 1970, page 239.

strong national defence, thereby ensuring our country's eternal independence, freedom and ever more prosperous development. Only socialism can bring about the unification of our motherland at the highest and fullest degree, in the various fields of territory, political and moral life, economy, culture, society, as well as in the field of rights and duties, thereby fostering the solidarity and sincere and deep mutual love between all members of society.

Deeply conscious of the political tasks in the new stage and fully conveying the sentiments, will, and aspirations of the entire people from North to South, our Party and State have diligently taken necessary actions since late 1975, to complete the unification of the country at the State level. The nation wide general election held on April 23, 1976 is an eloquent expression of our entire people's will to build an independent, unified and socialist Viet Nam. And the historic meeting of the single National Assembly for all Viet Nam, Sixth Legislature, solemnly declared the unification of the country under the name of *Socialist Republic of Viet Nam*.

Since the complete liberation of the South, our country has become the scene of a new and very urgent struggle being waged by our entire people to heal the war wounds and bring about a revolutionary change in all fields of social life. The fulfilment of the 1976 State plan, the first year of the period of economic and cultural development after the war, has recorded heartening achievements in both zones of the country. The movement in the people's armed forces to carry out the task of economic construction has been vigorously and widely expanded. In the North, the economic rehabilitation has been completed by and large. Almost all factories and other constructions damaged by the war have been rebuilt and many of them have been transformed and enlarged. The capacity of industrial and agricultural branches has seen a marked improvement. The output of

a number of important products has reached and even exceeded that of the pre war period. In the South, the revolutionary power at all levels has been established and is being consolidated. Although counter revolutionaries are still carrying out sabotage activities, order and security are firmly maintained. The educated and politically conscious masses of the people who were aware of their right to mastery in the new regime from the beginning, are developing their sense of unity and patriotism, and are the source of seething revolutionary movements both in the towns and countryside, chiefly in irrigation work, the reclaiming of virgin land and restoring of fallow land, intensive farming and crop multiplication. Educational and cultural work is developing rapidly. Life is still encumbered with many difficulties but is being gradually stabilized. Along with the completion of the remaining tasks of the national democratic revolution, we are pushing ahead socialist transformation and in this we have gained considerable results in the domain of relations of production as well as in the cultural and ideological field.

During recent months, a seething emulation movement for labour and production to welcome the Fourth Party Congress has been launched throughout the country. Many building projects in industry, agriculture, communications, culture, and plan targets of many branches have been completed and fulfilled ahead of schedule. One of the best flowers we wish to present to our Congress is the Reunification railway linking the capital Hanoi to Ho Chi Minh City. The line, interrupted for over 30 years, has already been rehabilitated ahead of schedule. These new factors will certainly lead to more profound changes, and greater successes in the coming period.

The Socialist Republic of Viet Nam is the great achievement of the long and hard revolutionary struggle and of the staunch, indomitable and extremely heroic fight

our people have waged for nearly half of a century. It is a Viet Nam with an extremely glorious history, solid foundations, abundant potential and brilliant prospects. It is an impregnable outpost of the socialist system, an important factor of peace, national independence, democracy and social progress in South East Asia and the world.

At present our whole country is advancing to socialism, but not empty handed as in the past. We have initial material and technical bases, and in particular the experience of 20 years of socialist construction in the North, experience of both success and failure constitutes precious assets for us.

Under the impetus of the current unprecedented revolutionary enthusiasm and the correct leadership of our Party, our people will undoubtedly and valiantly struggle to turn the existing favourable conditions to full account and overcome the difficulties and heavy sequels of the war, and vigorously step up economic and cultural transformation and development, to build the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam into a prosperous and civilized country, thereby making an even worthier contribution to the world people's revolutionary cause.

II

LINE FOR SOCIALIST REVOLUTION IN THE NEW STAGE

Comrades,

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. The economy, as a whole, however 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 underdeveloped 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, by passing 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 "who 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 "who 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 is 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 key. 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 one self; 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 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 to 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 fulfil 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 *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"¹, 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

The system of socialist collective mastery has its economic basis, the *large scale socialist production*. The building and development of large-scale socialist production must aim at the *ever increasing satisfaction of the expanding material and cultural needs of the whole society through the unceasing development and perfection of production on the basis of collective mastery and modern science and technology*

To this end, it is of decisive importance to carry out socialist industrialization the central task of the whole period of transition to socialism, and to create a modern industrial agricultural structure. The fundamental way to create such a structure is to *"give priority to the rational development of heavy industry on the basis of the development of agriculture and light industry"*, in order to integrate agriculture and industry into a single entity, developing harmoniously side by side on the path to large-scale socialist production, constantly linked with each other supporting and serving each other in each step of development

This economic structure is a unified one for the whole country *comprising central and local economy*. We must concentrate the forces of the entire country on building the central economy embracing the key branches and establishments having the most decisive effect on the development of the national economy as a whole, while vigorously developing the regional economies (provinces and cities) in order to provide each province and each city with a rational economic structure, a component part of the economy of the entire country, and to turn each district into an agricultural industrial economic unit. The regional economies must be built and developed in accord

ance with the pattern and plan of the entire country, on the basis of the manpower, and techniques and natural resources available of each area concerned, and with the assistance of the central economy, in order to meet the needs of the local people, and also to fulfil its obligation to the State, thus contributing to the development of the national economy. To build the central economy while expanding the regional economies is the best way for us to make good use of the capacity of the country to rapidly increase production, step up the division of labour, expand trading and create more wealth. On this basis, we can at the same time ensure accumulation to build the material and technical basis of socialism, and meet the multifarious needs of the people in their daily lives in various localities, at the same time achieve mastery throughout the country and achieve mastery in each locality and each basic unit.

This economic structure is also a sound combination of economy and national defence. Building the country implies defending it, also a vital need of our nation. To strive to develop economy and actively build the material and technical basis of socialism is the fundamental condition for a firm national defence of the whole people. Along with the stepped up building of the country in all respects we must endeavour to build a firm people's defence, to build the people's armed forces and the defence industry to ensure ever stronger forces, ready to defeat all attacks by the aggressors. We must closely combine labour duty with military service duty in order to accelerate economic construction while ensuring steady consolidation of national defence, especially in the conditions of still underdeveloped social production.

Lastly, this economic structure is also a good combination of the division of labour and the balanced development of the national economy (which is the main aspect)

with the strengthening of economic relations with the fraternal socialist countries, implementing the division of work cooperation and mutual assistance in the spirit of socialist internationalism, while developing economic relations with other countries on the basis of firmly maintaining independence and sovereignty, and mutual benefit We must acquire advanced technology, through international relations, achieve a more rational division of labour, and raise the efficiency of labour in the country, hence better serving the building of the material and technical basis of socialism and improving the people's living conditions step by step

We must constantly bear in mind that the characteristic of our advance from small scale production to large scale socialist production is that *relations of production and productive forces are constantly linked and support each other in their development* Each transformation of the old relations of production and building of the new relations of production will promote the emergence and growth of new productive forces, conversely, each creation of new productive forces will have the effect of consolidating and perfecting the new relations of production In the revolution in relations of production we must associate the transformation of the system of ownership with that of the system of distribution, of the organization of production and business operation, and of the managerial system. We must closely combine the State-run sector with the collective sector and the individual sector, striving to develop the State-run sector, strengthen the collective sector and provide good guidance to the individual sector, with the State-run sector as the core and leading force In the scientific and technological revolution, we must firmly grasp the central task of mechanization, combine mechanization and semi-mechanization with handicraft methods well, combine large, medium and small scale production,

actively building the large scale and using it as the core force. At the same time, we must strive to build up a contingent of skilled workers, and actively train economic management cadres and scientific and technical cadres.

Large scale socialist production can only take shape through conscious and planned construction. Therefore, the *plan* is the main instrument to manage and direct the process of advancing from small scale production to large scale socialist production. Once economic activity is conducted according to plan, and the highest objective of the development of production is not a business operation for profits but the ever better satisfaction of the material and cultural needs of the people, what we must first of all care for and attach importance to is the *use value* of the products. Proceeding from the overall standpoint of collective masters, from the practical needs of society to be satisfied, and basing ourselves on the existing capabilities in man power, equipment, resources, science and technology, we must use every means available to create an ever bigger volume of use-values with ever higher quality. In particular, we must work out efficient plans in all fields on the basis of which to mobilize our most valuable and most abundant asset at present which is the work force, and to organize the whole country into a construction site, each locality into a construction site, and each district into a construction site. On the other hand, we must attach importance to *value* and the *law of value* which still exist objectively in socialist society, we must make flexible use of the law of value and many other economic levers to strengthen economic and financial management, encourage labour and promote the increase of labour productivity, reduce the consumption of labour, materials and equipment per unit of product, and ensure the production of the most use-values with the lowest expenditures. In this spirit, we must make proper use of the *market, prices,*

wages, and credit to improve the quality of the plan, better serve the working out and implementation of the plan, and in proper measure to complement the plan

We must develop the *relationship between accumulation and consumption correctly*, so as to ensure the rapid building of the material and technical basis of socialism while improving the people's living standard step by step. Stepping up production and constantly increasing labour productivity is the fundamental way to expand accumulation and consumption. However *economy* must become a major policy of our Party and State and a revolutionary deed of the broad masses of the people. We must economize labour, materials, funds, equipment and machinery, we must practise economy both in production and in consumption, apply a rational policy of consumption, and uphold the spirit of building socialism with industry and thrift.

In the final analysis, the decisive factor for the success of the process of advancing to large-scale socialist production is the *constant increase of social labour productivity, economic efficiency and the quality of production*. Along with the proper application of the economic and scientific and technical laws, we must work out appropriate plans and measures to promote a movement for socialist emulation and turn it into a real revolutionary movement of the masses, as a kind of law in the building of socialism. We must attach particular importance to the organization and management of labour, especially when a major part of labour is still manual.

The new culture is a culture with a socialist content and a national character. It is a culture with a Party character and a popular character. It is built on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and the concept of socialist collective mastery. It assimilates the achievements of human civilization and the gains of modern culture and science selectively and is at the same time the crystallization and

sublime expression of what is best in the four thousand year-old tradition of the Vietnamese soul and the Vietnamese culture the tradition of patriotism, indomitability, staunchness and resourcefulness in the struggle for independence and freedom mutual love between working people, their industriousness, creativeness, optimism and love of life It is also the expression of proletarian internationalism which has taken roots in the spiritual life of our people since the founding of the Party This culture is the harmonious combination of what is best in the peculiar cultures of all the fraternal nationalities in the great family of the Vietnamese nation To build the new culture is a process of building and fostering judicious ideas, wholesome sentiments, and fine customs and habits, and also a process of uncompromisingly struggling against bourgeois ideology, criticising petty bourgeois ideas, and sweeping the influence of colonialist and feudal cultures and the backward factors from the cultural life of our society

The system of socialist collective mastery must have people of a new type suitable to it. Indeed, "to build socialism, first of all there must be socialist men"¹ The new type of man is at the same time a product of the new society and its conscious builder To carry out the three revolutions, to build the system of socialist collective mastery and the large-scale socialist production is to create most important social conditions for the emergence of the new type of man However, the new type of man cannot take shape spontaneously, but through a process of active and conscious moulding Moreover, the situation in our country requires and allows us to mould the new type of man early and gradually without having to wait for a high development of large-scale socialist production. In this way,

¹ Ho Chi Minh *On Party Building* Vietnamese edition Su That Publishing House Hanoi 1970 page 13

the three revolutions will be further speeded up, the system of collective mastery and the large scale socialist production will be extended more rapidly

The new socialist type of Vietnamese has striking characteristics: *collective mastery, labour zeal, socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism*. He is also the crystallization and development of what is most beautiful and noblest in the Vietnamese soul and nature, which has been forged through four thousand years of history

The new people are people with correct ideas and fine sentiments, and the knowledge and ability to master society, nature and himself

The new people are working people who know how to further the tradition of industrious labour and heroic struggle of the nation, who work with a high degree of voluntariness and consciousness, and with full ardour and dedication who are ready to devote all their strength and intelligence to the cause of socialist construction, they are animated with the spirit of revolutionary offensive, do not balk at any difficulty, regard labour as an honour, a source of happiness and their life's rationale, they are honest working people determined to break definitively with laziness, contempt for labour parasitism, disregard for labour discipline, and the habit of telling lies and bungling work, people who treasure and safeguard public property, work with discipline, with respect for technique, creativeness and high productivity,

The new people have ardent socialist patriotism harmoniously combined with pure proletarian internationalism

The new people have the deepest love for the working people, unite and co-operate with them and assist them in labour combat and in building a new life, he regards the

fostering of a free and happy life for everyone as their noble ideal and a source of great happiness for themselves

The new people know how to foster a happy family on the basis of a happy society, takes full responsibility and feel sincere love in their conjugal lives and a high sense of responsibility in bringing up their children as new socialist people

To foster the new type of Vietnamese, then, is to foster comprehensively developed people whose collective and private lives are harmonious and rich

Man is the product of social relations. Therefore, only through the combined result of the three revolutions, through practical activities, through labour and struggle can the members of society transform themselves and gradually become a new type of man. The carrying out of the three revolutions, and the building of the new regime, the new economy and the new culture must proceed from the requirement of moulding the new type of people, and must aim at ensuring the necessary conditions to promote the moulding of the new type of people

We must mould new people right from birth, in all age groups, in all mass organizations, all economic and cultural establishments, all social activities all branches and all levels, in each city ward, each hamlet and each family. We must mould new people from people who have grown up under the new regime as well as from those who have lived under the old regime

To mould the new type of people is very painstaking work. It must be carried out in an organized and planned way in the whole of society. We must take many measures in all fields: ideological and organizational, educational and administrative, political and cultural, legal and economic. Of all these measures, the implementation of the ideological and cultural revolution and the universal application of the method of self-criticism and criticism

are of special importance. The moulding of the new type of people must be carried out in a permanent, continual, consistent and persevering way. At the same time, there must be large-scale drives and many movements, movements among the entire people, and movements within each mass organization, each social stratum and each age group, movements encouraging productive labour in the first place.

Comrades,

With the contents expounded above, we can now put forth the general line for the socialist revolution in the new stage in our country as follows:

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

The line for building the socialist economy in the new stage in our country is as follows:

To step up socialist industrialization, build the material and technical basis of socialism, and take the economy of our

country from small scale production to large scale socialist production. To give priority to the rational development of heavy industry on the basis of developing agriculture and light industry, build industry and agriculture in the whole country into an industrial-agricultural economic structure, build the central economy while developing the regional economies, combine the central economy with the regional economies into a unified national economic structure, combine the building of productive forces with the setting up and perfecting of new relations of production, combine economy with national defence, strengthen the relations of division of work, cooperation and mutual assistance with the fraternal socialist countries on the basis of socialist internationalism, at the same time develop our economic relations with other countries on the basis of firmly maintaining our independence and sovereignty, and mutual benefit, turn Viet Nam into a socialist country with modern industry and agriculture, advanced culture and science, firm national defence and a civilized and happy life.

It is our aim that the process of taking the economy of our country from small production to large scale socialist production shall be largely completed within about twenty years.

This is the fundamental content of the arduous and complicated class struggle aimed at solving the question of "which will win", between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between the socialist path and the capitalist path.

The characteristic of this class struggle is that it combines transformation with construction, politics with economy, peaceful with violent means, persuasion with compulsion, educational with administrative measures in which the taking of the economy from small scale production to large-scale socialist production is a protracted and complex

undertaking which has decisive significance for the complete victory of socialism in our country

5 On the basis of the general line and the line for economic development as described above, from now to 1980 we will endeavour to enhance the leadership and heighten the fighting capacity of the *Party*, strengthen the proletarian dictatorship of the *State*, launch *revolutionary movements among the masses*, chiefly labour emulation movements, movements for emulation in production and building socialism with industry and thrift, carry on the completion of the reunification of the country in all fields, create a new change in the carrying out of the three revolutions, make a step forward in the building of the new regime, the new economy, the new culture and the new type of man, in particular step up the rehabilitation, complete the transformation of and develop the economy and culture, take the building of the material and technical basis of socialism to a new stage, strive to improve a step further the post war living conditions of the people and endeavour to foster and enlarge the contingent of cadres

III

ORIENTATION AND TASKS OF THE 1976 1980 FIVE YEAR PLAN FOR ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT AND TRANS FORMATION AND FOR SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENT

Comrades

The 1976 1980 Five Year Plan inaugurating the new stage of the Vietnamese revolution thus has an extremely important position. It has to do away with the grave sequels of thirty years of war and neo colonialism, and at the same time reorganize an originally poor and backward economy, take the first steps in building large scale socialist production and lay the foundations for the industrialization of the country.

As our country embarks on this five year plan it faces countless difficulties, and our biggest difficulty lies in the fact that while our economy is still predominantly one of small scale production, and while labour productivity and the national income are still very low, food and foodstuffs for man and raw materials, fuel and equipment for industry are still deficient, exports cannot balance imports, we have to settle two fundamental and urgent tasks simultaneously to ensure the daily needs of the people while carrying out

accumulation in order to build the material and technical basis of socialism

However, we also have many fundamental advantages which we must strive to develop. Those include the considerable potential of tropical agriculture. We can expand the cultivable acreage and plant many crops in a year, develop an all round production and practise large scale intensive cultivation. Our country has a major source of wealth in tens of millions of hectares of forests and forest land, more than 3,200 kilometres of sea coast and vast territorial waters with abundant sea foods that can be exploited all the year round.

Our country already has some initial bases of heavy industry, and a system of light industry and food industry which are in the initial stage of development. Our country also has energy resources and many kinds of mineral ores which can serve as basis for a modern industry. The geography of our country provides us with favourable conditions to expand communications and transport in the country as well as between our country and the outside world.

Most precious of all, our country has a work force 22 million strong and a contingent of more than one million technical cadres and workers and a sizable force of the army engaged in economic construction. We have accumulated some experience in the socialist revolution and in addition enjoy the great economic and technical assistance and co-operation from the fraternal socialist countries.

In the 1976-1980 Five-Year Plan we must mobilize the entire Party, people and army to uphold the spirit of collective mastery and self reliance and enthusiastically to march forward, give full play to the advantages and overcome the difficulties in order to successfully fulfil the following fundamental tasks

Concentrate the forces of the whole country, of all branches and echelons to achieve a sudden spurt of agriculture, strive to step up forestry and fisheries, vigorously develop light industry and food industry (including handicrafts and small industries) with the aim of steadily catering for the needs of the whole country in food, foodstuffs and an important part of the common consumer goods, to further improve the material and cultural life of the people, and create accumulation for socialist industrialization.

Turn to full account the existing heavy industry capacity and build many new bases of heavy industry, especially the engineering industry, in order to serve agriculture, forestry, fishery and light industry first of all, and make provision for technical equipment for the following period. Actively expand communications and transport, rapidly increase the capacity of capital construction, promote scientific and technological work. Make preparations in all fields for large-scale construction in the future long term plans.

Use all the social work force, organize and manage the labour force well in order to achieve a marked increase in social labour productivity, take the initial steps in establishing an industrial agricultural economic structure, combining central with regional economies, build the district into an agro-industrial economic unit step by step, combine economy with national defence, strengthen the national defence force of the whole people.

Achieve basic socialist transformation in the South, consolidate and perfect the socialist relations of production in the North, vigorously improve trade, prices, finance, and banking operations.

Rapidly increase the sources of export products, first of all agricultural and light industry products, broaden economic relations with foreign countries.

Strive to develop education, culture and health work, carry out educational reform, push ahead the training of cadres and workers, blot out the sequels of war and neo-colonialism on the social plane

Effect a deep change in economic organization and management set up a new system of economic management on the national scale

We must strive to attain the following major objectives by 1980 21 million tons of food, one million tons of salt water fish, one million hectares of newly reclaimed land, 12 million hectares of newly planted forests, 165 million pigs, engineering industry output two and a half times over as compared with 1975, 10 million tons of washed coal, 5 000 million kilowatt hours of electricity, 2 million tons of cement, 13 million tons of chemical fertilizer, 300 000 tons of steel, 450 million metres of cloth, 130 000 tons of paper, 14 million square metres of housing space (not including that built by the people themselves)

A GUIDELINES FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF VARIOUS BRANCHES OF THE NATIONAL ECONOMY

1 Agriculture, forestry and fisheries

There must be all round development both of cultivation and stock breeding, as well as forestry and fisheries along the line of large-scale socialist production, with a view to ensuring enough food and foodstuffs for the whole society, supplying raw materials for industry, and rapidly increasing imports soon Economic zoning and production planning must be carried out aimed at developing all areas the plains, the midlands, the mountain regions and the coastal areas, bringing into full play the advantages of each

zone and rapidly creating large areas of concentrated production and crop specialization. Attach importance to all three aspects of intensive farming, multiplication of crops and expansion of the tilled acreage. Continue to make extensive efforts in water conservancy and launch mass movements to push ahead irrigation, perfect the water conservancy system in each large area, and ensure systematic irrigation and drainage, improve the soil and combat soil exhaustion, acidity, salinity and erosion. Build a national system of rice strains and supply new strains with high yields. Apply gains made by agricultural science and technology, turn our tropical agriculture to full account, and catch up with the highest yields in the world. Step up mechanization in the main rice-growing areas and carry out gradual mechanization in the newly-opened areas. Redistribute a large amount of the agricultural work force over the various areas of the country. Step up the building of the district into an agro-industrial economic unit, the branches at the centre and the provincial authorities must supply enough cadres and the necessary means for this to the districts.

Concerning food, we should step up intensive farming while further expanding the cultivated acreage through crop multiplication and land reclamation, and set up key rice-growing areas in order to ensure the state's main source of marketable food. With regard to subsidiary crops (maize, sweet potatoes, cassava, sorghum) we must undertake vigorous expansion of these crops, set up concentrated growing areas, undertake production and processing side by side, carry out homogeneous mechanization and ensure highly intensive farming, especially with regard to maize.

Concerning food crops, develop their intensive cultivation in areas of crop specialization and large food belts around the towns and industrial areas, they should also be widely grown by the families. Rapidly satisfy the needs

of the people with regard to vegetables, beans, and other foods and in particular try to meet the needs of the towns and industrial centres

Development of industrial crops is a most important task. There must be a plan for long term investment of labour, food and techniques in order to develop areas of concentrated growing of industrial crops in the midlands and the mountain regions. Carry out economic regionalization well, organize scientific research and build a processing industry in time to ensure all round and large-scale development of fibre-yielding plants (cotton, jute, mulberry), sugarcane and oil bearing plants (soya, peanut, coconut palm, abrin), rubber trees, tea, coffee, pine apples, bananas and other fruit trees as well as aromatic and medicinal plants.

From being a sideline occupation of the peasants, live stock breeding must rapidly become a main branch of production, supplying meat, eggs and eventually also milk, for the purpose of improving the people's diet, supply draught power pending the full mechanization of agriculture, supply manure for intensive farming and crop multiplication as well as the expansion of the cultivated acreage, make rational use of manpower in the countryside and create an important source of export products. Strive to increase the population of pigs, buffaloes and cows, encourage poultry rearing, give due attention to the raising of horses, goats, rabbits and bees. As the tempo of agricultural mechanization picks up, the draught buffaloes and cows will be used less for draught purposes and will gradually become meat and dairy cattle. We must find satisfactory solutions on a large scale to all three questions of breeds, fodder and veterinary medicine. Redistribution of the land and the crops during the year must be in step with the building of processing units in each district in order to create a stable fodder base for stock breeding. The

selection of breeds, cross breeding must be stepped up and many genetic centres built to ensure an adequate supply of good breeds. The veterinary network must be expanded and enough medicine produced to prevent and stamp out epizootics. A good combination of stock breeding by the State, co-operatives and families in a common system must be found with division of work and co-operation according to the mode of large-scale production.

The food and foodstuffs processing industry must be vigorously developed so as to turn the subsidiary crops into staple and attractive foods, create highly nutritive meals save labour in cooking and suit family life. Food industry enterprises must be set up in any place close to the source of raw materials and in close connection with agricultural production.

Forests constitute a major resource of our country, the tropical climate of our country favours the rapid growth of vegetation. Forestry should be developed vigorously along the line of large-scale socialist production in order to become an important economic sector. Importance should be attached to all aspects: afforestation, care, protection and exploitation of forests. Complete tree-planting on all the bare hills within two or three five-year plans. Make long term investments for the setting up of large afforestation centres according to the principles of specialization and intensive afforestation from the Viet Bac to the Central Highlands and Minh Hai province (the southernmost tip). Launch consecutive movements for "tree planting afforestation and forest preservation", and encourage "tree-planting at the Lunar New Year Festival to show eternal gratitude to Uncle Ho". Achieve success in the drive for sedentary farming and residence, ensure the food supply of the population of mountain regions, and put an end to the bad habit of indiscriminate forest burning. Vigorously develop the State run forestry service.

while turning the responsibility for forests over to co-operative management. Make the mountain districts into large-scale production units which combine forestry, agriculture and industry, and which practise forestry, growing of industrial crops and stock breeding at the same time. Mechanize every part of this forestry work step by step, from the planting of trees to the exploitation and transportation of timber. Develop the processing of timber, use all branches and twigs, encourage the use of wood preservatives and make rational and sparing use of timber.

Increase investments as well as organizational and managerial work in order to restore and develop fisheries, and meet the urgent needs of the country and of export activities. Boost both fishing and fish rearing, in the sea, in brackish water and in fresh water. Expand the trawler building industry, supply fishing tackle to fishermen. Develop both the sea fishing fleets of the central level and the localities. Before long we must make the fullest use of all ponds, rivers and canals. We must develop early the industry for the preservation and processing of aquatic products. Exploitation must be accompanied by plans worked out to protect the aquatic resources, intensify exploration and scientific research to gain a firm understanding of the aquatic resources of our country.

Expand and mechanize the salt making industry step by step to ensure the supply of salt for industrial production and for consumption.

2 Light industry

The fundamental task of light industry (including handicrafts and small industries) is to produce consumer goods to cater for the material and cultural life of the people, ensure and raise the real income of the working people, create conditions for the State to promote the division

of social labour, and supply large quantities of goods for exports. Light industry must make full use of all production capacity and all organizational forms to turn out more and more products with ever lower production costs, of ever greater variety and ever better quality, thus helping to put an early end to the shortage of vital consumer goods.

First of all we should concentrate efforts on developing such branches as cater for the vital necessities of life, such as textiles, leather, garment, paper, furniture, household utensils, schooling material, medical appliances, equipment for creches and physical culture and sports and stationery articles. In the five years ahead we should strive to provide every family with a reasonable amount of fabric for clothing as well as common consumer goods. We should make an inventory of all necessary items and the quantity of each category, effect a division of work between the central and local levels, work out plans to solve problems of raw materials, equipment and techniques satisfactorily and fix the time-limits for the production of these commodities.

The enterprises producing export commodities should be supplied with modern equipment and adequate raw materials and provided with efficient economic and technical management so that their products may catch up with international standards.

In the immediate future, we should rapidly work out a correct inventory of the light industrial forces throughout the country, reorganize, redistribute and co-ordinate them along the line of large-scale socialist production, combining large-scale with medium scale and small production, the centrally run with locally run industries, the State sector with the co-operative and individual sectors. We should improve the technique and expand the production capacities of the existing establishments while striving to build a number of new establishments.

Handicrafts and small industries have an important position in our national economy, especially in the regional economies. They have the task of helping to meet local daily needs as well as those of the whole country, and also play an important role in the production of export goods. Strive to restore and develop handicrafts and small industries, especially the traditional crafts and the fine arts.

The most important question at present is to concentrate on the rapid creation of a stable source of raw materials in the country while working out plans for the import of some necessary raw materials in order to make full use of manpower and technical capacity, meet our vital needs and increase the sources of export.

3 Heavy industry

+ With its key position in the industrial system the engineering industry must be of prime concern in the whole plan for the development of the national economy. It must be rapidly built into a major and powerful branch in order to cater for supplies of machinery, machine tools, accessories and spare parts, partial and complete equipment for factories and plants in the various branches of the national economy.

In this five year plan we should rapidly work out a general engineering scheme for the whole country, and set stable production guidelines for each factory. On the basis of work specialization promote co-operation among general engineering and branch engineering, between State engineering and co-operative engineering, between construction engineering and repair engineering, between military engineering and civil engineering, between central engineering and local engineering. Re-arrange, transform and expand the existing factories in order to fully exploit their capacities, while striving to the utmost to build a number

of new and important factories with a view to perfecting the engineering industry step by step. Along with the building of the common engineering industry of the Ministry of Engineering and Metallurgy, we must develop engineering in the important branches and locally. Strive to supply enough ordinary and improved tools of good quality, meet most of the needs of the repair industry and supply most kinds of accessories, turn out more machines and equipment to meet part of the needs of various economic branches.

Build up the electronics industry, produce various kinds of electronic devices, manufacture and assemble electronic equipment.

Energy must be developed early and ahead of requirements. Research should be stepped up in order to exploit and use various forms of energy.

With regard to electricity, the fundamental orientation is to combine hydroelectric power with thermal power, giving utmost importance to the former, and combining large, medium and small hydro-electric projects. Build an electric grid proportionate to the sources of electric energy. In this five-year plan, we shall expand some old power stations and build a number of new ones. Attention shall be paid to building many small hydro-electric stations in the midlands and the mountain regions, especially in the Central Highlands.

Increase coal production in order to meet the immediate needs and rapidly increase coal output in the next plan. Make the most of the existing mines and rapidly dig many more mines. Develop the coal processing industry so that the coal resource can yield better economic results. Increase the engineering force to manufacture part of the equipment for coal extraction in collieries and open cast mines.

Vigorously expand exploration of and prospection for mineral oil and natural gas resources on the mainland as well as off shore, create conditions for the rapid building of the oil industry. As a matter of urgency, make preparations to start the construction of the first oil refinery and processing base soon.

Metallurgy must be developed stage by stage, in step with the development of engineering output and must meet the demands of capital construction. Our country must strive to manufacture a large volume of ferrous metals and non ferrous metals and some rare and precious metals. In this plan, complete the building and enlargement of the existing steel works, build many electric furnaces at the engineering factories, and make provision for building large-size steel works. Expand the production of tin, create conditions for the construction of other non ferrous metal lurgical bases. Focus efforts on exploring new mineral deposits.

Promote the all sided development of the *chemical industry*, including inorganic and organic chemistry. Combine large, medium and small scale enterprises, have an eye to association of production and build rationally designed chemical complexes in order to obtain high economic results while protecting the environment. In this five year period strive to increase the output of chemical fertilizer and other chemicals in service of agricultural production. Start the construction of an artificial fibre factory, caustic soda factories and a number of basic chemicals factories soon. Develop pharmaceutical chemistry to meet the people's needs in medicines, and manufacture derivatives of natural rubber, aromatic products and volatile oil.

In service of the plans for economic development, especially the plan for heavy industry, we should step up *preliminary investigation, geological survey and the exploration of natural resources*. Geological work should be

developed rapidly to meet the needs of various branches at an early stage. Increase the number of cadres and the amount of machinery and equipment necessary to the geological service and step up scientific research in geology.

4 Construction

At the beginning of the new stage, the construction service is confronted with enormous, heavy tasks to overcome the serious sequels of a devastating war, and at the same time to build the material and technical basis of socialism. We must restore and build many new economic, cultural and public utility projects and housing facilities, rebuild Hanoi the capital city 'to make it grander, bigger and finer'. To fulfil this task, we should

Increase the material and technical basis of the construction branch gradually turning this branch into a modern industry. In the immediate future, we must equip construction workers adequately with various kinds of tools, mechanize the heavy jobs requiring a big volume of construction, and take steps towards the industrialization of construction. Organize work in a scientific way and apply advanced methods of construction, closely control the economic technical building norms and quotas in order to ensure the quality of projects, raise labour productivity, reduce the costs of projects, and rapidly put them to use.

Vigorously develop the building materials industry through the building of major installations with modern techniques, while building numbers of medium and small local factories. Broaden the range of the building materials, increase their quantity and improve their quality in order eventually to have enough and diversified building materials for all needs. Actively increase the output of cement, bricks and tiles and other basic materials, rapidly increase

the production of decorative materials, sound proof, moisture proof and heat-insulation materials

Step up construction planning and rapidly increase the survey and designing capacity in the country Assimilate progress in other parts of the world in planning and designing and apply them creatively to our practical conditions Mobilize all creative capacity of our designing workers and give full scope to the intelligence and talent of the broad masses of those engaged in construction work Develop socialist architecture with both a modern and national character

Strengthen the Ministry of Construction to make it the core of the whole construction branch, and at the same time adequately develop the construction forces of the various branches, especially locally, develop the building teams of the co-operatives and strengthen the brigades who do maintenance and repair work on dwelling houses Make good use of the army in capital construction Transform and make rational use of the private building firms in the South

*** Communications and transport, postal service**

The fundamental task of the communications and transport sector is to satisfy the needs for the transportation of goods and people, ensure economic relations in the country, serve production and help increase social labour productivity We must develop all forms of communications and transport, rapidly complete the restoration and transformation of the old communications system while building the new one, chiefly in the mountain areas and the new economic regions Ensure a reasonable relationship between the building of roads, ports and storage facilities and the production of transport means Strengthen the

mechanical engineering branch in order to increase rapidly the production capacity of means of transport and accessories as well as repair facilities. Step up the mechanization of ports and cargo-handling. Achieve a rational division of work among sea, river, railway and land transport, and between centrally run and locally run communications and transport services.

Sea routes provide very convenient long distance transport for domestic purposes as well as between our country and the rest of the world. We must make the best possible use of sea transport. Concentrate efforts on building, expanding and managing the sea port system well, develop the ship-building industry vigorously and rapidly build our own merchant fleet and river and sea vessels.

Inland waterways must be widely used in a way suitable to the conditions of our country. Strive to mechanize river transport rapidly, and step up the production of many kinds of transport means. Attention must be given to building highly mechanized river ports with great cargo-handling capacity.

With regard to *railways* we must work out a plan for initial modernization of the Hanoi - Ho Chi Minh City line and at the same time carry out surveys preparatory to building new lines. Actively improve organizational and managerial work in order to increase the speed of trains rapidly, and strive to regularize and modernize the railways step by step.

Roads should be further developed. We must maintain and improve the main highways and build many new ones, chiefly in the highlands and in the new economic regions. Carry out a reform in communications and transport in the towns through a rapid increase of means of public transport. Develop rural communications and transport.

combined with water conservancy in order to serve agricultural production

Transform and extend the pipeline system, develop civil aviation into an increasingly important transport branch

Rapidly expand the postal service to meet the needs of communications in the country and between our country and the outside world. We must give full scope to all communications capacity and existing material and technical bases while striving to develop the communications industry, and step by step and selectively modernize the communications and postal network in order to ensure swiftness, accuracy, safety and convenience

6 Circulation, distribution, export and import

7/24

Socialist trade is not merely business activity for the purpose of profit but an important tool to ensure the people's right to collective mastery in the domain of distribution, its primary task is to organize the rational and planned circulation and distribution of goods in order to serve the people's daily needs, stimulate the development of production and develop the division of labour

To carry out this task, socialist trade must be successful in the following main areas of activity

Striving to serve production and taking active measures to influence production making it meet the needs of consumption more satisfactorily in both quantity and quality and according to required standards.

Organizing the purchase and control of goods, especially staple commodities, through two-way contracts and at reasonable prices. We must see to it that purchase work becomes a means of stimulating the expansion of

production accelerate the process of reproduction , we must combat overbearingness, and arbitrary grading and pricing of goods

Organizing the distribution of goods right to the hands of consumers, and ensuring that consumer goods are distributed equitably and to those who need them, in accordance with the principles of distribution according to labour, while taking into due account the fundamental needs of each region and each stratum of the population. While production still falls short of demand, rationing is temporarily applied to some of the staple commodities. Constantly perfect the planning of the supply and storing of goods, thus contributing to the balance between money and goods, between supply and demand. The retail sales network must be organized rationally, on a wide scale and to the convenience of the buyers. Strive to do away as soon as possible with too long queuing in front of shop counters, arbitrary weighing, measuring and counting, and step by step build a civilized trade service. Foster a contingent of highly proficient cadres and personnel of the trade service capable of providing good service to the customers, and being worthy, enterprising suppliers and devoted house keepers of the people , resolutely combat graft and over bearingness

Expand service facilities, especially in the cities, townships and industrial centres , gradually change students' and public employees' canteens. Organize good restaurants and resting places on the main communication lines.

In the South, together with socialist transformation of private trade, we must rapidly expand the State-run trade service and the marketing co-operatives, arrange the wholesale and retail networks rationally, and see to it that the State-run trade service not only has complete control over wholesale trade but can also manipulate retail trade

and control the market and prices, thus creating the fundamental conditions on which to unify the markets in the whole country

Concerning the organization of trade in the countryside, the district is an economic unit through which the State carries out its two way contracts with the peasants, plans the circulation of goods and achieves the balance of money and goods in the district. On the national scale and in urban and industrial areas, the corporation (or general corporation) dealing in specific goods is the appropriate form of organization. We must strive to improve management and reduce circulation expenditures

The supply of raw materials must aim at effectively serving production and stimulating technological progress. In the immediate future, we must concentrate all efforts on providing enough materials for the five-year plan for economic development and transformation, improve all stages of production from planning, tapping sources of supply to the organization of supplies and the management of the use of materials

First of all we must get a good grasp of the material resources and needs of the whole country, of each branch and each unit, and also each category of needs and delivery requirements. On this basis strive to improve the mode and organization of supply and ensure that the materials are delivered to the production unit in time, in adequate quantities, with homogeneous components and with minimum loss and expenditure, put an end to the absurd overstocking or shortage of materials. Attach importance to securing a reserve of raw materials in demand in order to ensure uninterrupted production. There must be concrete policies to stimulate the production of raw materials in the country and satisfy step by step almost all raw material needs by our own means; make full use of existing materials, increase the collecting and purchase of old materials

Improve and strengthen the management of the use of materials to ensure that they are used in the right way and in adequate quantities, strive to keep the consumption of materials as low as possible, give maximum encouragement to the saving of materials, while taking severe disciplinary actions against all use of materials at variance with plan careless consumption of materials, and unaccountable loss or damage of materials

The price policy must serve production and the people as well, and must ensure the fulfilment of the tasks in the State plan. With regard to production, prices should be fixed correctly compensating labour consumption and achieving enlarged reproduction, they should serve the aim of promoting the scientific and technological revolution, achieving the new division of labour and increasing labour productivity and the improvement of the quality of products thus creating conditions for the State to increase purchases and control the sources of goods. To serve the life of the people prices must be organically linked to wages and other cash incomes of the working people so as to ensure constant increase of the real income of various social strata in keeping with the development of production and labour productivity. Prices must become an instrument with which to regulate supply and demand, and help to distribute and redistribute the national income correctly.

In the immediate future we should study and work out a more rational system of prices, especially the prices of farm, forest and sea products sold to the State, the prices of consumer goods as well as the prices of means of production sold by the State to the collective economic sector. To consolidate the system of cost accounting in the State run factories, we must rapidly work out a system of whole sale enterprise prices and wholesale industrial prices, on

the basis of judicious criteria and norms and in keeping with the realities of production

In the present economic conditions, to stabilize prices is a complex and protracted struggle and a very important task aimed at contributing to the stabilization of production and life in general. The trading service must, together with other related branches, make flexible use of such measures as purchase, sale, pricing, finance to manage the market well stabilize prices step by step, and eventually reduce prices on the basis of the development of production, increase of labour productivity and reduction of cost price. The unification of prices in the two zones of the country should be undertaken as a matter of urgency with account taken of the special conditions of production in each zone as well as each economic region in the country.

There should be rational organization in the management of prices, in which all the various branches of production and localities are called upon to play an important role.

In the socialist economy, *finances* are the symbol of social wealth, representing the various sources of capital fixed assets and circulating assets. Therefore, financial activities cannot be defined narrowly as the revenues and expenditures of the State budget, nor simply as "increasing revenues, reducing expenditures and balancing the budget". Instead the fundamental task of the financial service is to control the sources of capital in keeping with the line on economic development and, on the basis of economic development, to build a rational relationship between consumption funds and accumulation funds aimed at satisfying the needs of the people's life and ensuring expenditure on maintaining security and the consolidation of national defence, and continuous enlarged reproduction. The increase of financial sources can only be the result of expanded production and increased social

labour productivity, the full and adequate use of all sources of manpower and natural resources of the country on the basis of an ever more advanced technology. Although taxes at present still make up a significant source of financial revenue, our fundamental source of revenue remains the labour contribution of everybody to the common cause. The financial service must well fulfil its function as an effective supervisor and controller of all production and business operations in order to ensure the greatest output with the lowest outlay, rapid growth of labour productivity and greater efficiency of investments, leaving not one inch of land untilled, one machine inactive or one able bodied person jobless.

In the immediate future, the financial service must fulfil the following major tasks:

Work out an active budget (national budget and local budget) aimed at ensuring a good implementation of the economic development programme and an expansion of social and cultural activities. In the South, we should work out a correct tax policy to help regulate the sources of income.

To carry out an overall stock taking to have a clear idea of the sources of wealth and production capacity. To work out, jointly with the other branches and levels, concrete plans to make the fullest use of this capacity to develop production and provide for the people's needs.

Together with the unification of markets and price systems, we must unify the financial system throughout the country.

The fundamental task of the banking system is to take part in working out a plan for economic development, to supply credit capital for production and business activities, and to use money to supervise the productivity, efficiency and quality of these operations.

We must vigorously extend credit operations in order to ensure capital for production and business and limit money dealings with a view to encouraging all branches and levels to expand production and business, while compelling them to strengthen economic and financial management, strictly observe the norms for the use of manpower, equipment, materials and capital, and strive to fulfil and overfulfil their production plans both in output and quality. Credit operations, if well done, will contribute to stepping up production and create a balance between money and goods on a new basis.

Along with intensifying credit work, the banking system must really become clearing centres of all production and business operations, manage cash effectively and closely regulate monetary circulation in society.

To unceasingly broaden the international division of labour and co-operation in the fields of economy, science and technology, and to step up foreign trade activities are objective demands of our time. In particular, as our country is advancing directly from small scale production to large-scale socialist production the strengthening of the relations of mutual assistance and co-operation in economy and technology with the fraternal socialist countries and the expansion of economic relations with other countries are of major importance. Export and import, therefore, become a very important part of the whole economic activity of our country. The aim of export and import is to secure world's modern technology, to bring production and labour to achieve better economic results in our country, thus contributing to the growth of accumulation and the improvement of our people's life. Exports should be given a further boost to stimulate production, raise the technical level, promote the division of labour and create conditions for expanding imports. Imports must satisfy the requirements of the scientific-technological revolution and the

building of the material technical basis of socialism, it must help increase labour productivity in our country

To step up exports our main orientation at present is to develop the potentialities of tropical agriculture and forestry and the abundant manpower resource of our country, to make full use of the capacity of light industry, to boost the exploitation of a number of sea products and mineral resources which have relatively big reserves, and strive to export some items of heavy industry. We should make adequate investment to expand production of export-oriented goods, work out appropriate policies to encourage all branches, localities and units to increase export. We should also expand tourism.

To take a direct part in export and import is the common responsibility of all branches, levels, and of anyone engaged in production. However, all export and import operations must be placed under the unified management of the State and effected through a specialized agency, the Ministry of Foreign Trade. To firmly grasp the line for economic development and the foreign policy of the Party, to understand the capabilities and needs of each country and each regional market, and to know how to open stable and the most profitable markets, to have a clear idea of the capacity and needs of our country, to strive to assist and guide all branches and levels in expanding export and import, to create major sources of high quality commodities for export and carry out import according to our requirements, specifications and schedules. These are the main tasks of foreign trade.

7 Labour and wages

Advancing from small scale production to large-scale socialist production, we must necessarily carry out an all-round revolution in the domain of labour: reorganize and

reallocate labour in the various regions and branches, mechanize labour, raise the political consciousness and foster the professional skill of the working people and care for their life. Only on this basis can we create high social labour productivity, the ultimate decisive factor for the complete victory of our new social system.

First of all, we must base ourselves on the requirement of socialist industrialization and of the building of a new production structure to reorganize and redivide labour on a national scale, in each branch as well as in each place and production unit. In the immediate future, we must reorganize labour in agriculture in order to ensure enough manpower for the development of agriculture, while switching a great part of the agricultural work force to other branches and from densely populated regions to thinly populated ones, in order to open more land for cultivation. We should have a plan to expand production in order to do away with unemployment in the newly liberated areas, and to ensure enough jobs to all people of working age. In order to control the whole labour force in society, we should proceed from the requirements and capabilities in all respects to take the initiative in using all organizational forms (large, medium and small scale), and all working methods (mechanized, semi-mechanized and manual) to absorb all sources of labour to develop branches and trades, to boost up production and to turn out more wealth.

We must attach importance to the organization and management of labour. Institute a regime of labour duty compelling all able-bodied men and women to work. The result of labour must be computed per hour and minute, and waste of labour resolutely combated, for it is the greatest waste at present. Closely associate duty with interests, and interests with responsibility, combine the strict discipline of the organization with the general self-consciousness. Strive to work out satisfactory criteria and

norms for labour, boldly apply advanced methods of labour organization and management, step up ideological education, launch continuous socialist emulation movements, coupled with the judicious use of such incentives as wages, bonuses and public welfare, attach importance to improving working conditions, ensure labour safety, and protect the health of the working people. As regards women, they should be given appropriate assignments, and all necessary conditions such as creches and canteens should be created to help them contribute their labour. Unceasingly raise the ability of management cadres to organize and direct the work force.

We must equip the work force with enough tools, and push ahead mechanization of labour, especially heavy work.

We must see to it that everybody loves work, loves his profession and opposes laziness and dependency. We must inculcate into the working people the great industry style of work—to work with discipline, organization, diligence and resourcefulness. Open many full-time vocational schools and many vocational courses at the factories to train workers and technical cadres, to raise the professional skill of the great majority of workers, work out appropriate policies to encourage the workers to love and cultivate their trades enthusiastically. The training of technical workers must be proportionate to the training of engineers and technicians according to the production characteristics and technology processes of each trade. Right in the general education schools, we must provide the young people with knowledge of labour and the new style of work in order to train a new generation of working people.

To apply a wages system based on the principle of "distribution according to labour" together with the expansion of public welfare facilities. Wages must ensure the reproduction of the work force and the life of the working

people and their families. Wages must be closely connected with labour productivity and have a stimulating effect on production and technical progress in conformity with the characteristics of each branch and trade. We must develop a rational relationship between wages, public welfare and accumulation for enlarged reproduction. At present, we should strive to improve the wages system in order to reflect more fully the principle of distribution according to labour, viz, more work, more pay, less work, less pay, no pay for those who can but do not work, jobs which require high technical skill, heavy or unwholesome jobs, and work in regions where natural conditions are difficult must be duly remunerated. Along with the improvement of the wages system and the increase of wages, the State must have plans to step up the production of consumer goods with ever lower production costs in order to ensure the gradual increase of real wages.

8 Improvement of the life of the people

To improve the people's material and spiritual life is the cardinal task of our Party and State, and the highest objective of economic development programmes. In our capacity as masters we are well aware that with an economy which still consists predominantly of small scale production and which has, moreover, just emerged from a devastating war, the difficulties and privations in our life cannot completely be done away overnight. We must uphold the spirit of making efforts and sacrifices, fearing no difficulties and hardships, carry out a policy of rational consumption and devote part of our manpower and material wealth to accumulation for building the material technical basis of socialism. At the same time, on the basis of the existing capabilities, we must take utmost care of the people's life, seeking by every means to gradually

relieve the difficulties in life, especially of the working people in urban as well as rural areas, in war torn and ethnic minority areas and new economic regions

On the one hand, we must strive to develop production and ensure all staple commodities to society. On the other hand, we must pay attention to the good organization of the people's life from community life and the organization of canteens to the lives of each family, from the supply and distribution of goods to rest, recreation and tourism, from questions of food, clothing, housing, public conveyance to education, medical care, physical culture and sports, etc. All these domains require of Party and administrative bodies at all levels, of trading services, economic and cultural organs, and mass organizations a deep understanding of the people's right to collective mastery, a high sense of responsibility, and an adequate organization ability.

In the five years to come, we must see that everybody has enough staple food, vegetables, beans, sauce, fish and part of the necessary meat, in addition to sugar, eggs, fruits. Strive to ensure decent and warm clothes to the people, and organize transportation well, adequately supply all families with common goods such as cooking pots and pans, bowls and plates, tea services, blankets, mosquito nets, cupboards, beds, tables and chairs, schooling material, children's toys. Step by step meet the demands of the people for electric fans, clocks and wrist watches, radios, television sets and sewing machines. We must attach utmost importance to increasing public welfare establishments.

Housing is the biggest problem in the life of the workers and population in towns and war-devastated areas. The State must adopt plans for the appropriate investment of labour and materials, take active measures to speed up the production of building materials and rapidly develop construction forces for housing projects. In various ways,

mobilize the capacity of cadres workers and people for the construction of houses In the countryside, we should design models of residential areas and houses , and strive to supply the peasants in part with building materials

B TO DEVELOP SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

To develop science and technology (natural and social sciences) and to build up a body of advanced science to contribute to ensuring the people's mastery over society and nature and to the moulding of the new Vietnamese this is a noble task of the socialist revolution, an important part of the ideological and cultural revolution and the scientific and technological revolution Giving impetus to scientific and technological work will help us to do away with poverty and backwardness rapidly, and to shorten the time needed for socialist construction in our country

Every scientific and technical activity must aim at carrying out the Party's line and policies, and serve the people's life and national defence For the purpose of good service, science and technology must not only aim at satisfying the requirements which have already emerged, but must also anticipate those which will emerge , not only be directed at solving the problems raised by production but also open new directions for production , not only pay attention to knowledge having direct bearing on production, but also give due heed to knowledge indirectly related but very necessary to production , attention must be paid to the integrated character and combined effect of science and technology and the relationship between natural and social sciences. We must uphold the spirit of revolutionary offensive and self reliance, develop all intelligence and talent in the country, boldly strive to achieve what is needed by the country by our own efforts, however

difficult it may be, and guard against the tendency to rely on others. At the same time, make the most of world achievements and not waste time and energy in groping for what has been well tackled elsewhere in the world. In each period, concentrate forces and means to find definitive solutions to the most important problems. Enhance the spirit of socialist co-operation and resolutely oppose individualism, departmentalism and parochialism. Integrate schools, institutes and production units in a satisfactory manner combine teaching, scientific research and production well. Ensure good training and use of scientific and technical workers, give impetus to the mass advance into the realm of science and technology. Develop and consolidate scientific and technological organizations, improve the managerial system and style of work to bring all abilities into full play.

In the domain of *natural science and technology*, we must strive to build up, within about three or four five-year plans a modern Vietnamese science and technology with a structure suitable to the conditions of our country, including both basic and applied sciences and give special attention to the science and technology of adaptation to tropical conditions. In the years ahead, scientific and technological activity must be directed towards the following main objectives:

Ensuring the needs of *agricultural development* by creating good strains with high yields, short-term cultivation and high resistance to insects and pests, setting up programmes for water conservancy, for prevention of and combat against insects and pests, land improvement, reduction of soil salinity and acidity, struggle against erosion, and mechanization of agriculture over large areas.

Serving the sea foods industry here we should carry out investigations to get a clear picture of the migrating habits of fish and shrimps in our country's territorial waters.

as well as the advanced techniques of fishing, study the technique of breeding fish, shrimps and other sea foods

Meeting the needs of industrial construction with regard to the existing industrial establishments and those to be set up, we must rapidly master production techniques, get well acquainted with the basic processes in mechanical engineering, rapidly assimilate metallurgy techniques suited to the raw materials of our country, strive to build hydro-electric power plants by ourselves, grasp the techniques of mineral oil and gas exploration and the techniques of oil refinery and petro-chemistry as soon as possible, find good solutions to technical problems in the processing and preservation of agricultural and aquatic products Endeavour to master scientific and technical problems in capital construction, communications, transport, postal services, radio broadcasting and television.

Technical management should become systematised. We should supply measurement and control instruments, and carry out standardization measurement, control of technique and of product quality

Adequate development of basic sciences mathematics, biology, chemistry, physics, study of applied econometrics, science of organization and cybernetics, etc in our economic guidance and management

To attain the above targets, we should define the key problems of the whole country as well as of each branch and each locality in detail A system of institutes for research, experimentation and designing including universities, adequately supplied with necessary instruments and machines must be set up The norms of improved technique must make their way into economic development programmes, scientific and technical information and dissemination must be promoted, strive to expand scientific and technical co-operation with the fraternal socialist countries and other countries

The foremost task of social science above all of philosophy, political economy, and scientific socialism, is to elucidate the major problems relating to the line and policies of the Vietnamese revolution in the light of Marxism Leninism and on the basis of the summing up of revolutionary experience already accumulated. In the immediate future we should concentrate on the following main questions: the laws of socialism, the path of small scale production advancing to large scale socialist production, proletarian dictatorship and the working people's right to collective mastery, the three revolutions and the building of the new system, the new economy and the new type of man, socialist industrialization, the central task of the whole period of transition in our country, economic organization and management and Party building in the situation of the Party leading the State power. Step up the popularization and teaching of Marxism Leninism so that this doctrine prevails in the spiritual life of society, struggle against all erroneous and hostile ideologies, against the vestiges of backward ideologies and cultures.

Expand and heighten the quality of research in many domains, including history, archaeology, ethnology, linguistics, literature and arts.

C TO TRANSFORM THE OLD RELATIONS OF PRODUCTION CONSOLIDATE AND PERFECT THE SOCIALIST RELATIONS OF PRODUCTION

In the North, the consolidation and perfection of the new relations of production must be based on the following main contents:

1. Boost socialist industrialization in order to strengthen the 'material basis' of the new relations of production, to rapidly consolidate and broaden the State sector.

of economy, and further enhance its leading role in the whole of the national economy. Develop and improve the new system of management and distribution in order to materialize the system of socialist collective mastery more fully to make production develop unceasingly.

2. Boost the movement for agricultural reorganization along the line of socialist large scale production. Combine the consolidation of the co-operatives with the building of the district into an agro-industrial economic unit (an agriculture-forestry industry unit in mountain regions). Developing the district and strengthening the district level is the key question at present, and this in particular should be carried out well and rapidly.

Strive to consolidate and develop the State owned farms. With regard to the co-operatives, along with a rational enlargement we must base ourselves on the existing rules of the co-operatives and the practice of the co-operative movement to further improve the management system. Land and other collective property must be protected and all acts of misuse and usurpation opposed. Labour must be managed according to norms and organized along the line of gradual specialization, production must be carried out according to the rules and technical processes already determined, co-op members' right to collective mastery must be ensured, while all despotic and arbitrary acts as well as the fragmentary and unorganized character of small production must be combated. The principle of socialist distribution must be observed, while graft, misuse of co-op property and laziness must be combated.

We must select and promote outstanding working people to managerial positions, give attention to their training and fostering in economics, science, techniques and managerial work. On the other hand, we must send engineers

technicians and able cadres to reinforce the district and co-operative managerial apparatus

3 Handicrafts and small scale industry co-operatives must be consolidated and strengthened in close combination with the development of production. On the basis of determining the position of each branch and trade, we should rearrange and stabilize these cooperatives in all fields' orientation of production and sale of products, source of materials, and guidelines for technical advance. Strengthen managerial work, amend irrational regulations in order to make handicraft and small industry develop favourably in keeping with the State plan, fulfil contracts, observe the regulations of the State regarding business management, and resolutely oppose such vestiges of former practices as production of shoddy articles, pilfering of state property, collusion in illicit dealings

4 With regard to the private economy still existing in a number of branches and trades, we should guide and make it develop along the right path, and should not let it encroach upon the collective and State economic sectors, and disturb prices and the socialist market.

In the South, the transformation of the relations of production has only begun and remains a very arduous and complicated task. Along with the complete abolition of feudal land tenure and the vestiges of feudal exploitation, we must nationalize the industrial and commercial establishments of the comprador capitalist class, of the traitors and of the bourgeois who have fled abroad, carry out socialist transformation of private capitalism, of agriculture, handicrafts, small scale industry and small-scale trading. The policy of socialist transformation of these sectors is as follows: to use, restrict and transform private capitalist industry and commerce chiefly through the joint State-private enterprises, to carry out co-operativization of agriculture along with developing the districts and taking

agriculture to large scale socialist production, to transform handicrafts and small scale industry chiefly by means of co-operativization and through other forms, to transform small scale trading chiefly by gradually shifting small traders to productive activities. The revolution in the relations of production must be combined with the scientific technological revolution, and with the ideological and cultural revolution, and must be closely linked with the process of reorganizing production and circulation in the whole country in order to gradually put the South on the path to large scale socialist production. For some time and in certain fields of production, the economy in the South will still be composed of many sectors. On the basis of developing the socialist economic sector as the nucleus of the national economy, we should turn all other capacity to promote production to full account, meet the people's needs satisfactorily, serve socialism well, restrict and eliminate negative manifestations of the capitalist sector and the spontaneous character of small scale individual production.

The *State-run economy* in the South comprises the most important enterprises in industry, agriculture, trade, transport, capital construction, banking and foreign trade. The State economic sector is an organic part of the integrated socialist State-run economy of the whole country. We must use all means available to make the central and local State run economy in the South grow rapidly and gain increasing supremacy in production, circulation and distribution.

The private capitalist enterprises will soon be subjected to socialist transformation through joint *State-private enterprise* or will be guided and managed in production in keeping with the State plan. Along with the transformation of the relations of production, we should rearrange the productive forces within each branch rationally, strengthen managerial work, and provide supplementary machines and

equipment to expand production. Immediately abolish capitalist trade by relying on the State-run trade, marketing cooperatives, and consumers' co-operatives.

As for those *private enterprises* that are still allowed to carry out production under the management of the socialist State and the State-run economy, and have cut off their relations with individual economy, their business in essence, is no longer entirely private capitalist. They have taken on a form of State capitalism, operating in the framework of a planned socialist economy and serving the interests of socialism.

With regard to agriculture in the South, the best way to advance rapidly to large-scale socialist production is to closely combine transformation with construction to carry out co-operativization along with irrigation and mechanization, to attach importance to the building of both the co-operatives and the State farms, to closely co-ordinate the building of co-operatives with the building of the districts into agro-industrial economic units. In the immediate future, we must on the one hand undertake production planning, economic regionalization, consolidate the peasants' associations, develop the work exchange teams and the "solidarity teams", and build pilot co-operatives, and on the other hand, immediately *strengthen the district level* to enable it to lead the three revolutions in the countryside, strengthen the ties between the State and the peasants, and break off all relations between the latter and the speculators, prepare necessary conditions to undertake large scale co-operativization of agriculture in a steady, rapid and neat way.

With regard to fisheries, along with the active development of the State run sector, we should set up direct links between the State and fishermen. The State will help the fishermen escape all exploitation by supplying them with credits, means of production and living while ensuring the

purchase of their products and taking them step by step to the path of large-scale socialist production in keeping with the characteristics of fisheries

With regard to *handicrafts and small scale industry* and service branches necessary to society, we should rearrange them according to branch and operate them under the management of the State. Depending on the characteristics of each branch and trade, we should apply suitable forms of organization and transformation, organizing them into small scale industry and handicrafts co-operatives so that they may improve their techniques and expand production, converting them into units to process or manufacture goods to order, and with materials supplied by State-run enterprises. In the case of certain special enterprises, we should allow them to retain the form of private businesses. The socialist transformation of small scale industry and handicrafts must lead to increased production, observance and improvement of production techniques, more diversified production and better quality of products.

We should shift the greater part of *small scale trading* to production activities to create more wealth for society. With regard to those who are still allowed to carry on their business, the State must back up its management with appropriate policies and measures.

IV

GIVING IMPETUS TO THE IDEOLOGICAL AND CULTURAL REVOLUTION, BUILDING AND DEVELOPING A NEW CULTURE

Comrades,

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

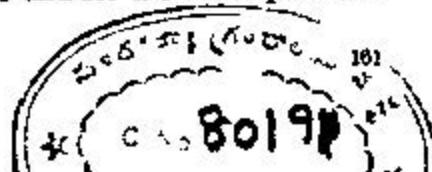
The object of the educational reform is to train new qualified workers with a socialist mind, socialist virtues, a general education, necessary technological knowledge and professional skill, an aesthetic mind and good health, and on this basis to train and foster technical workers, managers, scientific 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 sparetime 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 manager 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 strengthen the emulation movement for "good 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 pic

tures 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, 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 townships. 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 outpatients 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 grass-roots 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 woman workers. The bringing up and education 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.

V

TO CONSOLIDATE THE SOCIALIST STATE, TO INCREASE THE ROLE OF MASS ORGANIZATIONS, TO PERFORM GOOD MASS WORK

Comrades,

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 the new system, the new economy, the new culture, and the 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 given 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 process 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—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 of 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 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, provinces, 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 or 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—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 or 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 labour, 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 build

ing 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 forestal 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 labour, 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 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 army-men 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 Viet Nam'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 regulations, 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 contingent of cadres comes under the responsibility of both our Party and State.

The Party leads all activities of society in the framework 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 organizations 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

Comrades,

The revolution is a festival for the masses. Revolutionary work must be done through revolutionary movements. In the recent patriotic war of resistance, we stirred up emulation movements filled with enthusiasm and exaltation to fight the US aggressors. But in socialist construction, we have not yet created strong movements. During the past few years, we have mobilized the masses to emulate in productive labour, to industriously and thriftily build socialism. But there were movements which flared up only at the beginning, and others which required a great deal of effort from the masses but got no commensurate results. The reason was that the leadership of the Party organizations was not good: the directives and programmes set were not closely drawn up and they lacked continuity, the necessary material conditions were not fully prepared, and Party organizations, the State, and the mass organizations failed to coordinate their actions.

To stir up a revolutionary movement is not a question of creating activities that flare up for a moment, alienated from the process of production and the struggle of the masses, but rather a matter of firmly grasping the science and art of arousing the masses, organizing and guiding them in a planned way to create deep and continuous revolutionary movements turning them into seething and permanent movements of the masses to carry out their

concrete daily tasks successfully. Such a mass movement requires detailed and defined objectives, the clever combination of various measures, political and economic, educational and administrative, ideological and organizational, the close and harmonious coordination of Party organizations, State bodies, mass organizations and economic and social organizations.

There are always advanced, average, and backward people among the masses. Work among the masses must be aimed at promoting and constantly developing the advanced people, raising the average section to the ranks of the advanced, and reducing the number of backward people. This can only be done through the revolutionary movements of the masses themselves. Through these movements the masses will change their thinking and will conduct self appraisal and self education. To use the masses themselves to educate and arouse the masses through their daily revolutionary actions is the most effective method for stirring up revolutionary movements.

The working people's right to collective mastery is exercised not only through the State but also through the mass organizations.

The common task of mass organizations is to ensure the participation of the masses in, and their control of, State affairs. Besides, mass organizations are schools of socialism; they transform various social classes and strata into new ones, exercising their right to socialist collective mastery.

In the socialist revolution, the Party must attend to the building of the working class throughout the country in order to develop it unceasingly in both number and quality, and to make it worthy of its role of the vanguard and leading class in the construction of socialism. We must perfect and fully implement the regulations of the

State to ensure the workers' active and effective participation in the management of their factories, the economy and society

The trade union is a large mass organization of the working class, the school of communism, economic management and State management for workers. It must fulfil the task of participating in State affairs, in the control of State activities, and in the management of factories. It must foster the workers' socialist consciousness and socialist attitude toward labour work with discipline, skill, high productivity and honesty and with determination to overcome difficulties. It must organize the emulation movement in productive labour well to build socialism with industry and thrift and co-ordinate with the factory director in leading the emulation movement. It must, together with the State bodies, look after the cultural, technical, and professional studies of the workers and train able technical and managing cadres from among the workers. While attending to the workers' legitimate interests, it must actively contribute together with the State bodies, to solving the practical problems of living, collective welfare, working conditions, study and rest of the workers and public employees. In particular, it must ensure labour protection properly prevent and remedy labour accidents. In the South, the trade union organization also has the task of ensuring the role and interests of the workers in private and joint State-private factories, and of guiding these factories in production and business in keeping with the line of the Party and the policies and laws of the State.

The trade union organizations must be widely open to the workers and employees in the State machinery and State-run industrial and commercial enterprises. In the South, in particular, they must admit broad masses of

industrial workers As the number of workers and employees increases, the trade unions must be more solidly organized and more closely associated with the economic technical branches and with production Trade-union leaders must be thoroughly conversant with the Party line and policies, acquainted with economic management, closely related to the workers and most of them should not be dissociated from production

The working peasantry¹ is one of the fundamental classes who together with the working class, constitute the main forces in the construction of socialism In the North, work among the peasants must concentrate on carrying out the three revolutions, reorganizing agriculture in the direction of large scale socialist production, creating the new system and the new type of man in the countryside The cooperatives are productive organizations but also broad mass organizations of the collective peasantry They play a great role in uniting and educating the peasants, in raising their sense of collective mastery and their capacity to exercise this right, and in moulding the peasantry into the collective peasant class It is the task of Party organizations and State bodies at all levels, particularly the district and the commune levels, to mould and further consolidate the cooperatives Being a form of materializing the collective mastery of the peasants, the assemblies of collective peasants at all levels must be held regularly, on time, and with good results

In the countryside of the South at present, we must draw the peasant masses into *peasants' associations*, educate them and enhance their patriotism and love for socialism, arouse them to strive to rehabilitate and develop production under the guidance of the State, to reconstruct their villages, to increase their solidarity and mutual assistance

1. In the North, the working peasants have become the collective peasant class.

in production and in life, to struggle to wipe out the vestiges of feudalism, to eradicate all forms of exploitation and speculation in the countryside, and to engage the countryside rapidly and steadily on the path of agricultural cooperativization and large-scale socialist production.

The intelligentsia play an increasingly important role in the establishment and development of economy, culture, science and technology. To build socialism, we must not only consolidate the worker-peasant alliance but also unite the workers, the peasants, and the intellectuals. The overwhelming majority of them are of worker-peasant stock, the children of workers and peasants that the new system has turned into intellectuals. Workers, working peasants, and socialist intellectuals are all collective masters of society, closely bound together in the construction of the new society.

Our Party and State must step up the training of a large contingent of talented intellectuals for all fields of social activity who are absolutely loyal to the motherland, the people and the socialist revolution, have great determination and energy, are bold in conquering the peaks of culture, science and technology, and capable of applying the acquisitions of modern science and technology creatively to solving the country's specific problems. Party organizations, State bodies, and mass organizations should attach great importance to providing the intelligentsia with political education, proper work, favourable material and moral conditions, above all working conditions and research means, so that they may develop their talents rapidly and serve the socialist construction as well as possible. We should make good use of the scientific and technical cadres left by the former regime in the South and help them become socialist intellectuals rapidly. For their part, intellectuals should overcome such weaknesses as subjectivism, self-complacency, aloofness from the masses

and production, and wrong ideas about the relationship between the role of individuals and that of the collective, etc

The brilliant prospects of socialist Viet Nam lie in the hands of the *youth, pioneers, and children*. Throughout the past half-century, from the Association of Revolutionary Youth to the Ho Chi Minh Labour Youth Union, under the leadership of communists, successive generations of Vietnamese youth have always been the shock forces in the revolutionary high tides, the two great national resistance wars, and the socialist revolution at present. Forged and steeled in the revolutionary fire, many new generations of youth have been taking shape. These are people endowed with revolutionary ideals, firm political, cultural, scientific, and technical knowledge who are brave and creative in combat as well as in production. We must promote the fine traditions of the youth, to foster and turn young people into new, socialist men—the loyal and brilliant continuators of the glorious revolutionary cause of the Party and the nation, ensuring complete victory for the construction of socialism and communism in our country. "It is very important and indispensable work to foster revolutionary generations for the future"¹—an important long term political task of our entire Party, the heavy and glorious responsibility of the Viet Nam Ho Chi Minh Labour Youth Union.

The Youth Union must have a solid basis and be consolidated politically, ideologically, and organizationally to be worthy of an organization of communist youth, a school of communism for the youth, the efficient arm and the reliable reserve of the Party. The Union must give comprehensive education and training to the youth, enhance their vanguard role in the three revolutions, in economic

1 President Ho Chi Minh's Testament

rehabilitation and development in cultural development, and in the emulation movements for productive labour and for the defence of the motherland. The Union is responsible for fostering and recommending its outstanding members for membership, thus supplying good cadres to the Party and the State.

We should step up the education of the youth in the Marxist Leninist world outlook, in the lines and policies of the Party and the State, in the revolutionary traditions of the nation and the Party, in the new ethics and way of life. We should inculcate in them the sense of collective mastery, the noble ideals, the spirit of heroism "to live, fight, work, and study following the example of great Uncle Ho Chi Minh", and "ready to go wherever the motherland requires and accept any difficult task entrusted".

We should organize the education of the youth in the cultural, scientific, technical and professional fields well, appoint an ever increasing number of young people to leading and managing bodies so as to foster and train more young cadres. Attention should be paid to the interests of the youth: their health, working conditions, study, and recreation. Guidance should be given to the youth in the correct handling of such questions as friendship, love, marriage, and family. They should also be helped in the struggle to prevent and wipe out the influence of the bourgeois way of life and culture and to build a civilized, healthy, organized, and disciplined way of life.

The Union must improve its mode of activity to make it reflect the characteristics of youth. There must be broad forms of organization to draw great numbers of young people outside the Union to social activities, to practical revolutionary actions, and through which to educate and train them.

The Youth Union is responsible for the *Ho Chi Minh Vanguard Pioneers* and the *August Children's Organization*. It should see to the education of pioneers and children along the lines of Uncle Ho's five teachings, inculcate in them the sense of collective mastery, shield them from bad influences and eliminate backward conceptions and methods of education. The State should have plans to produce and supply more adequate means for the activity and training of pioneers and children.

The triumph of the revolution has brought Vietnamese women to the position of collective mastery of society, equal to men in all respects, making great strides in their material and social life, playing a major role in combat as well as in production and socialist construction. Our Party, our State and our people feel very proud of the Vietnamese women, the "heroic, undaunted, loyal, and resourceful" mothers who have given birth to and brought up, generation after generation of Vietnamese heroes. However, much remains to be done to achieve the complete emancipation of women and to ensure that women and the rest of the people exercise their right to collective mastery in the fullest way. Our society and our State have great responsibility in this question. At present, the work among women consists mainly in stirring up among them a strong emulation movement for productive labour, in order to build socialism with industry and thrift, under the slogan "women must be proficient in State affairs, enterprising in house-work, and achieve equality with men", in developing their strength and capability in all social activities in managing economy, culture, and the State in forming the new, socialist woman, and contributing to the moulding of new-culture families.

We must resolutely struggle to abolish the backward and conservative views of the role of women in the family and society, the vestiges of feudal ideas of setting more

store by boys than girls still lingering among the people, even among a number of Party cadres and members. We must also strive to help women raise their cultural, scientific, technical, and professional standards, actively train and foster women cadres, appoint them to leading and managing bodies, and improve their working conditions so as to preserve their health.

Our Party and State must work out policies and take concrete measures to enable women to fulfil their *responsibility as mothers*, the noblest and finest responsibility in community life, to take steps to remove their difficulties in daily life, from the questions of food housing, child bearing, bringing up children, medical treatment, and study to their working conditions and rest, and to help them lessen the drudgery of household chores. Special care must be given to the life and health of women in areas seriously devastated by the war or formerly subjected to prolonged US puppet occupation. These are important and pressing tasks to be done now to liberate women in practice, to mould a new type of women, to develop their energy and talent, to encourage them and to impel their movement.

The *Women's League* should educate various strata of women and help them clearly understand the close relationship between their liberation and the building of socialism, realize their duties to the motherland, society and family, raise their sense of mastery and their spirit to make great strides in all fields of work. The promotion of the women's movement and the solution of their difficulties and questions relating to their interests must be handled by State bodies in close co-ordination with the mass organizations, the mainstay of which is the Viet Nam Women's League, under the leadership of the Party. In the work among women we must adopt measures in

various fields and forms of motivation suitable to their ages, professions, places of residence, and modes of activity

The Party's policy on religions has always consisted in respecting the people's freedom of belief and the citizen's right to follow a religion or not, giving equal treatment to all religions in the legal field, uniting all patriotic and progressive people in the various religions to build and defend the country, and opposing all actions taken under the guise of religion to harm the interests of the motherland, the people and the building of socialism

Our Party and State have always taken care to step up the movement of productive labour, building the new life, improving the material and cultural life of the people, religious and non religious, developing public health and education, particularly in the newly liberated areas in the South, unceasingly fostering and enhancing socialist patriotism, widely explaining the lines and policies of the Party and the State, and resolutely smashing the distorting propaganda of the imperialists and reactionaries in religious guise

Our people, our nation, have a very proud tradition, the tradition of unity. Since the founding of the Party, this tradition has developed strongly day by day in the United National Front

Recently, the *Viet Nam Fatherland Front* and the *National Front for the Liberation of South Viet Nam* fulfilled their glorious task of mobilizing and rallying all strata of people, all brother nationalities, all revolutionary, patriotic and progressive forces in the two zones under the banner of great national union to build and defend the North, to fight and save the country, to complete the liberation of the South, thus creating a tremendous force to defeat the enemy. The great national union in the United National Front is one of the decisive factors of victory of the Vietnamese revolution

As the revolution advances the union of the nation within the United National Front becomes more consolidated. Now that the task of the national people's democratic revolution has been completed throughout the country, that we are switching to the socialist revolution, the character, tasks, composition, as well as the activities of the Front also see major changes. The consultative conference between the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Fatherland Front, the Central Committee of the National Front for the Liberation of South Viet Nam, and the Central Committee of the Alliance of National, Democratic and Peace Forces of Viet Nam has decided to convene a Conference for the founding of a single National Front for the whole country. The Front will be composed of various political parties, mass organizations, social classes, and social strata, and based on the worker-peasant alliance. Its character is a patriotic Front, a Front for socialism, and the objective of building a peaceful, independent, unified, and socialist Viet Nam has become the common ideal for all components of the Front. It is the task of the Front to consolidate the union of the entire people, to unite all the fraternal nationalities in the country, to strengthen political and moral unity in our society, to develop the revolutionary ardour and sense of collective mastery of the people and to mobilize the entire people to emulate in making the three revolutions and the building of socialism in our country successful.

The Front is an organization aimed at reaching unity of action among its member organizations, working on the basis of democratic consultations, co-operation, and mutual assistance. Party committees at all levels must exercise leadership over the united and coordinated action of the organizations within the Front to fulfil the common tasks defined in the Front's Programme and the specific tasks

of each organization, directing its mobilization and stimulation of the revolutionary movement of the masses

Over the past years, Vietnamese residents abroad have always had their thoughts turned to their beloved motherland and have actively contributed to the fight against US aggression for national salvation. In this new stage our fellow countrymen living abroad will certainly make greater contributions to national construction and will join efforts with the people at home to rehabilitate and develop the economy, to develop culture, science, technology, and to make our country prosperous and civilized, and our people's life abundant and happy.

The correct handling of the question of nationalities has been a task of strategic character of the Vietnamese revolution.

During the years of the patriotic war of resistance against US aggression and of socialist construction, the ethnic minorities have made glorious contributions to the common revolutionary cause. Their great achievements in production and combat, the rapid advance in their material and cultural life, the ever closer solidarity between various ethnic groups in our country over the past years are the brilliant result of the Party's policy on nationalities. It is the present task of the Party and the State to strive to strengthen the unshakable union between various ethnic groups in the whole country and to develop their revolutionary spirit and creative ability in the building of our socialist motherland, Viet Nam. The Party's policy on nationalities consists in practising full equality in all respects between various ethnic groups in creating conditions for the complete eradication of all differences in economic and cultural levels between small and large ethnic groups, in making the mountain regions catch up with the plains, the highlands with the lowlands, in securing to all

ethnic groups, large and small, a plentiful, civilized and happy life, and in making all of them develop in every respect, united in helping one another to progress and to exercise collective mastery over the independent, unified, and socialist motherland Viet Nam

To implement the Party's policy on nationalities, it is essential to step up the three revolutions, to accelerate economic and cultural development in regions inhabited by ethnic minorities, to develop agriculture and forestry, to build up new economic zones and industrial regions, to develop communications and transport and socialist commerce, to develop culture, education art science, public health, physical culture, sports, mother and child care, etc to rapidly raise the material and spiritual living standards of the ethnic minorities, and to lay particular emphasis on the work in the highlands and border areas. The Party and the State should work out concrete directives and policies to encourage stimulate and create the most favourable possible conditions for the economic, cultural, and social activities in ethnic minority regions, adopt adequate treatment of those cadres, workers and employees working in regions fraught with difficulties, and actively train and foster cadres of ethnic minority origin in all sectors of activity of the Party, the State and mass organizations, and for economic guidance and management above all

We must further improve propaganda and education work to make the ethnic groups, small and large, understand that the plentiful, civilized and happy life of all ethnic groups is linked to the construction of socialism, that all of them have the capacity and the duty to contribute their utmost to this glorious cause. Within the Party and among the population, we must continue the criticism and the elimination of great-nationality ideas, narrow nationalism, vestiges of racial enmity tendencies

to sectarianism, and racial division at variance with the Party's policy on nationalities. Party branches, primary organizations, and committees at all levels, State bodies and mass organizations, must grasp and implement the Party's policy on nationalities thoroughly understand the living conditions, psychology, and sentiments of the ethnic groups, strictly respect their customs and habits, preserve and develop the progressive cultural traditions of the ethnic minorities. Direction and guidance must be actively given to the ethnic minorities in building a civilized and scientific way of life, in changing and gradually eliminating backward customs and habits detrimental to the development of the new economy and the new culture and the moulding of the new socialist type of man in ethnic minority regions. Of course, backward unscientific, superstitious customs and habits must be changed, but the change must be gradual and in keeping with the mass line, we must use explanation and persuasion and wait patiently for the masses to understand, and refrain completely from using arbitrary or brutal measures.

VI

THE WORLD SITUATION, THE INTERNATIONAL DUTY AND THE FOREIGN POLICY OF OUR PARTY

Comrades,

Since Marxism came into being world history has witnessed many tremendous changes

Under Lenin's talented leadership the successful October Socialist Revolution constituted the first great leap forward which ushered in a new era, the era of transition from capitalism to socialism on a world scale

The glorious victory of the Soviet Union and other revolutionary forces in World War II demolished a big section of the imperialist system and marked the beginning of a period of new and great developments of the world revolution. The great victory of the Chinese revolution has tipped the balance of forces in favour of the revolution. *Socialism has gone beyond the limits of a country to become a world system.* Over the past thirty years, the socialist countries have seen the most remarkable growth in all fields. The Soviet Union, which is intensifying the building of its material and technical basis of communism has become a big power as regards industry and national defence, taking the lead in many scientific and technical branches and in the production of important industrial products. China is rapidly building a powerful socialist

country with modern industry agriculture and national defence and advanced culture and science All other socialist countries have also made very rapid progress, many of them are stepping up the building of advanced socialism The socialist countries account for over 40 per cent of the world industrial output Their defence forces are more powerful than ever and continue to be strengthened. With its all round achievements, the world socialist system has today a combined force much bigger than that of imperialism This superiority will increase steadily with time and nothing can check it The reason for the rapid and continued growth of the socialist countries lies in the superiority of the new regime led by the working class and its Marxist-Leninist party In this regime, the planned economy is aimed at satisfying the people's material and cultural needs and assures the best exploitation of all production capacity and natural resources of the country in order to develop social production at a high rate without crises and unemployment and guarantee a happy life for everybody in the society Life has further proved that the strength of socialism is invincible and the world socialist system has increasing impact as the decisive factor of development of human society It is the strong bulwark of the world proletarian revolution and the solid mainstay of the movement of struggle for peace national independence and social progress

The revolutionary storm which has shaken Asia, Africa and Latin America, involving 2,000 million people of almost all former colonies and semi-colonies in the national liberation movement is the second biggest development of our time after the shaping of the socialist system. All over the world the foundations of old type colonialism have been shattered. A series of states gaining various degrees of independence have emerged one after the other on the international political arena, and carried

on the struggle against imperialism and colonialism, old and new headed by US imperialism, with a view to consolidating their political independence, and recovering their right of ownership over their natural resources exploited by the imperialists in order to build and develop an independent and sovereign national economy. The characteristic of the national liberation movement today is its tendency to link the movement to socialism. Our time has not only given the oppressed peoples an unprecedented strength in the struggle for independence and freedom but has also opened up to them a new possibility, the possibility of transition from a country with an underdeveloped economy to socialism. Thus, the movement for national liberation and national independence plays a most important role in the materialization of transition to socialism on the world scale.

The movement of the working class struggle in the capitalist countries has developed ever more widely with a high sense of organization, rich content and an unprecedented variety of forms. Successive strikes staged by millions of workers and lasting for weeks or months, huge demonstrations of force in the streets, election campaigns to parliament and other organs elected by the people in the bourgeois state apparatus, increased coordination of activities between trade unions and democratic forces have all brought into full relief the militant character, the offensive position and the great revolutionary capability of the working class. Under the motto of unity of action in the struggle for national, democratic and welfare rights the working class and other democratic forces have closely coordinated all forms and means of struggle and dealt telling blows at state monopoly capitalism. In some countries, the Communist Parties occupy an important position in the political life and have gained significant victories and carrying aloft the banner of

national independence, democracy and socialism, are achieving a broad alliance against state monopoly capitalists at home and abroad, gaining success step by step and advancing the revolution. The working class in the developed capitalist countries is assuming a glorious historic task - defeating state monopoly capitalism right in its den, eliminating capitalism from social life for ever.

These three currents which make up the great revolutionary upsurge are on the offensive and are spearheading the struggle against imperialism.

To cope with the world revolutionary movement and to save itself in its death throes, capitalism desperately shifts to state monopoly capitalism. At the same time, US led imperialism makes every effort to prepare for a new world war, seeks every means to counter attack the revolutionary movement in an attempt to retake lost positions, crush the national liberation movement and hamper the development of socialism. It feverishly stockpiles armaments, carries on the arms race, restores militarism, sets up a series of military bases and aggressive military alliances, steps up the cold war everywhere in an attempt to encircle, intimidate, undermine and divide the socialist countries. As regards former colonies and dependencies, imperialism, particularly US imperialism, resorts to neo-colonialist domination through the use of both brutal and sophisticated means. It plots to keep the newly free countries in the capitalist orbit in an attempt to frustrate the far reaching influence of socialism. It is the policy of the imperialists to scramble for markets, sources of raw materials, energy and investment areas, it is also the basic policy of US imperialism to carry out its scheme of world hegemony.

In Viet Nam, US neo-colonialism has proved to be most brutal and treacherous. The US imperialists aimed at driving back the Vietnamese revolution in an attempt

to reverse the general trend in the world. But after twenty years of involvement in Viet Nam, including nearly ten of direct participation in the war by US expeditionary troops, the US imperialists were badly mauled and compelled to accept their defeat and withdraw their troops. US "flexible response" strategy has gone completely bankrupt. US rigged military blocs have either disintegrated or been torn by internal strife. US international prestige has sunk to its lowest ebb.

US defeat in the war of aggression against Viet Nam is a most significant event after its loss of monopoly of nuclear weapons. It marks a turning point in the decline of US imperialism. Although the number one imperialist power, the US is much weakened in the military, political, economic and financial fields, plunging the capitalist world into a period of all round and irremediable general crisis.

In the thirty years after World War II, the situation in the world has changed rapidly. While the capitalist system is writhing in general crisis, the forces of socialism, national independence, democracy and peace grow steadily, and after the victory of the revolution in Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia, a new change in the balance of forces appears, tipping in favour of the revolution, a new development in the struggle of the people of the world for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism. It is obvious that this historical trend is irreversible. At present, the world revolutionary situation is most favourable and is facing extremely fine prospects.

Events have further borne out the realistic character of the possibility of preventing world war, safeguarding lasting peace for all nations, and of implementing the policy of peaceful co-existence of states with different social systems. The practice of revolution also proves that peace is not only the result of the democratic anti-war movement, but mainly the result of the revolutionary struggle.

of all forces against imperialism, of the offensive strategy to drive back imperialism step by step, to overthrow it part by part, to foil every war policy, to defeat any type of war waged by imperialism, ultimately foiling its whole policy of war provocation. Of course, the aggressive nature of imperialism never changes. US imperialism does not freely relinquish its policy of force, it does not slacken but instead step up the arms race. This situation demands that the revolutionary forces constantly heighten their vigilance and persevere in their struggle for peace with a view to foiling all dark schemes of the warmongers.

The struggle for peace is a strategic task closely connected with the struggle for national independence, democracy and socialism. National independence is the first objective of many peoples. So long as imperialism exists, the struggle for national liberation, for the defence of national independence, for the realization of the right to national self-determination and equality between nations will remain questions of primary importance in the programme of action of the world revolutionary forces. The more so as today the US imperialists, while pursuing their neo-colonialist policy and their counter-revolutionary global strategy, still make every effort to maintain their colonies and military bases throughout the world, carry out intervention in one area and subversion in another, encroach on the sovereignty of newly free countries and even their "allies", and at the same time unceasingly seek every means of undermining the socialist countries. Then national independence is a revolutionary motto responding to the pressing demands of the people of almost all the countries in the world.

Democracy is a very important demand closely linked to national independence and socialism. In the countries which are struggling to break the shackles of colonialism, democracy is a basic platform on which to mobilize the

broad masses to rise up against the imperialists and their henchmen, therefore democracy is first of all for the working people, the main force struggling for national independence. In the capitalist and imperialist countries, democracy is a revolutionary motto—a banner rallying the broad masses of the people around the working class in the struggle in order to drive back state monopoly capitalism step by step, gain partial victory and create premises for the total victory of socialism.

In the present historical conditions when capitalism is well into its last stage and has become an obstacle, a reactionary force to the development of human society, socialism emerges as the immediate goal of struggle of all countries. Never has the socialist revolution known a more powerful potential for development than today. All movements for national independence and democracy are closely linked with socialism and oriented to socialism. The road to socialism ensures all nations genuine independence and keeps them away from neo-colonialist domination. It also ensures genuine democracy, democracy for the majority of the people in society, a democracy which goes far beyond the limits of outmoded bourgeois democracy.

The present scientific and technological revolution in the world opens up great possibilities for the socialist countries to reach new heights in conquering nature, in building socialism and communism successfully, and at the same time creates conditions for underdeveloped countries to use the up-to-date scientific and technical achievements in political independence in order to eradicate poverty and backwardness rapidly, and advance directly to socialism bypassing the stage of capitalist development.

The strength of our time is the combined strength of the three revolutionary currents, the forces that are deciding the main content, the main direction and the main characteristics of the development of human society, the

forces that provide the momentum for the transition of the world from capitalism to socialism. Relying on the strength of the three revolutionary currents, and applying the strategy of offensive correctly, the working class and the working people will surely step up the current revolutionary upsurge and bring about a new development, drive back imperialism step by step, overthrow it bit by bit, turn the wheel of history onward and gain bigger victories in the struggle for the lofty goals of our time

The way to certain victory for the revolution in each country lies in the coordination of one's own strength with the strength of our time and the offensive position of the world revolutionary forces in working out the strategy, tactics and methods of struggle appropriate to the balance of forces and the concrete situation of one's country. However, the struggle for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism, calls for the setting up and development of the anti-imperialist united front of the world's people, an extremely broad front which spearheads the struggle at the chieftain of the imperialists, namely the United States. In the "which will win" struggle between socialism and capitalism on a world scale, *the restoration and consolidation of the solidarity within the socialist system and the international communist and workers' movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism is a question of utmost importance. It is the lofty mission of communists to work for this solidarity in order to aid the advance of history*

The Vietnamese revolution is part and parcel of the world revolution. Our people's complete victory in the patriotic war of resistance against US aggression is closely associated with the wholehearted support and great assistance of our brothers and friends from all continents. Once again we wish to express the profound gratitude of our Party, State and people to the Soviet Union, China and

other fraternal socialist countries, to fraternal Laos and Kampuchea, to the Communist and Workers' Parties and to the progressive people the world over for extending to us this valuable support and assistance. Our people's victory is a worthy contribution to the common victory and the constant growth of the world revolutionary forces. It also creates new and favourable conditions for our Party, State and people to continue fulfilling our international duty.

In the new stage our Party, State and people should make the most of the favourable international conditions so as to rapidly heal the wounds of war, restore and develop the economy, develop culture, science and technology, consolidate national defence, build the material and technical basis of socialism in our country, and at the same time continue to stand shoulder to shoulder with the fraternal socialist countries and all other peoples in the world in the struggle for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism, against imperialism headed by US imperialism.

Our foreign policy is

To endeavour to consolidate and strengthen the militant solidarity and relation of cooperation between our country and all the fraternal socialist countries, and to do everything in our power to contribute together with the other socialist countries and the international communist and workers' movement to restoring and consolidating solidarity, and promoting mutual support and assistance on the basis of Marxism Leninism and in the spirit of proletarian internationalism, in a way which conforms to both reason and sentiment, with a view to achieving for the noble ideal of Marxism Leninism ever more glorious successes.

To endeavour to preserve and develop the special relationship between the Vietnamese people and the peoples of Laos and Kampuchea, strengthen the militant solidarity, mutual trust, long term cooperation and mutual assistance in all fields between our country and the two fraternal countries in accordance with the principle of complete equality, respect for each other's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, and respect for each others legitimate interests, so that the three countries which have been associated with one another in the struggle for national liberation will be associated with one another for ever in the building and defence of their respective countries, in the interests of each country's independence and prosperity.

To fully support the just struggle of the peoples in Southeast Asia for national independence, democracy, peace and genuine neutrality, that is to say without military bases and troops of the imperialists on their territories, to be ready to establish and develop relations of friendship and cooperation with other countries in this area on the basis of respect for each other's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, non aggression and non interference in each other's internal affairs, equality, mutual benefit and peaceful co-existence

To fully support the struggle of the peoples of Asian, African and Latin American countries against imperialism and old and new colonialism, racial discrimination, for national independence, democracy and social progress, to strengthen the solidarity and friendship and the relations of cooperation and mutual assistance in all fields between our country and the developing countries, to actively contribute to the struggle of the non aligned countries against imperialism's policy of aggression and domination, with a view to safeguarding their independence and freedom, winning back the right of definitive ownership over their

natural resources and establishing a new international economic order on the basis of respect for their national sovereignty

To fully support the just cause of the working class and the working people in the capitalist countries who are striving to build a broad united front, spearheading their struggle against the native and foreign monopoly capitalists to conquer welfare rights, democracy and social progress, safeguard national independence and world peace, win success step by step and ultimately gain complete victory for socialism

To establish and expand normal relations between our country and all countries on the basis of respect for each other's independence and sovereignty, equality and mutual benefit.

Together with the fraternal countries and the progressive people throughout the world, to resolutely carry on the joint struggle against the policy of aggression and war provocation of US led imperialism, thus making an active contribution to the safeguarding and consolidation of world peace

Faithful to Marxism Leninism, our Party will unceasingly educate its members and our people to imbue ourselves with the pure revolutionary sentiments of President Ho Chi Minh continue upholding the banner of national independence and socialism, combine genuine patriotism closely with proletarian internationalism, oppose all tendencies of opportunism and all manifestations of bourgeois and petty bourgeois nationalism firmly defend independence and sovereignty, actively fulfil our duty towards our nation and discharge our international duty towards the people of other countries satisfactorily

VII

TO HEIGHTEN THE LEADING ROLE AND FIGHTING CAPACITY OF OUR PARTY

Comrades,

Over the past half century, the history of our nation has been a period of successive revolutionary upsurges, insurrections, revolutionary wars, processes of transformation and construction of a country in a situation of war and peace at the same time. During the last few decades Viet Nam has become a confluence of the revolutionary currents in our time.

Our Party was at the heart of these great events, and it is in this crucible that it has been tempered and has grown unceasingly. It took the lead in the three revolutionary upsurges which led to the successful August Revolution¹ successfully organized the two sacred resistance wars of the nation, simultaneously directed two revolutionary strategies—the national people's democratic revolution and the socialist revolution—and led our people in fulfilling their national task and international duty at the same time. The enemies that our revolution has confronted and defeated are varied, from within and without, feudal and

¹1930-1931 Revolutionary upsurge

1938-1939 Democratic Front movement and

1940-1945 Anti-Imperialist Front and Viet Minh Front movements.

imperialist, old and new colonialist, and among them the most reactionary forces of the world, including the chief tain of imperialism Our revolution had to cope with and thwarted all perfidious strategies and tactics of the enemy in the political, military and ideological fields

The fact that our Party has successfully led our people to victory in such a great cause is first of all due to its firm grasp of and absolute loyalty to Marxism Leninism. Its grasp of Marxism Leninism is not in its letter but in its revolutionary and scientific substance, the two basic features integrated in one in Marxism Leninism. It has thoroughly applied these basic features of Marxism Leninism in its political, ideological and organizational activities, in its revolutionary line and methods and in its entire struggle in various stages This explains why our Party, born and having grown up in a backward agricultural country, a former semi feudal colony, the working class of which was very small, has consistently kept the character of a working class Party

The line which consists in raising both the banner of national independence and that of socialism, is the key to the whole history of the Vietnamese revolution since the founding of the Party and the ever victorious Vietnamese revolution Relying on this basic line, the Party has settled correctly a series of questions of strategy and tactics in the national democratic revolution as well as in the socialist revolution Since the founding of the Party the history of the Vietnamese revolution has not only developed correctly but is also rich in forms and methods of struggle underground and open activities, legal and illegal struggles, mass and parliamentary struggles, political, military and diplomatic struggles, partial uprising and general insurrection, guerilla war and regular war, etc. Our Party has creatively applied almost all the

methods in the treasure of experience of the revolutionary struggle waged by the world proletariat adapting them to the concrete conditions of our country

Revolution is creation. Truth is always concrete. Imbued with this spirit, our Party has always been firmly rooted in the practice of the Vietnamese revolution and the vivid realities of the Vietnamese society in applying the principles of Marxism-Leninism. It is thanks to the independent and creative character of the revolutionary line and methods that the Vietnamese revolution has recorded such great victories as those of today.

Comrades,

In the new stage of the revolution, our Party is confronted with new and very heavy tasks, namely to lead our people to carry out the socialist revolution throughout the country, and build in our motherland a highly developed society and the most beautiful life ever known in the history of the nation.

The primary task is to work out a platform, a programme of action with a scientific foundation in conformity with the realities of our country. This task is by no means simple. Over the past twenty years, particularly since the Third Congress, our Party has made great efforts in this direction. Now that our country is completely independent and unified, the problems of socialist construction appear in all their complexity, size and concreteness. This calls for strenuous efforts by our Party in theoretical work. The resolutions of this Fourth Congress will reflect these efforts of the entire Party and will bring about fundamental answers to the problems cropping up on the road of socialist revolution in the whole country. The process of carrying out the resolutions of the Congress will certainly bring about further clarification, concretization and development of the Party line.

The struggle to carry out the resolutions adopted by the Congress successfully requires that our Party be very solid. Our Party, all its cadres and members must not only have an ever higher standard of knowledge, especially in methodology, economic laws and the law of the class struggle when the Party has assumed leadership of the State, but must also develop new abilities in the practical organization of the socialist revolution, a domain in which our Party still has many shortcomings.

Our Party must be strong in every link from the central organs to the base cells, ensure the thorough understanding of all Party line and policies from top to bottom, from the Party to the State bodies and mass organizations and to the broad masses.

Over the past 16 years, the building of the Party has recorded remarkable achievements. The correct and creative settlement by the Party of questions concerning the line of the patriotic fight against US aggression, socialist construction and external relations constitutes a success of Party building work in the political domain. Ideological work has increased political consciousness, understanding of the Party theory and line, promoted the revolutionary ardour of Party cadres and members, and effectively overcome erroneous viewpoints. In organizational work, we have expanded the Party ranks, developed Party organizations everywhere, trained and fostered a big contingent of cadres, carried out large-scale assignment and distribution of Party cadres and members to meet in the main the pressing needs of the organization and cadres in the process of development of our revolution. In the fierce fight over the past decades, many Party organizations in South Viet Nam suffered losses, and hundreds of thousands of Party cadres and members were killed or jailed, but the Party organizations remained deeply embedded in the masses. After the complete liberation of South Viet Nam,

Party organizations have developed rapidly, provincial district and primary Party organizations have been further strengthened, thus ensuring the unified leadership and rapid communication from the central level down to the primary organizations. The Party's correct line has determined the correct guidelines for ideological and organizational work, conversely the successes in the field of ideology and organization have ensured the successful implementation of the line.

Besides these great achievements, Party building work still suffers from many *mistakes and shortcomings*. A big shortcoming and weakness is that we have not fully grasped in our understanding and in practice the theory on Party building when the Party leads the State in carrying out the socialist revolution. This leads to many other shortcomings and mistakes. Empiricism in Party building and leading method is impeding the heightening of the Party's fighting capacity in many places. A number of forms of organization and styles of work which are no longer appropriate have not yet been improved. Several resolutions of the Central Committee on Party building and on cadre work have not been carried out resolutely and thoroughly. The admission of new Party members has been lax at times, drawing in a number of unqualified people. Political and ideological education has not been incisive and timely, the improvement of the theoretical, political and professional standard of Party cadres and members has been slow, the self-criticism and criticism aimed at preventing and combating negative aspects has not been paid due attention, Party discipline has not been strictly observed, thus delaying the timely expulsion of degenerate and backward members from the Party. A number of Party committees and leading cadres have not paid due attention to Party building work. Those shortcomings have exerted some unwholesome influence on the fighting capacity of the Party.

The rich experience accumulated in the practice of Party building over the past years enables us to put forward the following major guiding principles in this work

First, the Party must be solidly built in all three aspects — political, ideological and organizational. These aspects are closely connected and exert decisive influence on each other. The building of the Party in the ideological and organizational fields must be closely coordinated with and prompted by the political line and tasks, and at the same time must ensure the correct formulation, full grasp and strict implementation of the political line and tasks.

Second, the Party building work must be carried out through the revolutionary mass movement and through the building of the masses' system of collective mastery. The masses must be organized to participate in the building of the Party, to contribute to the supervision of Party activities, and of the work and qualities of Party cadres and members.

Third, once the Party leads the State its strength lies in the combined strength of the system of proletarian dictatorship. Therefore, the building of the Party and the heightening of its fighting capacity must be closely linked to strengthening the organization and increasing the capacity of the State, and to building and consolidating mass organizations.

Fourth, the raising of the standards of the Party cadres must be coordinated with that of the Party branches and primary organizations, and with the strengthening of the leading body and the improvement of the organizational apparatus of each level and each branch. A strong organization is necessary for each and every member to be strong, while conversely each and every member being strong is a condition of the organization being strong.

Fifth, when expanding the Party's ranks, we must attach importance to quality instead of going after quantity, development always accompanies consolidation. On the one hand, truly outstanding and qualified persons must be admitted, and on the other, degenerate and corrupt elements must be expelled from the Party immediately. We must guard against the infiltration of bad, reactionary opportunist and self-seeking elements into the Party.

The strengthening of the Party primary organizations is a task of special importance in Party building. Party branches and primary organizations are the basic fighting units, the component cells of the Party, the places where the Party line and policies are turned into revolutionary action by the Party members and the masses, the places where Party members and cadres are tempered, the places where the Party has daily contacts with the people and can understand their mood, feelings and aspirations. Whether a Party branch or primary organization is strong or weak, an action of a Party branch or primary organization of a Party member is good or bad, correct or wrong, all exert a direct and immediate influence on the material and moral life, and even the political standing of the people and on the latter's trust in the Party.

At present, Party primary organizations are set up and work in gear with the grassroots units of the State apparatus and national economy on the basis of common general principles, although Party primary organizations in various fields of activity may have different forms of organization, different contents and methods of leadership suitable to the character and field of activity of their unit. Generally speaking, Party primary organizations are responsible for taking decisions on major directives and measures as to how their units implement the line and policies of the Party and the State and the tasks assigned by the higher level. They must engage in political, ideological

and organizational work to encourage the active participation of all Party members and the masses in working out and fulfilling the tasks and plans of their units successfully, they must supervise the activities of Party cadres and members in the application and implementation of the Party line and policies, the Constitution and the State laws. All the activities of Party primary organizations must be aimed at stepping up the mass movement to carry out the three revolutions, and to ensure the fulfilment of the tasks of their units, it is through these practical activities that solid Party organizations are built up. A Party branch, a Party primary organization cannot be considered a good one if the three revolutions are not properly carried out: production does not increase, labour productivity is not raised, the duty vis a vis the State is not fulfilled, the masses' right to collective mastery is infringed, the masses' life in all fields is not settled and gradually improved, and the principles of organization and internal life of a Party branch are not strictly adhered to.

At present, the key to increasing the fighting capacity of Party primary organizations is to strive to raise the political, theoretical and cultural standard as well as the capacity for practical work of Party members, to firmly build a contingent of core cadres while improving the working method of the organization. A Party primary organization, and first of all, the Party committee, must define its political tasks and work out plans to fulfil these tasks, must understand clearly and handle correctly the relationship between the Party, the State and the people, it must firmly grasp the Party's function of political leadership and supervision while bringing into full play the power of the administrative organs to ensure respect for the managerial system of the State, and respecting and promoting the role of the mass organizations in organizing the implementation of each concrete task.

The activities of Party branches and primary organizations must be improved. Their meetings must have a concrete and rich political content, they must engage in discussions on the Party line and policies, on the tasks assigned to their localities or units, on the plans to fulfil these tasks, distribute work and apportion responsibility to each Party cadre and member and review the performance of Party branches and members. Endeavours must be made to create in the Party organizations, in their daily activities as well as in their meetings a seething and militant atmosphere, and foster the collective wisdom, initiatives and the high sense of responsibility of every Party member.

Along with the building of Party primary organizations, we should attach importance to the strengthening of the Party apparatus at all levels. Provinces and cities are economic and administrative units on a fairly large scale, and with strategic importance in many fields, therefore, the Party committees of provinces and cities must be strong, capable not only of applying the Party line and policies correctly and creatively, but also of contributing to working out the line and policies of the Central Committee. The importance of the district level is increasing with the gradual building of this level into an agricultural industrial economic unit. The district Party committees must be strengthened to be capable of leading the building and development of economy and culture, bringing agriculture to large-scale socialist production and raising the living standard of the people in the district.

Today, Party committees must be collectives with experience in political leadership, Party building and work among the masses, adequate theoretical standard and necessary knowledge of economy, culture science and technique. The strength of the Party committees is the common strength of the collectivity first and foremost. At the same

time, every Party committee member must have the required political qualifications and working ability suitable to his position and task Party Congresses at all levels must be held on schedule, and through these congresses Party committees must be replaced with new ones and the proportion of workers increased

We must observe the principle of collective leadership and personal responsibility within Party committees strictly The necessary conditions must be created for every committee member to participate fully in discussing and deciding on directives, everybody's concrete tasks, powers and responsibility must be clearly defined The standing body of a Party committee must not be turned into a body superior to the committee itself, personal arbitrariness as well as complete dependence on the collectivity, shirking responsibility and hesitation in taking decisions must be avoided.

Party committees should strive to overcome their shortcomings in leading organizational work, endeavour to rapidly readjust their style of work explore new forms and methods of work that are scientific and effective, and refrain from using a piecemeal style of work They must know how to build up and constantly perfect a network of internal communications, and spend much time and many efforts on investigation, research testing, pilot schemes and summing up of experience They must organize careful, regular and systematic control of the implementation of the line and policies in order to prevent mistakes and violations of principles Lack in control is tantamount to lack of leadership

The Party's leadership ability and fighting capacity depend decisively on the quality of the Party ranks Now communist consciousness the primary qualification of Party members must find concrete direct and daily expression in their vanguard role in carrying out the three

revolutions Party members must represent the new type of man, be exemplary in their work and in their way of life, ready to protect socialist property, and imbued with a firm class position in implementing the line and policies of the Party and State, they must constantly heighten their fighting spirit, and their revolutionary vigilance against the class enemy, they must wage an uncompromising struggle against any action detrimental to socialism. Those who only care for their own selfish interests, who adopt a negative or indifferent attitude towards social obligations and socialist interests, do not deserve to be members of the Communist Party

Party members must have not only a high revolutionary fighting spirit but also adequate knowledge and ability to fulfil their tasks. They must endeavour to study in order to keep raising the level of their theoretical knowledge of Marxism-Leninism, their grasp of the Party line and policies, and their cultural, scientific and professional standard so that in any field of activity they prove themselves conscious workers with high labour productivity and work efficiency while fulfilling their task of leaders. Maintaining close contacts with and love for the people, trusting them, respecting their right to collective mastery and caring for the details of their daily lives, explaining the Party line and policies to the masses, listening to their opinions, setting them a good example and encouraging them to do the same, looking for and learning after the masses' experience in the discharge of revolutionary tasks are all indispensable requirements of Party members. Bureaucracy, arbitrariness, and abuse of power, prerogatives and privileges are dangerous enemies of a Party in power.

The sense of organization and discipline is the first requirement made on a Communist fighter. The standard of political consciousness, the revolutionary ethics and the

class stand of Party members must find their expression in practice through their close ties with the organization their strict implementation of the Party line and policies and Constitution and its resolutions, and their exemplary observance of the laws of the State and the discipline of mass organizations. A militant Party, a Party of revolutionary action, especially in a proletarian dictatorship cannot keep undisciplined elements who stand above or outside the organization in its ranks.

The Party must constantly be replenished with new life. The abundant sources from which to fill the ranks of the Party are the workers, collective peasants, revolutionary intellectuals, and especially the young people from these courageous classes and strata of people—zealous and courageous working people possessed of an ardent love for the motherland and socialism, a knowledge of policies and culture, tempered and tested in revolutionary practice. In many newly liberated areas in the South, as the membership is small in number it is necessary to expand the Party ranks. However, the admission of new Party members must be closely guided. Through the revolutionary movement of the masses we must find outstanding people and educate and foster those who are really conscious of the Party ideal, enthusiastic in their work and closely associated with the masses, and admit them into the Party ranks. First to be chosen are outstanding people in the working class, especially workers in big industry, at the same time, we must select outstanding people among working peasants and eminent officers and men of the people's armed forces. The intellectuals who have been tempered and tested in revolutionary practice must also be politically fostered and admitted into the Party. The tendency to narrow-mindedness must be avoided, but care must be taken against opportunists who worm themselves

into the Party to have influence, position and power. Particular caution must be exercised against the reactionaries and spies who try to infiltrate the Party. The admission of new members must be carried out in strict observance of the criteria and procedures stipulated in the Constitution.

On the other hand we must resolutely expel from the Party ranks degenerate and corrupt elements, those who have lost their revolutionary combativeness, who infiltrated the Party for their own selfish interests, who used their position and power to intimidate the masses or encroach on socialist property, who engaged in splitting and factional activities.

Party members whose political consciousness is too weak who can no longer assume leadership and have been actively helped for some time without making any progress, should also retire from the Party ranks. Each Party organization must take most active measures to heighten the revolutionary fighting spirit and rapidly raise the political and cultural level of its members.

The building of a contingent of Party and State cadres, which is both of good quality and large, and is capable of fulfilling the revolutionary tasks in the new stage, is a very important and urgent task at present. The Party must have a cadre policy which conforms to the demands of the new stage, improves the selection, training, fostering and use of cadres and builds up a contingent of cadres who are fully conversant with the political line worked out by the Fourth Party Congress, determined and capable of working for the successful implementation of that line.

The quality of a cadre is determined by a combination of his political qualification and working ability, as shown in how he fulfils his task. These cannot be separated from each other or opposed to each other since the lack of either

aspect makes the Party and State cadres unqualified, particularly with regard to leading and management cadres

Political qualification means loyalty, dedication, self sacrifice, and at the same time political acuteness and perspicacity, initiative activity, a high sense of responsibility towards one's task and the common cause of the revolution, firm confidence in the Party line and persistence in the defence and implementation of that line. As the revolution progresses, cadres must unceasingly heighten their standard of Marxist Leninist theory, their understanding of the Party line and policies their expertise and ability in practical organization. Leading and management cadres must possess adequate knowledge of production, science and technology, organization and management establish close ties with the masses, thoroughly understand their mood and aspirations, grasp and be sensitive to new realities and problems and know how to analyse and solve them correctly

The Party, State and mass organizations must organize theoretical and political education, rapidly foster and elevate the standard and working ability of all categories of cadres, first of all leading and management cadres and those who have worked for many years with no opportunity to study. While strengthening the network of Party schools at all levels we should open many kinds of schools and courses to teach economic organization and management or to train economic engineers, develop complementary education schools for cadres, in a vigorous manner and organize the broad propagation of scientific and technical knowledge in appropriate and effective forms. It has now become a pressing obligation for every cadre to study politics, theory, culture, science, technology and his profession. If one is satisfied with one's past experience and acquired knowledge and fails to make efforts

to grasp new knowledge, one is very likely to commit mistakes and surely cannot fulfil one's task in the new stage

In meeting the ever greater need of cadres at present and in the future, and in coping with the effort to foster and improve the quality of the existing contingent of cadres, the urgent problem arises of training and appointing a great number of new young cadres of worker working peasant and revolutionary intellectual stock. Utmost attention must be paid to increasing the proportion of working people in the ranks of the leading and management cadres. Particular importance must be attached to the training, fostering and promotion of cadres from ethnic minorities and women cadres in leading and managerial work as well as in scientific and technological work. One of the most important tasks and measures at present in strengthening and renewing the contingent of Party and State cadres is to boldly assign tasks and promote new, young cadres who have been tested in their work. We must have a correct view and a correct appraisal of the ability of the younger forces and oppose the narrow minded attitude of a number of Party cadres and members. It is the duty of every Party Committee, Party branch and Party member to look for, find, select and train new cadres in order to fulfil both the immediate tasks and the long term revolutionary cause of the Party. Every leading cadre is responsible for training reserve cadres and preparing his successor. At the same time, the Party and State must bring into full play the talent and experience of old cadres who have undergone many trials in the revolution. At present, in the ranks of our Party there are representatives of many generations, those who began their activities before the August Revolution, those who grew up during the war of resistance against French aggression, those who worked and grew up in the patriotic war against

US aggression and during socialist construction, and those who have been trained in recent years. This is a great advantage for the strengthening of the leading and managerial organs and for the guarantee of stability and continuity in the leadership of the Party. Our Party cadre policy has been and will continue to be one of consistent integration of the experience of the old generation with the resilience of the young one and the promotion of the strong points of different categories of cadres.

The training, promotion and replenishment of cadres must take place simultaneously with the partial replacement and renewal of the ranks of cadres. The Party shows constant concern about the stability of the cadre work so that they have peace in mind, deepen their professional expertise and accumulate further experience. But stability is meaningful only when cadres are assigned to the right places, are allotted the right jobs, and are able to develop their talent and serve the revolution effectively. Cadres whose political qualifications or working ability do not match their tasks, who are unable to discharge their duties and even impede the leadership and management, must be changed around accordingly. We must base our selves on the requirements of the work to be done in appointing cadres and not on the requirements of cadres in creating jobs. Personnel are appointed wherever the work needs them. We must find the most suitable cadre for each job. One of the main requirements of cadre work is to assign cadres to the right places where they can develop their talent and creativeness to the highest degree possible to make the greatest contribution to the revolution.

Cadre work must be carried out under the centralized leadership of the Party. Party committees should themselves examine and decide on a collective basis the selec

tion, appraisal promotion and replacement of cadres as suming important posts in the apparatus of the Party, administration and mass organizations. We should strengthen the machinery which assists the Party committees and State leading organs in cadre work, heighten the scientific standard of the study on policy and the implementation of each step of cadre work. Cadre work must have immediate and long term plans, and meet the requirements of political tasks in each specific stage.

Party committees must work out and implement systems and rules of cadre work correctly so as to grasp the situation of cadres in general and thoroughly understand each cadre placed under their immediate control, ensure the principle of collective leadership and democracy, and avoid subjectivism and one-sidedness. There should be appropriate channels through which to collect the opinion of Party cadres and members, and also of non-Party cadres and the masses on cadre policy, on the selection, promotion and replacement of leading and management cadres. In cadre work, we must overcome conservative and narrow minded views, sectionalism, sectarianism, prejudices or favouritism.

Since its founding, our Party has always maintained the unity and oneness of mind of its ranks in the face of all trials of the revolutionary struggle. It is the most sacred task of the entire Party, of all its cadres and members to continue to develop this precious tradition and abide by the teachings of President Ho Chi Minh. "One must preserve the unity and oneness of mind of the Party as the apple of one's eye"

Our Party does not tolerate any manifestation whatsoever of sectarianism. It considers division and sectarianism within the Party the biggest crime against the revolution. Being the vanguard contingent, the militant general staff of the working class, the most active and

advanced part of the society, the Party shares a common resolve and is of a single will.

In the ideological field, the unity and oneness of mind within the Party based on Marxism Leninism find their expression in the political line worked out by the entire Party on the basis of the consciousness of all members of the ideal, goals and tasks of the Party. Ideological unity is ensured by organizational unity which leads to unity in action. Being the fundamental organizational principle of the Party, democratic centralism firmly guarantees the organizational unity of the Party.

However, unity and oneness of mind do not mean that there are no discussions and no debates. On the contrary democratic discussions and debates are indispensable premises for unity and oneness of mind and methods to achieve it. Democratic centralism does not restrict freedom of thought, it requires and ensures that every member be given the right to discuss and participate in the taking of decisions on every problem of the Party and the right to expound within the Party organization any personal opinion on questions concerning the interests of the revolution. The highest degree of development of democratic rights, intelligence, and creativeness of all Party members constitutes an important guarantee for the vitality of the Party. Arbitrariness, abuse of power, paternalism, the repression of ideas, as well as unity for the sake-of-unity and the compromising attitude adopted towards questions of principle are completely alien to the proletarian Party.

Yet, democracy must be under centralized guidance, the fullest democracy must be combined with the highest centralism, each aspect serves as premise to the other and both of them make up the essence of democratic centralism, the principles of which are the minority obeys the decisions of the majority the lower level obeys the

decisions of the higher level, the section obeys the decisions of the whole organization, the entire Party obeys the decisions of the National Party Congress and the Central Committee—the highest leading body in the interval of the two Congresses—elected by the Congress. A violation of those principles is tantamount to undermining the discipline and the unity of the Party.

Self-criticism and criticism constitute a progressive law of development of the Party and also a fundamental method to strengthen the unity and oneness of mind within the Party.

In the process of building socialism, the struggle between the new and the old, between the progressive and the backward takes place unceasingly. In face of the changes in the situation and the tasks some comrades achieve prompt comprehension, while others are slow and fail to keep pace with the new situation and tasks. Besides, owing to the complexity of the situation, many Party members are still influenced by non-proletarian ideologies. Therefore, the struggle between the new and the old between the progressive and the backward, between proletarian ideologies and non-proletarian ideologies necessarily and frequently takes place in the Party. Self-criticism and criticism coupled with the heightening of the awareness of Party cadres and members are the fundamental method to settle these contradictions, to create ever greater unity within the Party, to educate Party cadres and members with a view to developing their strong points, overcoming their weak points and ceaselessly making progress.

To preserve and develop the tradition of unity and oneness of mind of the Party, we must also constantly foster the comradeship between Party cadres and members. Sincerity and open-mindedness, mutual love and

respect, modesty, mutual concern and understanding, wholehearted assistance in fulfilling duties and making progress, these are typical features of communist solidarity, and also indispensable virtues of the socialist new type of man. Wherever these virtues prevail they banish selfish calculations, scramble for position, enmity and envy, over exaltation over past achievements and self complacency, claiming merits for oneself while blaming others' shortcomings, etc. It is precisely these evils and not any serious difference of viewpoints and directives that are the main causes for disunity here and there in the Party.

To heighten the Party's fighting capacity, we should do our utmost to *improve and intensify ideological work in the Party*.

The primary task at present is to make the resolutions of this Congress pervade the entire Party and fundamentally raise the political standard and consciousness in the activities of Party cadres and members. To this end, we must improve the forms and methods of education in the Party, improve the quality of political life, organize the network of information on current events and policies well, periodically open short term courses on Party line and viewpoints for Party cadres and members.

It is now a task of the utmost importance in ideological work to step up education in Marxist-Leninist theory, the Party line and policies, and at the same time to raise the cultural, scientific, technical and professional standard of Party cadres and members.

We should strive to improve and raise the efficiency of theoretical education, the main guideline for which is to further grasp the guiding principle of linking theory to practice, fully ensure the scientific and militant character of the content of education, and encourage a scientific,

independent and creative style of thinking among students. We should pay special attention to the fundamental and systematic training and fostering of a contingent of highly qualified theoretical lecturers, improve the methods of education, consolidate the system of regular Party schools and expand the system of on-the-job Party schools, and strengthen the material basis and other facilities necessary to theoretical and political education.

An important task at present in the ideological activities of the Party is to step up study work in order to further clarify the fundamental problems of the Vietnamese revolution in the theoretical field. In this domain, our Party has recorded remarkable achievements. However, we cannot fail to note that Party theoretical work has not kept pace with the development of the realities in the country and in the world. The very rich experiences accumulated by the Vietnamese revolution call for further efforts to work out a profound theoretical synthesis, especially in the current process of development of the revolution, when the practice of the whole country advancing towards socialism and the general line of the Party in the new stage are presenting a series of problems in the theoretical field which must be enlightened and illustrated in a concrete, all-sided and systematic manner. This task requires great intellectual efforts of the entire Party, and the special efforts of the responsible organs of the Party and State on the theoretical and ideological fronts. At the same time, we should step up basic studies of Marxist-Leninist theory and other fields of social science, and the study and compilation of the Party history.

We must train a contingent of theoretical cadres and social science cadres with high political qualifications, unqualified loyalty to the cause of the Party, of high scientific standard, with a firm grasp of Marxism-Leninism and of the latest achievements of social sciences, and

capable of helping the Party study and clarify the complicated problems of revolutionary theory and the process of development of modern society

All ideological work of the Party must be thoroughly permeated with the following orientation: to inculcate the socialist and communist ideologies, to spread the revolutionary and scientific character, the spirit of independence and sovereignty and creativeness in the Party line. To check and criticise in time all manifestations of non-proletarian ideologies among Party cadres and members, which find their expression in concepts and actions which are at variance with the Party viewpoint, line and policies, in their social relations, particularly with the masses, and in their moral qualifications and their daily activities. We must make determined efforts to overcome the petty bourgeois ideology the common expression of which in the political field is rightist and "leftist" deviations, mainly rightist deviation, in the field of concepts, it is individualism in various guises in the field of methodology, it is subjectivism and one-sidedness. At the same time, we must resolutely struggle against all influences of bourgeois ideology and vestiges of feudal ideology influencing Party cadres' and members' thinking.

The new stage of the revolution requires that all Party cadres and members heighten their spirit of revolutionary offensive sense of responsibility, sense of organization and discipline in fulfilling the tasks of the Party, oppose conservatism, slackness over-exaltation over past achievements, pleasure seeking irresponsibility and indiscipline, they must heighten their sense of industry, thrift, integrity and uprightness, public mindedness and self denial, heighten their spirit of dedication to the people, treasure and protect public property, combat any tendency to abuse prerogatives and privileges, any encroachment on socialist property value honesty, sincerity, the defence of

truth, the spirit of solidarity, oppose division, sectarianism, sectionalism, particularism and parochialism. Acquire the large-scale industry style of work expeditious, factual, practical, scientific and realistic, adopt a method of work based on democratic centralism, oppose bureaucracy, arbitrariness and abuse of power, and at the same time heighten their sense of personal responsibility. They must bring into play their eagerness in study, search for new knowledge and oppose laziness in thinking and studying.

We must always remember and resolutely act upon President Ho Chi Minh's behest: "We must preserve the purity of our Party, we must be worthy leading cadres and faithful servants of the people."

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* *

Comrades,

The Fourth Congress of our Party is held at a time when our country is entering a new era in the history of the nation. It is the era of a completely and perpetually independent and reunified Viet Nam, of a socialist Viet Nam which is advancing to prosperity and higher culture and making an important contribution to the cause of peace, national independence, democracy and social progress in Southeast Asia and the world.

The Congress will map out the line on socialist revolution in the whole country for a long historical period and will define the orientation and the tasks of the second five-year plan, a plan that opens the post-war period of development of economy and culture. It will elect the new Central Committee and will adopt the Party Constitution (revised).

In the socialist revolution, it is the fundamental line of our Party to hold firmly to proletarian dictatorship, develop the right to collective mastery by the working people, carry out the three revolutions simultaneously, achieve the industrialization of the country, build the system of socialist collective mastery build up a large scale socialist production a new culture, a new socialist type of man, all with a view to attaining the ultimate goal, namely perfecting our regime in the political economic cultural and social fields

This is the way to accomplish far reaching revolutionary changes in our society, to wipe out oppression and exploitation, to strengthen the people's solidarity and national unity into a solid united front This is also the way to strengthen our socialist State so that it brings about full realization of the people's right to collective mastery, achieves close association of the administration with the people, ensuring to the latter the right to use the administration to exercise their right to collective mastery, and conversely, to ensure that the administration acts in accordance with its tasks, viz to effect the people's power to resolutely prevent and overcome bureaucracy

Relying on the strength of the people's collective mastery, we will make the best use of and proceed to the reorganization of, the social labour force and production so as to well explore the country's natural resources with a view to eliminating poverty and backwardness and building a new, plentiful and happy life step by step In the second five year plan, we should make strenuous efforts to overcome the aftermath of war, to better the people's living standard, to build the material and technical basis of socialism and to foster and train cadres

In order to achieve the above-mentioned tasks our Party must increase its fighting capacity and the efficiency

of its leadership. In his lifetime, President Ho Chi Minh showed particular concern for the building and consolidation of the Party, and constantly cared for the education and training of Party members. His will deals first and foremost with the Party. To be always worthy of Uncle Ho and to fulfil the heavy tasks in the new stage, all Party cadres and members should strengthen their revolutionary ethics and working ability, heighten their role as vanguard fighters and faithfully serve the Party and the people. The entire Party must stand closely united around the Central Committee and be united itself, so as to achieve unity among the people, unity between the people and the army, and unity among the fraternal nationalities in the country, and work tirelessly to translate the Party ideal into reality in our beloved Fatherland.

Comrades,

Communism is the supreme goal of our Party. It is mankind's Spring and the most beautiful society in tomorrow's history of our country. To conform to the militant Party goal, to bring the Party character into relief, and consequently to further heighten Party members' sense of duty to the Party, the Central Committee acts upon the aspirations of many Party members and organizations in proposing that the Congress rename our Party the *Communist Party of Viet Nam*, the glorious name which illustrates the lofty ideal of our Party.

Comrades,

For nearly half a century, our Party has led our people in the struggle against the aggressors, for the independence of our beautiful country. Today, our motherland, plains, mountains, seas, all of them have returned to our people for ever. In these historic days of the Congress every

one of us, Communists and citizens of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, feels he has grown up with his glorious Party and his heroic motherland'

In the past revolutionary stages, our Party and people were welded into an organic whole by most durable ties of kith and kin. Our Party clearly understands and has complete confidence in our people's strength to remove mountains and fill up seas. They are a great staunch, indomitable people worthy of pride who spare no sacrifices in war to defeat the enemy, a heroic, clever, hard working and creative people in the fight for freedom and the building of a new life. Our people also have a clear understanding of, and put all their trust in our Party. In the long march for the independence and freedom of the nation, the Party was present in all places and at all times. It marched in the van of the fighting and led the advance in difficult situations. It is tied to the people by all its deeds for the liberation of the country. In the new stage it will do everything possible for the prosperity of the country and for the people's welfare and happiness.

The Fourth Party Congress marks a great advance into the period of peaceful socialist construction. We pledge to "rebuild our country grander, bigger and finer" as President Ho Chi Minh hoped for. We will turn our country into a modern industrial and agricultural country, with solid national defence, advanced culture and science, a happy and highly civilized life and a worthy position in the world.

We clearly realize that on the road ahead of us there lie not only advantages but also difficulties, some of which stem from our own shortcomings and weaknesses. But now more than ever, we look forward to the future with boundless confidence and overflowing energy.

The resolutions to be adopted by the Congress will open up immense prospects for the all sided development of our country and for the blossoming of the intelligence and talent of all Vietnamese

It is the duty interest and honour of the Vietnamese Communists and the entire Vietnamese people to bring the resolutions of the Congress into effect.

Let our entire people workers, peasants, army men youth, women, intellectuals, all strata of the people and all fraternal nationalities in the great family of the Vietnamese nation turn revolutionary heroism in their patriotic fight into revolutionary heroism in creative labour to build our motherland! The socialist revolution is our festival Let us turn our whole country and every locality every unit into huge construction sites pervaded with the spirit of revolutionary offensive!

For our motherland and for socialism, let our entire Party, our entire people and our entire army enthusiastically march forward!

Long live the Viet Nam Workers' Party, the organizer of all victories of the Vietnamese revolution!

Long live the heroic Vietnamese people!

Long live the glorious Socialist Republic of Viet Nam!

Long live invincible Marxism Leninism!

Our great President Ho Chi Minh lives for ever in our cause!

May the friendship among the socialist countries, the international solidarity among the Communists and all social and national liberation forces be further consolidated and developed!

GENERAL RESOLUTION

The Fourth Party Congress held from December 14 to 20, 1976, unanimously and fully approves the Political Report of the Central Committee delivered by Comrade Le Duan

The Congress holds unanimously that over the past 16 years, the Central Committee and the Political Bureau have led the entire Party, people and army in simultaneously fulfilling two strategic tasks laid down by the Third Party Congress, namely, "to carry out the socialist revolution in the North, and struggle to liberate the South and achieve national reunification, complete independence and democracy throughout the country"

Holding high the banner of national independence and socialism, the Party has combined the fighting strength of the great front line with the potentials of the great rear area, mobilized the forces of the entire people to the maximum for the war of resistance against US aggression, for national salvation, and brought the revolutionary traditions of our Party and our people into full play

Our people's victory in the war of resistance against US aggression, for national salvation, is one of the most brilliant pages of our national history and an event of great international and profound epoch making significance

I

1 Following the Second World War, the international political situation underwent deep changes. The world socialist system came into being, and the national independence movement and the workers' movement developed strongly. The forces of imperialism were seriously weakened. US imperialism became the international gendarme and sought to carry out its counter-revolutionary global strategy by any means open to it.

By unleashing the war of aggression against Viet Nam, US imperialism schemed to impose neo-colonialism on our country, wreck our people's socialist revolution, roll back socialism and encircle and threaten the socialist and national independence movements in South East Asia. US imperialism wanted to demonstrate that its colossal military and economic forces could crush all movements for national independence and block the advance of socialism anywhere in the world. In execution of this plan, US imperialism mobilized a big military force, resorted to many strategies and tactics, and used many modern weapons along with underhand diplomatic manoeuvres.

Under the leadership of the Party, our people and fighters throughout our country, overcome innumerable difficulties, united and fought with extreme heroism, from the "concerted uprisings" in late 1959 and early 1960 through the general offensive and simultaneous uprisings at Tet (Mau Than) in 1968 to the strategic offensive in 1972 and the fight to smash the strategic B52 blitz on Hanoi and

Haiphong They defeated all the war strategies of the US one after another and won victory after victory

With the General Offensive and Uprising of Spring 1975 which had the historic Ho Chu Minh Campaign as its climax, our patriotic war against US aggression won complete victory

The glorious victory of our patriotic war against US aggression was a great turning point in the history of our nation. It put a brilliant end to the 30 year long war for national liberation and salvation which started with the August Revolution, put a definitive end to the more than a century long imperialist domination in our country, brought lasting independence and unity to our Motherland and puts our entire country on the road to socialism.

This victory defeated the biggest and longest neo-colonialist war of aggression since the end of the Second World War, upset the global strategy of the imperialist chieftain, drove US imperialism into an unprecedented predicament, further eroded and enfeebled the imperialist system, consolidated the outpost of socialism in South East Asia, expanded and strengthened the socialist system, and further increased the strength and enhanced the offensive posture of the world revolutionary forces.

The victory of our patriotic war against US aggression is a victory of the correct leadership of our Party, the seasoned vanguard of the Vietnamese working class, the faithful and thorough exponent of the vital interests and profound and legitimate aspirations of the Vietnamese people and the entire Vietnamese nation, which successfully blends the revolutionary science of the working class — Marxism-Leninism — and the extraordinary fighting energy, the boundless creative ability of our people, and the quintessence of the 4,000-year tradition of the Vietnamese nation.

It is the victory of a staunch and persevering, valiant and resourceful fight full of hardships and sacrifices of our people and army throughout the country, especially of Party organizations in the South, of cadres and combatants working and fighting there, of tens of millions of our patriotic fellow countrymen on the front line of the motherland who have set an example of staunch and indomitable struggle for over 30 years under the yoke of the aggressors. It is the victory of the socialist regime in the North, of the people in the North who built and fought at the same time to defend the common revolutionary base of the whole country while mobilizing more and more manpower and resources to fight a patriotic war against US aggression in the South, and who gave heart and soul for their brothers and sisters in the South.

The Congress warmly hails the ardent patriotism and the supreme revolutionary heroism of our fellow-countrymen, fighters, Party cadres and members of all fraternal nationalities in the North as well as in the South, who have united and fought tirelessly for national liberation and the reunification of the motherland!

The Congress warmly commends the cadres and fighters of the heroic people's armed forces who fought with great valour decade after decade, achieved glorious feats, from the Dien Bien Phu battle to the Ho Chi Minh campaign, enhanced the fine traditions of our army, and together with our entire people wrote a wonderful epic of the Vietnamese revolutionary war.

The Congress records the services rendered by our martyrs, who bravely laid down their lives for the independence and freedom of the motherland, for socialism and communism for our sacred duty towards the nation and our noble internationalist duties. Our people are proud of those loyal and devoted sons and daughters who shed

their blood to enhance the glorious banner of our mother land'

The great victory of our patriotic war against US aggression as well as the brilliant pages of the nearly half a century long Vietnamese revolution will always be closely associated with the name of our great President Ho Chi Minh, the founder and teacher of our Party, the father of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, the initiator of the great national united front, the builder of the revolutionary armed forces, a leader of genius of our working class and our people, a great national hero, and an eminent fighter of the international communist movement

Interpreting the most profound feelings of our compatriots and combatants in the whole country, the Congress respectfully wishes to offer to our great President Ho Chi Minh our common victories over the US imperialists and to express our boundless gratitude to our Uncle, who dedicated his life to the liberation of our people, the reunification of our motherland, the cause of our Party and our nation, brought glory to our land, and left us and future generations immortal legacies'

Our victory is also that of the unshakable militant solidarity of the three peoples of Viet Nam, Laos and Kampuchea. The Congress warmly acclaims the great historic victories of the fraternal Lao and Kampuchean peoples, victories which we regard as our own, and wishes to convey to our comrades-in arms, fighters in the same trench our boundless gratitude and our unswerving solidarity

Our victory is also a victory for the forces of socialism, national independence, democracy and peace the world over which have supported our people's struggle against the US imperialist aggressors. The Congress expresses its most profound gratitude to the Soviet Union, China and

other fraternal socialist countries which have extended to our people their support and all round, great and valuable assistance out of their proletarian internationalism, and continue to assist us in healing the wounds of war and rehabilitating our country

We warmly thank the Communist Parties and the working class in all countries, the national liberation movements and the nationalist countries, the peace-loving countries, the international democratic organizations and all progressive mankind for their strong sympathy, support and encouragement to our people's war of resistance against US aggression for national salvation, as well as for their wholehearted support and assistance to us in the new stage

The most decisive factor for victory is the leadership of our Party with its independent, sovereign, correct and creative political and military line. This is the line of holding aloft the banner of national independence and socialism carrying out two closely related revolutionary tasks simultaneously: the people's national-democratic revolution in the South and the socialist revolution in the North, with the common aim of achieving national reunification, thus creating conditions to take the whole country to socialism. With this line, our Party has been able to mobilize the mighty force of the people of the whole country to the maximum, combining the great front with the great rear, combining the strength of our people with the strength of the three revolutionary currents of our time, thus marshalling a combined strength to fight and defeat US imperialism. This is a victory of the offensive strategy of constantly standing firm on the offensive of knowing how to force the enemy to deescalate step by step, defeating them step by step and eventually winning complete victory.

This is a victory of revolutionary methods using combined violence of the masses' political forces and the people's armed forces, launching partial uprisings in the countryside and developing them into revolutionary war, associating military struggle with political struggle and diplomatic struggle, combining mass insurrection with revolutionary war, combining uprising with offensive, offensive with uprising, fighting the enemy in all the three strategic areas—the mountain areas, the plains and the towns, attacking the enemy with three prongs—military operations, political actions, agitation among enemy soldiers, combining the three categories of troops—the regular forces, the regional army, and the militia guerilla, combining guerilla warfare with conventional warfare, combining big and medium size with small attacks, exercising our mastery over the territory to wipe out the enemy, and wiping out the enemy in order to exercise our mastery over the territory, firmly grasping the strategic guideline of protracted fighting while knowing how to create and seize opportunities to launch strategic offensives in order to change the situation of the war, and proceed to a general offensive and uprising to crush the enemy and win final victory

This is a victory of judicious strategic guidance by the Party Central Committee and Political Bureau, of the art of organizing the fight by Party organizations at all levels and the army command at all echelons

The victory of the Vietnamese revolution has demonstrated that *in the present era when the world revolutionary forces are in an offensive posture, a nation whose territory is not vast and whose population is not large, but who is closely united and fights resolutely under the leadership of a Marxist Leninist Party armed with correct revolutionary line and methods raising aloft the banners of national*

independence and socialism, and winning the sympathy, support and assistance of the socialist countries, revolutionary forces and progressive people the world over, is fully capable of defeating all the aggressive forces of imperialism, be it the imperialist ringleader

Our patriotic war against US aggression is a very rich and precious treasure of experience. It is necessary to organize the summing up of war experience well in order to consolidate national defence and firmly defend the socialist regime in the new stage of the revolution.

2 Our entire people are very proud of the results of the socialist revolution in the North over the past twenty years.

An achievement of historic significance is the abolition of exploiting classes and exploitation of man by man, and the institution of socialist ownership in two forms—ownership by the entire people and by the collective. The working class has grown both in size and quality. The peasantry has become the collective peasant class. The contingent of socialist intellectuals has come into being and is developing with every passing day. Equality is realized between women and men and among the nationalities. In the North, society now belongs to the working people who are its collective masters and who display ever greater political and moral unity and oneness of mind.

The initial material and technical basis of socialism has been laid.

We have the initial foundations of heavy industry. The capacity of industry, transport and construction has increased as compared with the prewar period. As regards agriculture, great efforts have been made to expand irrigation systems, to multiply crops, to increase the productivity of cultivation and animal husbandry and to apply

advanced science and technology Education, public health, culture arts, sports and physical culture have developed rapidly Political security and social order has been maintained. The material and cultural life of the people remains stable and many aspects have been improved.

These achievements were gained while the North had to fight off two fierce wars of destruction, while it had to concentrate manpower and wealth for the task of liberating the South and had to shoulder its internationalist duties This has proved the superiority and matchless strength of socialism, and affirmed the absolute correctness of the line of the socialist revolution mapped out by the Third Congress and further elaborated and developed by the Central Committee Plenums

However the North still has many shortcomings and faces many difficulties, especially in the economic field. Its material and technical basis remains small and weak, its economic structure is still unbalanced in many respects, the new relations of production have not been perfected and in some places are not yet firmly consolidated the district level has not been strengthened quickly enough labour productivity is low, production can not yet satisfy the people's daily requirements and those of accumulation, heavy industry is still small and unevenly developed and has not been able to serve as a firm basis for the national economy, agricultural production has not yet supplied enough food and food-stuffs to the people, raw materials for industry and goods for exports, the social work forces have not been rationally deployed and used, the rich national resources have not yet been adequately exploited.

This state of things stems from the fact that ours is still a small-scale production economy which, moreover, has

been devastated by the war. However, there are shortcomings in the guidance and economic management by the Party and the State. The line for socialist revolution has not been concretised in time and has not been satisfactorily applied to the plans for economic and cultural development, to the guidelines, tasks and concrete work of each branch, each place and each basic unit. Economic management is still fraught with red tape and bureaucracy, productivity, quality and efficiency are not adequately appreciated, the management apparatus is cumbersome, and organized in a disparate way like handicraft production, the organization for implementation is not very effective, discipline is lax, the style of work is not yet close to realities and the masses, and lacks revolutionary militancy. Party building work, cadre work and ideological work have not kept abreast with the ever increasing demands of the revolution. Activities of the mass organizations are not totally in line with the political tasks and do not serve production and life effectively.

3. With the complete victory of the patriotic resistance against US aggression, the Vietnamese revolution has entered a new stage, the stage of the whole country becoming independent and unified, and fulfilling the single strategic task of carrying out the socialist revolution, advancing rapidly, vigorously and steadily to socialism.

Now that our country has recovered complete independence, national independence and socialism have become one. Only under socialism can our people free themselves for ever from poverty and backwardness, and secure a civilized and happy life. Only socialism can bring firm independence, freedom and increasing prosperity to our Fatherland.

The Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, the great achievement of our people's protracted and arduous struggle, has won an extremely glorious victory, has great potential and brilliant prospects. It is an impregnable outpost of the socialist system, a decisive factor in the struggle for peace, national independence, democracy and social progress in South-East Asia and the world.

II

1 As the revolution in our country embarks on the new stage, the following are the major characteristics of its development

First, our country is advancing directly from a society whose economy remains essentially one of small scale production to socialism, bypassing the stage of capitalist development

Second, the whole country has gained peace, independence and unity, and is advancing to socialism in very favourable conditions. However, many difficulties caused by the war and vestiges of neo-colonialism remain

Third, our country is carrying out the socialist revolution in a favourable international situation. Nevertheless, the struggle to decide "which will win" between the two forces, revolution and counter revolution in the world, remains crucial

2 To achieve complete victory for the socialist revolution, *the first condition is to establish and unceasingly strengthen proletarian dictatorship, to set up and constantly bring into full play the working people's right to collective mastery*

The socialist revolution in our country is a process of overall, continuous, deep and thorough going revolutionary change. It is a process of combining transformation with construction, in which construction is the main aspect, a

process of abolishing the backward and promoting the progressive, transforming the old and creating the new we must create both new productive forces and new relations of production at the same time, both a new economic infrastructure and a new superstructure, both a new material life and a new spiritual and cultural life. This is a process of long bitter and complicated struggle between the working class and the bourgeoisie, between the socialist road and the capitalist road.

This is a process of holding firmly to the proletarian dictatorship, promoting the collective mastery of the working people and stepping up the three revolutions, the revolution in the relations of production, the scientific and technological revolution, and the ideological and cultural revolution, in which the scientific and technological revolution is the keystone.

This is also a process of establishing step by step the system of socialist collective mastery, large-scale socialist production, new culture and fostering a new socialist man. These three revolutions must be carried out simultaneously in close connection with one another, in mutual interaction. The system of mastery, large-scale production, the new culture and new socialist man—socialism as a whole like each part of it—can only emerge as the combined result of the whole process of socialist revolution.

Holding firmly to proletarian dictatorship means firmly grasping the Party line, strengthening the leadership of the working class, expressing and promoting the right of the working people as collective masters, building a solid and strong State, and rallying broad strata of the people around the working class. It means to carry out the three revolutions, to abolish the regime of exploitation of man by man, to do away with poverty and backwardness, to successfully build socialism, to consolidate and strengthen the forces of national defence, to maintain political security

and social order, to smash all resistance and all aggression by the enemy, to consolidate and develop the relations of co-operation and mutual assistance with the fraternal socialist countries and to take an active part in the struggle of the world's people for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

To build the system of socialist collective mastery is to build a society in which the masters are the organized working people and the core of which is the worker peasant alliance led by the working class

Socialist collective mastery involves mastery in many 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

Collective mastery includes genuine freedom for each individual

Building the system of socialist collective mastery is a process of continuous revolution from lower to higher levels, from imperfection to perfection

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 of a system of correct relationships between the Party, the State and the people. We must strive to build a new type of State, a State which is really of the people, by the people and for the people, through which the Party exercises its leadership over society. The State must be fully qualified and capable of organizing and managing all aspects of social life. We must try to build the Party and make it really strong and firm so that it has the capacity to lead

the whole cause of socialist revolution. The Party leads the State but does not encroach upon the State's role or replace it.

We must, through the activities of the State and the mass organizations under the leadership of the Party, enhance the spirit of initiative and creative ability of the people, and arouse socialist emulation movements in labour and production, building socialism with industry and thrift, so that all activities of the masses become activities organized on a large scale, conforming to objective laws, closely combining the revolutionary with the scientific, creating a great combined strength to abolish the old and create the new.

After overthrowing the rule of the oppressors and exploiters to build the system of political collective mastery and to set up the power of the working people, with the worker peasant alliance as the core and led by the working class is to develop 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 clearly understand and know how to exercise, their political power.

Political collective mastery calls for firm defence of socialism, firm defence of the socialist motherland along with the building of socialism. We must constantly heighten vigilance, and stand ready to smash all schemes and acts of destruction and aggression by any enemy.

Political collective mastery involves both duties and rights, rights imply duties. Each citizen has the duty to work, the duty to defend the motherland, the duty to defend political security and social order, the duty to defend socialist property, the duty to respect and observe State laws and the rules of collective life. We must ensure equality between men and women, between nationalities. Every citizen fully enjoys socialist democratic liberties.

Economic collective mastery includes collective mastery of the main means of production, 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 system of ownership. We must establish the socialist system of ownership in two forms: ownership by all the people and collective ownership through appropriate forms and steps.

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 work out appropriate plans and measures for the organization, assignment and arrangement of the various sources of social labour in order to use them most effectively on a national scale, as well as in each place, each basic unit.

We should reorganize social production and build an effective managerial and planning system in order to make rational use of and turn to full account all productive capabilities, 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 just, rational, organized, planned and increasingly adequate system of distribution in keeping with the level of the development of production with a view to meeting the material and spiritual needs of the entire society. This system must be a loyal expression of the principle "from each according to his ability, to each

according to his work, and no pay for those who can, but do not, work."

At the same time, we must increase social welfare, in keeping with the level of development of production. We should pay special attention to the gradual assumption by society of the responsibility for child care, for bringing up children and for their education.

To build cultural collective mastery is to create a rich spiritual life for everyone, to make all cultural values the property of the people and to make the people become the direct creator of all cultural values, to make relationships between people reflect the noble ethic "each for all and all for each." To this end, we should strive to develop a new culture and step by step build our country into a highly civilized society.

A correct relationship between the collective and the individual is a very important aspect of the building of the system of socialist collective mastery. We must ensure identity of views between the collective and the individuals. 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 multifaceted development of personality, foster and develop individual vocations and aptitudes.

The economic basis of the system of socialist collective mastery is large-scale socialist production. The building and development of large scale socialist production must aim at the ever increasing satisfaction of the expanding material and cultural needs of the whole society, through the unceasing development and perfection of production on the basis of collective mastery and modern science and technology.

To this end, carrying out socialist industrialization, creating an industrial-agricultural economic structure is of

decisive significance The fundamental way to create such a structure is to *give priority to the rational development of heavy industry on the basis of the development of agriculture and light industry*, in order to integrate agriculture and industry into a single entity, developing harmoniously side by side on the path to large scale socialist production, constantly linked with each other, promoting and serving each other. Industry is the main foundation of the national economy, in which it plays a leading role, while agriculture is the basis for industrial development.

This economic structure is a unified one for the whole country comprising the centrally run economy and regional economies. We must concentrate the forces of the entire country on building the centrally run economy embracing the key economic branches and establishments having the most decisive effect on the development of the national economy as a whole, while vigorously developing the regional economies, so as to provide each province, each city with a rational economic structure, a component part of the national economy, and to build the districts into agro-industrial economic units (in mountain and coastal regions, the districts should have an economic structure that suits local conditions) in accordance with national and provincial plans.

To combine the building of the economy with national defence correctly, national construction and national defence must be developed alongside one another. We must closely combine labour duty with military service in order to step up economic construction while ensuring the steady consolidation of national defence.

Along with building the country in every respect, we must build a strong national defence of the whole people, people's armed forces, and a national defence industry and ensure that the country is ready to defeat any act of aggression.

It is necessary to rely mainly on our own strength, carry out a rational division of labour, raise labour efficiency and increase home production capacity, and at the same time *strengthen our economic relations with the fraternal socialist countries*

It is necessary to develop division of labour, co-operation, and mutual assistance in the spirit of socialist internationalism. We must *develop economic relations with other countries* on the basis of firmly maintaining our independence and sovereignty and on the basis of mutual benefit. We must acquire advanced technology through international relations

The relations of production and productive forces are always closely linked to each other and stimulate each other's development. In the revolution in the relations of production, we must associate the transformation of the system of ownership with that of the system of distribution of production and business organization and of the managerial system. We must closely combine the State run sector with the collective sector with the former as a nucleus, a leading force in strengthening the collective sector and providing good guidance to the individual sector

In the scientific and technical revolution, we must firmly grasp the central task which is mechanization, rationally combine mechanization, semi mechanization and manual operations, combine large, medium and small scale, build the large scale as the kingpin and build and foster a contingent of economic management cadres and scientific and technical cadres

We must develop the relationship between *accumulation and consumption* correctly, so as to ensure the rapid building of the material and technical basis of socialism while improving the people's living standards step by step. Thrift must become a major policy of our Party and State

and a revolutionary practice of the broad masses of the people. We must practise thrift both in production and in consumption, apply a rational policy of consumption and uphold the spirit of industrious and thrifty building of socialism.

We must constantly increase social labour productivity, the quality of products, production and business efficiency. We must work out appropriate plans and measures to launch an emulation movement for productive labour and socialist construction with industry and thrift. We must attach importance to the organization and management of labour, especially when a major part of labour is still manual.

The new culture is a culture with a socialist content and a national character. It is a culture with a profound Party character and popular character. It is built on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and the ideas of socialist collective mastery. It crystallizes the fine tradition of the nation, at the same time evinces selective assimilation of the achievements of human civilization. This culture is the harmonious combination of the quintessence and of the peculiar cultures of all the fraternal nationalities in the great family of the Vietnamese nation. To build the new culture is a process of fostering ideas of the working class, wholesome sentiments, and fine customs and habits of the nation, while struggling to sweep away the influence of colonialist, feudal and bourgeois cultures and the backward factors in society.

The system of socialist collective mastery calls for people of a new type suited to it. President Ho Chi Minh said: "To build socialism, first of all there must be socialist people." The situation in our country requires and allows us to mould the new type of people gradually without having to wait for advanced development of large-scale socialist production.

The new socialist type of Vietnamese has striking characteristics collective mastery, labour zeal socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism

The new people are people with correct ideas and fine sentiments, and the knowledge and ability to master society, nature and themselves

The new people are working people who work with high voluntariness and revolutionary ardour They are loyal and honest working people who treasure and safeguard public property, work with discipline, technical qualification, creativeness and high productivity The new people have ardent socialist patriotism, harmoniously combined with pure proletarian internationalism

The new people have the deepest love for the working people, unite and cooperate with them and assist them in working, in fighting and in building a new life

The new Vietnamese is a comprehensively developed person living a harmonious and rich collective as well as private life

We must mould new people right from birth, in all age groups, in all mass organizations, all economic and cultural establishments, all social activities, all branches and all levels, in each city ward, each hamlet and family We must mould new people from people who have grown up under the new regime as well as from those who have lived under the old regime

3 The general line for the socialist revolution in the new stage in our country is 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 keystone,

step up socialist industrialization, which is the central task of the 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 security and social order, successfully build the Vietnamese motherland into a peaceful, independent unified and socialist country, actively contribute to the struggle of the people of the world for peace, national independence democracy and socialism

The line for building the socialist economy in the new stage in our country is as follows:

To step up socialist industrialization, build the material and technical basis of socialism, and take our economy from small scale production to large scale socialist production. To give priority to the rational development of heavy industry on the basis of developing agriculture and light industry, build industry and agriculture in the whole country into an industrial agricultural economic structure, build the central economy while developing the regional economies, combine the central economy with the regional economies into a unified national economic structure, combine the development of productive forces with the setting up and perfecting of new relations of production, combine economy with national defence, strengthen the relations of cooperation and mutual assistance with the fraternal socialist countries on the basis of socialist internationalism, at the same time develop our economic relations with other countries on the basis of firmly maintaining our independence and sovereignty and mutual benefit, turn Viet Nam into a socialist country with modern industry and agriculture, advanced culture and science, strong national defence and a civilized and happy life

We shall strive to complete in the main the process of taking our national economy from small scale production to large-scale socialist production within about 20 years

This is the essence of the arduous and complicated class struggle aimed at solving the question 'which will win?' between the working class and the bourgeois class, between the socialist path and the capitalist path in our country, in order to win complete victory for socialism.

4. Basing ourselves on the general line and the above mentioned line for economic development, from now to 1980, we must strive to improve the leadership and enhance the fighting ability of the Party, strengthen the State of the proletarian dictatorship, launch a revolutionary movement of the masses, primarily the emulation movement for productive labour, for building socialism with industry and thrift, complete most of the socialist transformation in the Southern provinces, complete reunification of the country in every respect, giving renewed impetus to the simultaneous carrying out of the three revolutions, take a step forward in building the new system, the new economy, the new culture and new people, step up the restoration, development and transformation of the economy and culture, take the building of the material and technical basis of socialism one step forward, strive to further improve the people's living standards, strive to foster and enlarge the contingent of cadres

III

The 1976-1980 Five-Year Plan for economic and cultural development and transformation and for scientific and technological development aims to settle at the same time two fundamental and urgent tasks to build the material and technical basis of socialism, and to further improve the people's material and cultural life

We have many fundamental advantages an abundant work force including a sizeable force of the army doing economic labour duty, a fairly numerous contingent of scientific and technical workers and cadres, the great potential of tropical agriculture and forestry, of fisheries, and rich natural resources, a number of bases of heavy industry, light industry and food industry, the precious assistance and great co-operation in economy and technology of fraternal socialist countries and other nations

With these advantages, we must mobilize our entire Party, our entire people and our entire army to uphold their spirit of collective mastery and self reliance, to enthusiastically march forward overcome all difficulties and fulfil their immediate tasks

The basic tasks of the 1976-1980 Five-Year Plan are

To concentrate the resources of the whole country of all branches and levels on achieving a sudden spurt of agriculture, to step up forestry and fishery (including handicrafts and small industries) with the aim of steadily

meeting the needs of the whole country in food foodstuffs and an important part of the common consumer goods, to further improve the *material and cultural life of the people* and to create accumulation for socialist industrialization

To turn the existing heavy industry capacity to full account and build many new bases of heavy industry especially the *engineering industry* in order to serve agriculture, forestry, fisheries and light industry first of all, and provide for technical equipment in the following period, to actively expand *communications and transport*, to rapidly increase the capacity for capital construction, to push ahead *scientific and technological work*, to make preparations in all fields for large-scale construction in the future long term plans

To use all the *social work force*, to organize and manage the labour force well, to redistribute labour among the various regions and branches in the whole country in order to increase social labour productivity markedly To take the initial steps in establishing a new industrial agricultural economic structure, combining central with regional economies step by step building the district into an agro industrial economic unit (a forestry agricultural industrial unit in the mountains), to combine economy with national defence, to strengthen the *national defence of the whole people*

To basically achieve socialist transformation in the South, consolidate and perfect the socialist relations of production in the North to vigorously improve *trade, price, finance and banking operations*

To rapidly develop the sources of export products first of all agricultural and light industry products, expand *economic relations with foreign countries*.

To strive to develop *education, culture and social work*, carry out educational reform, push ahead the training of technical cadres and workers, and do away with the sequels of war and neo-colonialism

To effect a deep change in *economic organization and management*, set up a new system of economic management on the national scale

The above-mentioned strategic layout in this Five Year Plan is very necessary and favourable, it meets the most urgent requirements while promoting our strongest points, namely abundant manpower, rich land and natural resources. This strategic layout requires a *re organization of production, and a redistribution of the work force in the whole country*

We must strive to attain the following major targets by 1980: 21 million tons of food (agricultural produce), one million tons of salt water fish, one million hectares of newly reclaimed land, 12 million hectares of newly planted forests, 165 million pigs, an engineering output two and a half times that of 1975, 10 million tons of washed coal, 5 billion kilowatt/hours of electricity, 2 million tons of cement, 13 million tons of chemical fertilizers, 250,000-300,000 tons of steel, 35 million cubic metres of wood, 450 million metres of fabrics, 130,000 tons of paper, and 14 million square metres of housing floor space not including that built by the people themselves.

A ORIENTATION OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF VARIOUS BRANCHES OF THE NATIONAL ECONOMY

1 Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries

It is necessary to bring about an all-sided development both in *farming and livestock breeding*, step up forestry

and fisheries along the lines of large-scale socialist production with a view to ensuring enough food and foodstuffs soon for the whole society, as well as a food reserve, to supply raw materials for industry, and rapidly increase exports. To carry out economic zoning and production planning aimed at developing all areas—the plains, the midlands, the mountain regions and the coastal areas—thus creating large areas of concentrated production and crop specialization soon. To attach importance to all three aspects—intensive farming, multiplication of crops and expansion of the tilled acreage. To make extensive efforts to develop water conservancy and launch a mass movement to step up irrigation, push ahead with the production of field manure, and give particular attention to improving the soil, set up a national system of strains, to supply new varieties with high yield, and expand the scope of mechanization.

With regard to food, to step up intensive farming, along with expanding the cultivated acreage by crop multiplication and land reclamation, set up major rice-growing areas, vigorously develop subsidiary crops (maize, sweet potatoes, cassava roots, potatoes, soya beans and kaoliang), establish areas of concentrated production of subsidiary crops, with intensive farming and processing. To develop food crops concentrated in areas of specialized cultivation and belts around cities, industrial centres, and also encourage families to grow them wherever possible.

To create concentrated areas of industrial crops, especially in the midland upland regions. To develop large-scale cultivation of fibre-yielding plants (cotton, jute, hemp, mulberry), oil bearing plants (peanut, soya, coconut, tung tree) sugar-cane, rubber, tea, tobacco, coffee pine-apples, bananas, and other plants and trees and various medicinal plants.

Livestock breeding must rapidly become a major branch of production keeping pace with cultivation. To step up the breeding of pigs, buffaloes and cows, and poultry, give due attention to the breeding of horses, goats, rabbits, and bees. Find satisfactory large-scale solutions to the problems of strains, fodder and veterinary service. Combine State-run, collective and private animal husbandry. Develop the food industry vigorously in all places in close connection with agricultural production.

To develop forestry along the line of large-scale socialist production. Importance should be given to all aspects: afforestation, tending, protection and exploitation. To cover all bare hills and coastal sand dunes within a few five-year plan periods, to build forests to meet the needs of industry and forests of special products along the line of specialization and intensive farming. To repeatedly launch movements to plant trees, tend trees and protect forests.

To carry out a successful campaign to help the ethnic minorities to adopt sedentation, solve the problem of food for mountain people satisfactorily, put an end to forest burning and destruction, carefully protect head water forests.

To develop State forestry while entrusting forests to cooperative management and exploitation according to the State plan, program and policies. To step up the exploitation and processing of wood and other forest products.

To restore and develop fisheries, intensify the catching and rearing of aquatic products in salty, brackish and fresh water. To rapidly increase the facilities for catching fish and processing sea products both of the State enterprises and the localities, reorganize the fishing resources, build our sea food branch into an important food industry. Make use of all ponds, rivers, lakes and swamps. Set up an

industry for the storage and processing of aquatic products, to carry out surveys and scientific research on the sources of aquatic products. Develop the salt making industry and mechanize salt making step by step

2 Light Industry, Handicrafts and Small Industry

To make the most of all production capacity and organisational forms to turn out more and more consumer goods and put an early end to the shortage of daily necessities

To concentrate efforts on developing branches catering for the vital necessities of life attach importance to the production of more varieties of goods used for labour safety. To take the initiative in settling the problem of raw materials, equipment and technique, to raise the quality of goods and the aesthetic presentation of industrial goods, and lowering production costs. To provide modern equipment to the establishments turning out exports, to make them of international standard. To quickly understand and use small industry of both the State and the localities satisfactorily as well as that of the cooperatives and the family side line economy, to expand the production capacities of the old establishments and build new ones as required. Special attention must be given to the restoration and vigorous development of handicrafts and small industries, particularly traditional handicrafts and local applied arts which will play an important role in the national economy for a long time

3 Heavy Industry

In the 1976-1980 Five-Year Plan heavy industry must concentrate on its main role of serving and developing

agriculture, forestry, fisheries and consumer goods. The engineering industry must be rapidly built into a powerful branch. We must complete the planning of engineering construction and production in the whole country, and step up specialization of and cooperation in production between the engineering forces of various branches and places soon.

It is necessary

To rearrange, transform and expand the existing factories, concentrate our efforts on building a number of new and important ones. To supply enough ordinary and improved tools of good quality, meet the bulk of the needs of the repair industry and supply most types of accessories, turn out many machine tools, generators, tractors, pumps, farming machines, assemble trucks, sea going vessels, fishing boats, dredges, small hydro-electric turbines, turn out whole sets of equipment of medium and small size for brick and tile factories, cement plants, sugar refineries, tea mills and rice husking mills and supply part of the required refrigeration, mining, electrical and construction equipment. To start building an electronics industry.

As regards energy, to combine hydro-electricity with thermal power, build an electricity grid proportionate to the source of electricity, expand a number of old power plants and build new ones, build many small hydro-electric power stations in the midlands and highlands. To make the most of the old coal mines, and rapidly build many new ones. To ensure conveyance, sorting, washing and port handling of coal in keeping with the tempo of exploitation. To develop the coal processing industry, to step up research and survey work soon on the exploitation of mineral oil and natural gas, prepare for building oil refineries and petro-chemical bases, and step up surveys and prospecting related to exploiting and using other forms of energy.

To develop metallurgy step by step, in proportion with engineering production and the scale of capital construction To complete the construction and expansion of the existing steel works, build many electric furnaces at the engineering plants prepare for the construction of a big metallurgical base To expand the production of chromite and tin, prepare for the construction of lead and zinc establishments, etc To look for new mineral deposits

To step up the comprehensive development of the chemical industry using both inorganic and organic chemicals To develop chemical fertilizers and other chemicals to serve agriculture To start building a synthetic fibre plant, caustic soda factories and a number of basic chemical works soon, to develop the pharmaceutical industry, to process products from rubber, spices, volatile oils, etc

To step up basic investigations, geological study and search and prospection for natural resources To provide cadres and material and technical facilities to the geological branch and for other basic investigation work

4 Construction

We must rapidly develop the construction branch both quantitatively and qualitatively and increase the capacity of this branch, supply sufficient tools to building workers, strive to mechanize heavy and cumbersome work, and advance towards the industrialization of construction Modern methods of construction should be applied to save land, materials and time for construction, and control economic and technical norms strictly

We must vigorously develop the building materials industry, build large modern enterprises at the same time

as the extensive building of medium and small size enterprises in the localities. Actively develop the production of cement, bricks and tiles, and other basic materials, rapidly increase the production of decorative and insulating materials. We must strive to produce enough building materials.

Special attention should be given to the preparations for investment and construction.

It is necessary

To promote the working out of plans and rapidly increase survey and design capacity and develop socialist architecture with a modern and national character.

To reinforce the Ministry of Construction including the central and local levels as the core of the whole construction branch, to adequately develop the specialized forces of construction of various branches, build up construction brigades of cooperatives and house maintenance and repair brigades.

To make good use of the forces of the army in capital construction.

To transform and use the private building companies in the South rationally.

5. Communications, Transport, and Postal Service

To develop *communications and transport* comprehensively, ensuring a rational balance between the building of roads, ports, depots etc, and the production and repair of cargo handling and means of transport. To strengthen the engineering industry for the production and repair of cargo handling and means of transport. Quickly develop the merchant fleets, build, extend and provide better management for the system of sea ports, and develop the ship

and train carriage building industry To mechanize river transport, to build river ports with highly mechanized facilities and large cargo-handling capacity To modernize the Hanoi Ho Chi Minh City railway further, and open a number of new railway lines To maintain and improve roads and build new ones, to step up the production of means of transport and spare parts To reorganize city transport, to develop communications and transport in the rural areas, the lowlands, the midlands, the highlands and the new economic areas. To extend the network of pipelines To expand civil aviation

To develop the communications industry, to gradually modernize the posts and telecommunications network, to ensure the smooth rapid confidential and secure flow of communications

6 Circulation, Distribution, Exports and Imports

Socialist trade must organize the circulation and distribution of goods well, cater properly for the people's daily needs, boost production and improve the division of labour It must

Carry out purchasing and control the sources of goods by two-way contracts and rational prices Ensure a just and rational distribution of goods for the convenience of consumers, adopt a good attitude towards customers, combat overbearing attitudes Attach special importance to the expansion and improvement of public catering expand the network to serve the people's activities

In the South, develop State trade and marketing co-operatives rapidly, the State must control wholesale and retail sale, control markets and prices, create the basic conditions for the integration of marketing in the whole country

Improve management and supply of materials, gradually ensure the transport of all materials to production units or sites in a timely and uniform manner with minimum cost. Carry out the wholesaling of means of production correctly, get rid of the practice of supply according to the ordinary administrative method, paying no attention to cost accounting and combat overbearing attitudes. Encourage production of domestic materials, make full use of the existing materials and scrap materials and products, organize the collection and purchase of old materials, reduce the consumption of material in general.

The pricing policy must ensure the effective implementation of the tasks assigned by the State plan, boost production and rationalize the division of labour, encourage the raising of labour productivity, step up scientific technical progress, ensure and gradually raise the real income of workers, readjust supply and demand, and participate in the correct distribution and redistribution of the national income. In price-fixing work, it is necessary to make accurate and careful calculations, close to realities, ensure that prices can compensate production expenditures and bring profit to production establishments with a view to expanding production and improving the workers' lives.

Further build and rationally arrange the storage network in the various areas, balancing between the requirements of quantity and transportation of materials and goods.

We should study and work out a more rational system of prices, especially the purchasing prices of agricultural, forest and sea products, and the sale prices of consumer goods and means of production for the collective economic sector. We must rapidly elaborate a system of production costs, enterprise and gross industrial prices to realize the regime of cost accounting, manage the market well, stabilize prices, and eventually reduce the prices of a

number of goods on the basis of the development of production and the increase of labour productivity. We must struggle to stabilize prices in the South, and carry out the unification of prices in the whole country as a matter of urgency.

The basic task of finances is to control the sources of capital in order to implement the line and plan for economic development, build a rational relationship between consumption funds and accumulation funds. The financial service must fulfil well their function as a controller of all production and business operations, develop the positive effect of finance in order to promote production and increase social labour productivity.

We must work out a budget aimed at ensuring correct implementation of the economic development program and an expansion of cultural and social activities, ensuring national defence and maintaining security. We must manage unified revenues and expenditures of various budget levels strictly, at the same time define correctly the rights of financial revenues and expenditures of local administrations, similar to the task of economic management and the management at the State level.

The fundamental task of the *banking system* is to use credit and money to help realize the economic plan, to supply credit and to supervise production and business activities and means of credit in order to promote production and strengthen the system of cost accounting.

We must develop credit operations vigorously, fund production and business in the State economic sector and distribute loans to the collective economic sector widely to develop production according to the State plan.

It is necessary

to increase savings and draw in idle money in society, to build the banking system into an effective

clearing house, to strictly manage cash and the circulation of money

to broaden the international division of work and cooperation in the fields of economy, science and technology and step up foreign trade activities

to increase exports rapidly by developing the great potentialities of tropical agriculture and forestry, make full use of the capacity of light industry, small industry and handicrafts, boost the exploitation of a number of sea products and mineral resources which have relatively large reserves and strive to export some items of heavy industry Imports must ensure the needs of the scientific and technical revolution and the building of the material and technical basis of socialism. Under the unified management of the State, it is the task of the various branches and places to actively participate in export and import activities

7 Labour and Wages

We must reorganize and redeploy labour in the whole country, in each branch, each locality and each production unit We must move a large part of the agricultural work force from densely populated areas to thinly populated ones in order to open more land for cultivation and expand production, in order to do away with unemployment in the newly liberated areas and to ensure jobs for all people of working age

We must take the initiative in using all organizational forms and all working methods to absorb all sources of labour We must institute a regime of labour duty, ensuring that all able-bodied people work, and make good use of the forces of the people's army in economic con

struction. We must strive to carry out the work of standardization satisfactorily and work out economic and technical criteria and norms for labour study and apply the science of labour organization, apply advanced methods of labour organization and management. We should step up ideological education, judiciously implement the wages policy, bonuses, and public welfare and enhance labour discipline. We must enforce labour laws soon, attach importance to improving working conditions, ensure labour safety, try to prevent accidents at work, pay attention to labour hygiene and health care for labouring people. We must supply enough tools, step up the mechanization of labour, first of all in the areas that require hard labour. We must train technical workers and systematically raise the professional skills of the labouring people.

We must improve the wage system, carry out fully the principle of distribution according to labour. Wages and collective welfare must ensure the reproduction of labour and the livelihood of the worker and his family. Skilled labour, labour in difficult branches and professions, in contact with a polluted environment, in areas of hardship, must be properly remunerated.

8 Further Improvement of the People's Life

We must strive to gradually reduce the difficulties in the lives of working people in the cities and the countryside, with particular attention to areas devastated by war, areas of ethnic minorities, and remote and border areas. We must strive to develop production and ensure that society is supplied with daily necessities. Organization of life should be given adequate attention. Within the next five years, we should secure that everyone has enough food, vegetables and some more fish, meat, fish sauce, sugar,

eggs fruit, etc. Clothing must be adequately provided against the cold. Difficulties in housing in cities and in industrial areas must be reduced, more houses, wells, bath rooms and toilets should be built in the countryside and we should rapidly increase construction materials and the forces for building houses. We must build population areas according to model patterns and designs and supply consumer necessities, meet the travel needs of the people in the whole country, between the lowlands, the mountain areas and new economic zones, between the cities and the countryside. Collective welfare establishments must be strengthened. Great attention must be paid to the organization of a cheerful and wholesome cultural life for the people. We must look after the families of disabled fighting people and war martyrs, families who have contributed to the revolution and who are in difficulties. Proper care must be taken of old people without relatives to depend on, and invalid people. Orphans must be well looked after and educated.

B DEVELOPMENT OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

The development of science and technology is aimed at serving production, living standards and national defence. We must promote the spirit of revolutionary offensive, self reliance, initiative, creativeness, at the same time strive to apply world achievements in modern science and technology.

We must concentrate our forces and means on solving the most important problems within a definite time. We must heighten the spirit of socialist cooperation. We must combine teaching and scientific research with productive activity in a satisfactory manner. We must spur the mass

movement on to advance in science and technology, and develop a system of correct management of science

With regard to *natural sciences and technology* we must create a modern science and technology for the country after three or four five year plans. In the immediate future, we must solve problems arising in agriculture, forestry, fisheries, industry, building communications and transport. We must make science and technology the basis of economic plans and activities. The plan for scientific development and technological application is a component part of the state plan.

It is necessary to regularize the management of technology, to complement the system of economic technological standards and norms, to do technological measurements and supervision, and controls of the quality of products, the management of innovations and inventions well.

We must give attention to applied research, quickly introduce the results of research work in production, and at the same time give due attention to basic research. We must adopt new scientific and technical achievements in managerial work. We must develop sciences and technology that are related to the conditions in the tropics.

We should define the key problems of the whole country as well as of each branch and each locality, actively build a system of institutes for research, experimentation and design, satisfactorily train and use scientific cadres and technicians.

Social sciences, above all philosophy, political economy, and scientific socialism must continue to elucidate the major problems relating to the line and policies of the Party and concentrate mostly on the following questions: the laws of socialism, the path from small scale production to large-scale socialist production, proletarian dictatorship and the working people's right to collective mastery, the

three revolutions and the building of the new system, the new economy, the new culture and the new man, socialist industrialization, economic organization and management Party building in the conditions of the Party leading the State, etc We must popularize and teach Marxism Leninism and make this doctrine prevail in the spiritual life of society, we must struggle against all erroneous and hostile ideologies

We must expand and improve the quality of research in law, sociology, history, archaeology ethnology, linguistics literature and arts etc

C TO TRANSFORM THE OLD RELATIONS OF PRODUCTION TO CONSOLIDATE AND PERFECT SOCIALIST RELATIONS OF PRODUCTION

In the North, on the basis of stepping up socialist industrialization, we must continue to consolidate and perfect the new relations of production, and build and improve the new system of management and distribution It is necessary to expand the State-run sector, to consolidate the State-run establishments in every respect, to carry out the movement for reorganization of production and improvement of managerial work in agriculture properly

We must send a series of engineers, technicians and able cadres to reinforce the district and cooperative managerial apparatus. We must consolidate and strengthen the cooperatives in small industries and handicrafts, make the production of those branches develop vigorously and in keeping with the orientation of the State plan

With regard to the private economy, we should guide and manage it in such a way as to make it develop along the right path

In the South, we must completely abolish feudal land tenure and the vestiges of feudal exploitation, nationalize the industrial and commercial establishments of the comprador capitalist class, of the traitors and of the bourgeois who have fled abroad, carry out socialist transformation of private capitalism, cooperativize agriculture, reorganize handicrafts and small trade

The revolution in the relations of production must be combined with the scientific and technological revolution and the ideological and cultural revolution, and must be closely linked with the process of reorganizing production and circulation in the whole country in order to take the South along the path of large scale socialist production

On the basis of developing the socialist sector of the economy we should turn to full account all other capacity to promote production and meet the needs of society satisfactorily

We must develop the State run economy, make it grow rapidly and gain superiority in production, circulation and distribution.

The private capitalist enterprises must be subjected to socialist transformation mainly through joint State private enterprise. Alongside the transformation of the relations of production, we should rearrange the productive forces within each branch rationally, strengthen managerial work and provide them with supplementary machines and equipment to expand production

With regard to agriculture, we must carry out cooperativization along with irrigation and mechanization, attach importance to the building of both the cooperatives and the State farms, and closely associate the building of cooperatives with the building of the districts

In the immediate future, we must undertake production planning and economic zoning consolidate the peasants' associations, develop the work exchange teams and the "solidarity teams" and establish pilot cooperatives

We must immediately strengthen the district level to enable it to lead the three revolutions in the country side and prepare necessary conditions to undertake large-scale cooperativization

With regard to fisheries we must develop the State-run sector, set up direct links between the State and fisherfolk, help the fisherfolk escape all exploitation, and step by step take the path of large-scale socialist production with appropriate forms.

With regard to small industry and handicrafts and those service branches necessary to society, we should rearrange them according to branch and make them operate under the management of the State. Depending on the characteristics of each branch and trade, we should apply suitable forms of organization and transformation

The socialist transformation of small industry and handicrafts must lead to the development of production, the observance and improvement of production techniques, and produce diversified and better quality products

We must abolish capitalist trade immediately and shift the greater part of *small trade* to production. With regard to those who are still allowed to carry on their business, the State must strengthen its management through appropriate policies and measures

IV

It is the central task of the *ideological and cultural revolution* to build a new culture and to mould the *new type socialist man*, to widely and deeply disseminate and teach Marxism Leninism and the Party line and policies, and to struggle against the reactionary and backward ideology and culture of the exploiting classes. It is necessary now to publicize the resolutions of the Fourth Party Congress widely, so that people can study them in depth to carry out educational reform and to develop culture and arts, to inculcate socialist ideology, to oppose bourgeois ideology and vestiges of feudal ideology, to criticize petty bourgeois ideology, and to eradicate the influence of the neo-colonialist ideology and culture in the South.

In cultural work, we must constantly ensure Party leadership, aim at serving the Motherland, the people, and socialist construction, adopt the spiritual and cultural values of the nation as well as of human civilization selectively, with criticism and creativeness, combine construction with transformation, and exercise criticism and self criticism.

An educational reform must be undertaken throughout the country so as to make the national education system more closely link to the socialist revolutionary cause. The objective of this reform is to train new qualified workers, and on this basis, to train and foster on an ever larger scale the contingent of technical workers, managing cadres,

scientific workers, technicians and professionals. Educational reform must help our education system grasp more firmly the principle that study should be combined with practice, education with productive labour, and schools linked to society.

We should raise the quality of the content of education in all respects: modernization of curricula of science and technology, broadening of knowledge on economic management, stepped up teaching of Marxism-Leninism, the Party line and policies and revolutionary ethics, foster productive labour skill and scientific and technical research capacity, and attach importance to the education of aesthetics, physical culture and military training. To proceed with this reform and ensure its success, we must reform the system of teachers' colleges, strengthen the training and fostering of teachers and educational managers and use them rationally.

We should work out text books, step up the building of schools and produce sufficient of teaching and scientific research equipment. It is necessary to develop *general education*, to quickly eradicate illiteracy, to ensure that all children receive full basic general education, and gradually to extend secondary education, to open various kinds of study and work schools, to improve spare-time education for older workers, particularly for cadres and young people in the South who have gone through revolutionary struggle, and for those who are working in ethnic minority mountain regions.

We must develop the network of infant schools and raise the quality of infant education. We must reorganize, gradually expand and perfect the system of *universities*, and *higher and secondary vocational schools*. We must build a system of on-the-job training with flexible forms of study, and cleverly integrate teaching and study with productive

labour, with scientific and technological research and experimentation

Vocational schools must be developed on a large scale. We must work out a long term plan for the training of workers, raise the quality of training, expand the training and fostering of vocational teachers, and strengthen the material technical basis for vocational schools

We must strengthen the emulation movement whose motto is "teach well and study well" and follow the examples set by vanguard schools, teachers and students, improve the managerial apparatus and work from ministry level down to the schools, inspire and organize teachers and students to be collective masters of educational work and create conditions for the mass organizations to participate effectively in school management

The press, news agency, publishing houses, information service, radio and television, cinema, photography etc., must shed light on the Party's attitude to important events at home and abroad promptly, contribute to raising socialist patriotism, the sense of respect for and correct implementation of the Party policies, State laws, rules and regulations on security and order, and the ardour in work of the masses. They must provide correct timely guidance to public opinion thus enriching the people's cultural and spiritual life. It is necessary to enlarge and improve the content and method of expression of the press, radio, films and publications and strengthen these branches with more cadres and supply them with sufficient facilities and materials

Socialist culture and art should endeavour to create fine and diversified artistic imageries embodying the new society and new people in production, combat, work and study, to reflect the struggle for the complete victory of the construction and defence of socialism. It should describe outstanding collectives and individuals who typify

our nation's revolutionary heroism in the two wars of resistance describe collectives and individuals whose work is outstanding, emulation units, heroes and heroines, and fighters firmly assert the new order, the new way of life the new ethics and develop the fine traditions of the nation

We must not only praise the new people and exemplary work and deeds, but also sternly criticise negative manifestations in daily life, and the bad effects of bourgeois, feudal, colonialist and neo-colonialist culture, art and literature, proceeding from the revolutionary standpoint and using the method of socialist realism, we must find the root cause of evil and foster absolute confidence in socialism.

We must develop the fine cultures of all nationalities in the country to step up the cultural movement of the masses, unceasingly heighten the masses' level of appreciation and ability for artistic creation, more and more adequately meet the demand for cultural appreciation and activity of the people throughout the country

Writers and artists must be fostered in the Marxist Leninist world outlook, in the Party's line and policies, and cultural knowledge, they must always keep in close touch with the working people and go deep into the revolutionary movements of the masses. We must help writers and artists in newly liberated areas to advance politically and ideologically, to associate themselves closely with the revolution and to put their talents to the service of the Fatherland and the people

We must develop the preservation of historical relics and museum, exhibition and library work. We must improve the existing museums, build new ones at the central and provincial levels, build statues, monuments, memorial houses or houses of tradition in cities, towns and in the countryside, and carefully preserve historical relics. It is

necessary to organize stationary and mobile exhibitions and to develop the system of libraries from the centre provinces, cities and districts down to the grassroots

Build a new, civilized, orderly, joyful and healthy way of life in society, introduce the beautiful into daily life and productive labour. Build more parks, palaces of culture, children's palaces, clubs and cultural houses. Attention should be given to the good organization of cultural life in new economic zones, State farms, construction sites and forestry sites, ethnic minority regions, mountain areas and on offshore islands.

Public health and physical culture and sports services must actively help improve the people's health and physical strength and rapidly do away with the aftermath of the war and the social sequels of neo-colonialism. We must keep on practising preventive medicine, closely combine preventive hygiene with physical culture and sports, clean up the environment, apply strict food hygiene, labour hygiene and school hygiene, and organize vaccination so that we prevent and stamp out epidemics in time, eradicate social diseases, first of all malaria and tuberculosis.

It is necessary

To deal with the side effects of war satisfactorily. We must take active measures to prevent environmental pollution in the process of industrial development, to effectively prevent and treat occupational diseases.

Medical examinations and treatment must be improved, special attention must be given to the care of the health of children, women, ethnic minorities and the aged. The people should be persuaded to give up backward habits and superstitions harmful to their health, and to develop a hygienic and healthy way of life.

To closely combine modern medicine with the nation's traditional medicine, to build Vietnamese medical science. To develop the rich medicinal resources of the country, to rapidly build up a pharmaceutical industry and step up the production of medical equipment and instruments.

To strengthen and perfect the people's medical network, especially at grassroots and district levels, attention being given to mountain regions and new economic zones. To strengthen the medical and pharmaceutical research bases, to step up the training and fostering of medical and pharmaceutical workers who are imbued with President Ho Chi Minh's teaching "Physicians are like kind mothers."

To strongly develop a mass movement of physical culture and sports. To expand the training and fostering of coaches, trainers, sportsmen and women and managers. To promote research in the science of physical culture and sports, and to strengthen the material and technical basis of physical culture and sports.

Mother-and-child care must be done satisfactorily. We must continue to push forward the campaign for family planning, and endeavour to prevent and treat gynaecological and occupational diseases among women. The bringing up and education of children must be organized well. A broad network of nurseries and kindergartens must be set up, service means and toys produced and supplied in sufficient quantity. Child nurses must be well trained and properly treated.

We must correctly implement all policies towards retired cadres workers and employees, above all those who have made considerable contributions to the revolution.

Proper care and assistance must be given to the war wounded, fallen heroes' families and the families that have rendered meritorious services to the revolution. We must cure the illnesses and wounds of soldiers, restore their health, supply them with necessary means and specialized aids, satisfactorily organize their vocational training and give them suitable jobs. All the policies and procedures concerning the war wounded and the fallen heroes' families must be fully implemented. Those persons and families that have rendered meritorious services to the revolution should be duly commended and rewarded and solicitously helped when they are in difficulty.

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

V

1 To enable the working people to exercise their right of collective mastery, we must perfect the socialist State of the whole country, strengthen the State's efficiency in economic, cultural and social organization and management, rapidly build and perfect the apparatus of State administration at all levels in the South and continue perfecting the apparatus of State administration at different levels in the North

Our proletarian dictatorship state must be a State of the people, by the people, and for the people an organization capable of carrying out three revolutions, building a new political system, new economy, new culture, and a new type of people, and protecting both the interests of the collective and the legitimate interests of the individual, and strong enough to firmly preserve political security and social order and defend the socialist fatherland and the gains of the revolution

We must continue building and step by step perfecting the economic management system with priority given to the most important issues such as the reorganization of social production in the whole country, improvement of the method of economic management with planning system as the key points, and perfection of the economic management apparatus

We must reorganize all the production branches in industry, agriculture, forestry, fisheries, communications and transport, and construction in the whole country in keeping with the line of large-scale socialist production

We must abolish the state of scattered and parochial production, and build unified and developed economic technical branches in the whole country. We must build new economic zones and local economic structures suited to local natural conditions and to the needs of the entire country.

We must re-organize circulation and distribution work in order to more effectively serve production and the people in the whole country.

Planning work must be improved in the following directions: to improve the unified planning work of the State on the basis of heightening responsibility and bringing into full play the creativeness of different branches, localities and grassroots; the plans of branches, localities and grassroots must closely combine the common task with their practical conditions and capacities.

To attach importance to increasing labour productivity, quality and economic efficiency, full attention must be paid to production, circulation and distribution.

In economic management, we must attach importance to both use value and the law of value. To apply the economic accounting system and effectively use the markets and economic levers—prices, credits, wages, profits.

The economic management mechanism must be organized according to the principle of democratic centralism and the principle of branch management and territorial management.

To enforce the system of individual responsibility in all managing bodies.

To define more concretely and carry out more adequately the functions and tasks of the ministries responsible for economic and technical management, including the responsibility and power of the ministers, to

further clarify the relationship between the ministries of branch management and the State Planning Commission the general ministries and the Government Council

To organize specialized economic and technical branches wherever the conditions of concentration, specialization and association of production are ripe, to urgently define the levels of economic management of the centre and grassroots, carry out the task of economic zoning and concretely define the responsibility of management of various ministries, general departments and different levels of local administration

To build each province and city into a developed agro-industrial economic structure suited to the strong points of each locality and the common needs of the national economy

To firmly build the district into a real agro-industrial economic unit and an area for reorganization of production, organization and redivision of labour, combining industry with agriculture combining the national economy with collective economy and workers with peasants

To build the district administration into a level of administration with its own budget managing all sides of planning work, managing production as well as distribution and the people's life within the district

As far as the villages are concerned we must clearly define their powers and responsibilities of administrative management

In order to organize and manage grassroots units effectively, it is necessary to work out judicious guidelines for production, perfect the managerial mechanism, work out good economic and technical plans, rationally and strictly organize the work force, supply materials for production promptly, strengthen management of production,

the work force, finance and materials, carry out cost accounting, ensure quality of products and improve the relations among grassroots units themselves and with higher levels

We must step up specialization, and organize cooperation and association of production well to create conditions for organizing production groups, companies, enterprises and associations of enterprises

In agriculture, we have accumulated a good deal of experience in the management of the co-operatives. We should base ourselves on these experiences to improve the management of agricultural co-operatives alongside economic development of the district and the strengthening of the district level. We must strengthen the organization of circulation and distribution to better serve the division of labour and development of the work force, transform the relations of production and serve the people's life

We must strictly apply the rule of personal responsibility and closely link responsibility to the interests and discipline of the organization to everyone's self discipline, making them an effective mechanism to compel everyone to fulfil his responsibility and to encourage the working people to work harder and better. The responsibilities and powers of the individual must be clearly defined, each task and each job must have concrete norms and quotas. Interests imply both material and moral rewards and penalties. Rewards and penalties must be fair and just

It is necessary

To improve the efficiency of the State in cultural organization and management in order to meet the people's needs in the fields of culture, education, and health care more and more adequately, to ensure their collective

mastery in the cultural field and push forward the socialist ideological and cultural revolution

To constantly attach importance to consolidating national defence, maintaining political security and social order to ensure that the country is always ready and strong enough to smash any attack by aggressors and any counter-revolutionary acts

We must build the national defence of the whole people and mighty people's armed forces. The building and consolidation of national defence is the task of the entire people and army, of the whole system of proletarian dictatorship under the Party's leadership. Our mighty people's armed forces comprise a powerful standing force and a large and well-trained reserve force, with the modern regular people's army composed of the necessary branches and services, with mighty main forces, regional forces, militia guerillas and militia self-defence forces.

As long as imperialism exists, we must pay adequate attention to modernizing our defence forces and capabilities. In the new stage, our armed forces have two tasks: always to stand ready to fight and to defend the fatherland and to actively participate in economic construction. In this spirit, we must enforce the regime of military service and the army's duty to build the economy. We must strive to develop the national defence industry.

To ensure political security and social order is an extremely important task of the state and a major task in the newly liberated areas. To take the initiative in preventing and resolutely struggle to defeat all activities of imperialist and capitalist spies. To repress in time and resolutely smash all manoeuvres of the active saboteurs, exploiting classes and reactionaries to stage a comeback.

To strive to combat other crimes, actively eliminate social evils, prevent and reduce to the minimum social

accidents, to build the people's security forces into a sharp armed force absolutely loyal to the Party, the Fatherland and the people, with a modern, politically strong, professionally proficient regular force having high scientific and technical qualifications and necessary equipment

To build a strong semi professional force with the participation of the broad masses of the people To heighten the revolutionary vigilance of the masses and to arouse the masses to take part in defending the security of the Fatherland and preserving political security and social order To consolidate and strengthen the control organs, tribunals and legal organs To improve and closely coordinate the operation of the security forces, the people's control bodies, and people's courts

We must enhance the position of the National Assembly and the People's Councils at all levels The National Assembly decides the most important affairs of the State, and the People's Councils decide the important affairs of State power in their local constituencies The National Assembly and the People's Councils at all levels supervise all activities of the State machinery at all levels The responsibility of the Government Council and People's Committees at all levels to the National Assembly and People's Councils at all levels must be clearly defined. A system must be established and conditions created for the deputies to the National Assembly and People's Council to collect and report the people's suggestions and proposals to the State bodies and to watch their handling of these suggestions and proposals To build and promulgate regulations ensuring the right of the electorate to control and dismiss their deputies

We must closely and strictly control the activities of the State bodies and consolidate and perfect the control structure including the system of self-control within the State machinery and control by mass organizations All

State bodies from the centre down to the grassroots must answer adequately and in time all questions raised by the people

It is necessary to work out the constitution of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, to institutionalize and integrate in the basic laws of the State the working people's right to mastery of socialist society based on the worker-peasant alliance under the leadership of the working class

Socialist legality should be strengthened so that all activities of State bodies abide by laws and regulations, really respect the citizens' right to collective mastery and guarantee their interests. For their part all citizens are required to fulfil their duties and abide by the law. State cadres and personnel must enhance their devotion and readiness to unconditionally serve the people. We have to combat embezzlement, waste, arrogance, authoritarianism and irresponsibility and prevent a number of State cadres and employees from becoming a class of privileged people

We must strengthen the Party leadership of the State

The Party decides the line, policies and guidelines of the activity of the State and important questions concerning the management system and the organizational and cadre machinery, takes care of the building and strengthening of the State machine and building a force of qualified Party cadres to serve as a core in the State bodies. The Party relies on its organizations and mass organizations to control the activities of the State bodies in all domains. All this aims to ensure strict implementation of the Party lines and policies and the collective mastery of the working people. Through the State, the Party line and policies will be transformed into decisions of the masses themselves and daily acts of the masses. The Party rules that all organizations, cadres and members of the Party must respect the powers of the State bodies and strictly

abide by the laws, decisions and instructions of the State bodies, considering it a discipline of the Party

2 Revolutionary work must be done with revolutionary methods

In order to launch a *widespread and continuous revolutionary movement of the masses*, we must cleverly combine various measures, political and economic, educational and administrative, ideological and organizational, and closely and harmoniously combine the activities of the Party or organizations State bodies, mass organizations and economic and social organisations. We must develop and continuously enlarge the contingent of advanced people among the masses and reduce the number of backward people

Along with exercising the right to collective mastery of the working people chiefly through the State, we must also exercise it *through the mass organizations*

The common task of mass organizations is to ensure the participation of the masses in State affairs and in the control of State work, and at the same time serve as a school of socialism for the masses

We must strive to develop the *working class*, to make it grow constantly in both size and quality and be worthy of its role as the vanguard class. We must perfect and fully implement State regulations, take appropriate measures to ensure active and effective participation of workers in the management of their enterprises of the economy and society

The *trade union organization* is the largest mass organization of the working class, a school of communism, a school for economic and State management. It has the task of participating in State affairs through the control of its activities and in the management of factories. It must attach importance to educating the workers about the socialist attitude towards labour and raising their political,

cultural technical and professional standards, and training them in working class ideology and a large-scale industry style of work training good technical and managing cadres from the workers and launching emulation movements for productive labour

The trade union, together with the State bodies, must solve practical problems of daily life, collective welfare, working conditions, study, rest and ensure the legitimate interests of the workers and employees and particularly see to labour safety, preventing and overcoming labour accidents and enforcing trade union discipline In the South, the trade union has the task of educating the workers of the former regime, helping them to become socialist workers and should enrol broad masses of workers in the trade unions In private and joint State-private factories, the trade union also has the task of ensuring the role and interests of the workers and guiding these factories in carrying on production and business in keeping with the policies and the laws of the State

The mobilization of peasants in the North must focus on the reorganization of agricultural production along the line of large-scale socialist production and with a view to building the new regime and new people in the countryside The cooperatives are both productive organizations and broad mass organizations of the collective peasantry with the task of uniting and educating the peasants and raising their sense of collective mastery and their capacity to exercise this right and of constantly raising the socialist consciousness of the collective peasantry

In the southern countryside at present, we must build and consolidate the Peasants Associations in the hamlets and villages in order to draw the peasants into collective activities, educate them and enhance their love of country and of socialism, mobilize them to restore and develop production, rebuild their villages strengthen their solidarity

and mutual assistance in production and life, wipe out the vestiges of feudalism, combat all methods of exploitation and speculation in the countryside, and take the countryside rapidly and steadily along the path of agricultural cooperation and large scale socialist production

We must train a large contingent of intellectuals absolutely loyal to the Fatherland and socialism, capable of mastering and applying the gains of modern culture, science and technology creatively to solve the country's specific problems. We must give assignments to and make use of intellectuals in a rational manner and create favourable material and moral conditions for them, first of all favourable conditions in which to work and do research

We must make good use of scientific and technical workers who served under the former regime in the South and help them rapidly become socialist intellectuals

The *Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union* must be strengthened and consolidated politically, ideologically and organizationally to be worthy of a communist school of the young generation, an efficient arm and reliable reserve of the Party. The Union must provide comprehensive education and training to the youth in the practice of revolutionary struggle, encourage the fine traditions of the youth, foster youth in the whole country as new socialist people with a noble ideal and a heroic spirit, people who "live, fight, work and study following the example of the great Uncle Ho," and who accomplish their vanguard role in the three revolutions, worthy of being loyal and outstanding continuations of the glorious revolutionary cause of the Party and the nation

We must actively train and foster the youth in culture, science, technology, management and their profession, pay attention to their rights, working and study conditions, their activities in culture, physical training and sports, etc

Correct guidance must be given to the youth on matters of life, style, friendship, love, marriage and family life

The forms and methods of education should be attractive, lively and should suit the characteristics of Youth. There must be popular forms of organization to attract great numbers of youth outside the Union into social activities

The Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union is responsible for the Ho Chi Minh Pioneers' Organization and the Ho Chi Minh Children's Group, and for educating them in keeping with Uncle Ho's five teachings. State organs should make adequate provision for their activities and their training

The Viet Nam Women's Union has the task of educating various strata of women in their role and responsibility toward the motherland, society and family, raising their sense of collective mastery and their spirit of surging forward in all fields of activity to realize equality between men and women, to fulfil their duties as citizens and their noble responsibility as mothers under the slogan "women must be good at State affairs and skilled in housework"

The Women's Union must closely coordinate their activities with organs of State and other mass organizations to encourage the women's movement, to launch a strong emulation movement for productive labour, and for building socialism with industry and thrift, and satisfactorily resolve their legitimate interests, strengthen their forces and abilities in all social activities in the management of economy, culture and State affairs

We must struggle to abolish backward views about women, especially the vestiges of feudal ideas of setting more store by men than women. We must raise women's cultural, scientific, technical and professional standards actively train and foster women cadres, improve their working conditions and care for their health. We must adopt

measures and forms of motivation suitable for their ages, professions, places of residence and different activities

The Party's policy on religion is to respect the people's freedom of belief or disbelief, unite all patriots and progressive people from various religions, religious and non-religious people to build and defend the country, build a new, plentiful and happy life, and oppose all actions harmful to the interests of the motherland and socialism

The correct solution of the question of nationalities has always been a task of strategic character of the Vietnamese revolution

We must strengthen the union between the various nationalities in the whole country, making it unshakable. We must develop the revolutionary spirit and creative ability of the ethnic minorities in the construction of our socialist motherland, Viet Nam. The Party's policy on nationalities consists in realizing full equality in all respects between various nationalities to create the necessary conditions to eradicate inequality in economic and cultural standards between minority and majority peoples, to raise the mountain areas to the level of the plains, to raise the highlands to the standards of the lowlands, to ensure for all nationalities a prosperous, civilized and happy life, to ensure solidarity and mutual assistance in making progress and as collective masters of the socialist motherland, Viet Nam

To implement the Party's policy on nationalities, it is essential to accelerate the tempo of economic and cultural development in regions inhabited by ethnic minorities and raise their living standards. We must actively train and foster cadres of ethnic minority origin

We must further improve propaganda and education work to make members of ethnic minorities large and

small, understand that the prosperous civilized, and happy life of all nationalities is linked with socialist construction that all of them have the capacity and the duty to contribute all they can to this glorious cause

We must eliminate ideas which are harmful to the unity among various nationalities, ideas which are contrary to the Party's policy on nationalities. We must preserve and develop the fine and progressive customs and habits and cultural traditions of the various ethnic minorities, and lead and guide them in developing a new way of life.

At present, the *National United Front* in the whole country includes many political parties, mass organizations, classes and strata, based on the worker-peasant alliance led by our Party and characterized by its love of country and socialism. The common goal of all members of the Front is to build a peaceful, independent, unified and socialist Viet Nam. The Front has the task of consolidating the union of the entire people, the union of the various fraternal nationalities living in our country, to strengthen political and moral unity in our society, promote the people's revolutionary ardour and sense of socialist collective mastery, and mobilize the entire people to join in emulation to build socialism successfully in our country.

VI

1 The successful October Socialist Revolution constituted the first great leap forward which ushered in a new era, *the era of transition from capitalism to socialism on a world scale*

The glorious victory of the Soviet Union and other revolutionary and progressive forces in World War Two opened a new period of development of the world revolution. Following the defeat of Hitlerite fascism, a series of people's democracies were born. The great victory of the Chinese revolution definitively tipped the balance of forces in favour of the revolution. Socialism has gone beyond the limits of one country to become a world system. With its great and all round achievements, the socialist system today has a combined force much bigger than that of imperialism. Life has proved that *the world socialist system has played an ever greater role as the decisive factor for the development of human society*. It is the strong bulwark of the world proletarian revolution and the solid mainstay of the world peoples' revolutionary struggle.

The revolutionary storm which has shaken Asia, Africa and Latin America and is involving over 2 000 million people of almost all former colonies and dependencies in the *national liberation movement* is the second biggest event of our time after the emergence of the world socialist system. The national liberation movement tends to link up with socialism and plays a very important role in the world's transition to socialism.

The struggle of the working class in the capitalist countries has developed on an ever increasing scale and in a more and more organized manner, bringing into relief the tremendous revolutionary capacity of the working class which, along with other democratic forces, is launching powerful attacks on State monopoly capitalism. The working class will certainly defeat all reactionary forces and sooner or later will eliminate capitalism from social life once and for all.

These three currents merge into a great revolutionary upsurge and are on the offensive, spearheading their struggle at imperialism.

To cope with this situation US led imperialism is feverishly preparing for a new world war, pursuing neo colonialism and hitting back at the revolutionary movement. It schemes to retake lost positions, crush the national liberation movement and hamper the development of socialism. It plots to keep the newly emerging countries in the orbit of capitalism, to recapture outlets and sources of raw materials, energy and investment areas. This is the basic policy of US imperialism aimed at carrying out its scheme of world hegemony.

The US imperialists wanted to roll back the Vietnamese revolution and to reverse the general historical trend in the world.

But after twenty years of involvement in Viet Nam including almost ten years of direct aggression against Viet Nam by hundreds of thousands of troops of the US and satellites, they were defeated and compelled to withdraw their soldiers. The total defeat of the US in its aggressive war in Viet Nam was a turning point marking the decline of US imperialism. Its military, political and economic weakening has plunged the capitalist world into an all round and irremediable general crisis.

Thirty years after World War Two, particularly after the victory of the Vietnamese, Lao and Kampuchean revolutions, a new change in the balance of forces in the world in favour of the revolution has taken place, a new development of the struggle of the world's people for peace, national independence democracy and socialism

The strength of our era is the combined strength of the three revolutionary currents which are the forces deciding the main content, the main direction and the main characteristics of the history of the development of human society and are accelerating the transition of the world from capitalism to socialism. Relying on the forces of these three revolutionary currents and continuing to apply the offensive strategy correctly, the working class and working people will surely develop the revolutionary upsurge and score still bigger successes in the struggle for the lofty goals of our time

This struggle calls for the building and development of an united anti imperialist front of the world's people, an extremely broad front spearheaded at the imperialist chief tain who is the United States. In the "which will win" struggle between socialism and capitalism on a world scale, the restoration and consolidation of the solidarity within the socialist system and the international communist and workers' movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism is a question of the utmost importance

Our people's complete victory in the patriotic war of resistance against US aggression is closely associated with the wholehearted support and great assistance of our brothers and friends on the five continents

Our people's victory is a worthy contribution to the common victory of the nations and the constant growth of the revolutionary forces in the world. It also creates

favourable conditions for our Party our State and people to continue fulfilling our international duties

2 In the new stage, our Party, State and people need to use the favourable international conditions to rapidly heal the wounds of war, build the material and technical basis of socialism and consolidate national defence. We will continue to stand shoulder to shoulder with the fraternal socialist countries and all other peoples in the struggle for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism, against US led imperialism

The foreign policy of our Party and State is

a) To strengthen the militant solidarity and relations of cooperation between our country and all fraternal socialist countries and to do all we can to contribute, together with the other socialist countries and the international communist and workers' movement, to restoring and consolidating solidarity, and promoting mutual support and assistance on the basis of Marxism Leninism and in the spirit of proletarian internationalism, in a way consistent with both reason and sentiment, with a view to making the noble ideal of Marxism Leninism win ever more glorious successes

b) To preserve and develop the special relationship between the Vietnamese people and the fraternal peoples of Laos and Kampuchea, strengthen the militant solidarity mutual trust, long term cooperation and mutual assistance in all fields in accordance with the principle of complete equality, respect for each other's independence sovereignty and territorial integrity, and respect for each other's legitimate interests, so that the three countries which have been associated with one another in the struggle for national liberation, will be associated with each other for

ever in the building and defence of their respective countries for the sake of each country's independence and prosperity

c) To fully support the just struggle of the peoples in Southeast Asia for national independence, democracy, peace and genuine neutrality, that is to say without military bases and troops of the imperialists on their territories, to be ready to establish and develop relations of friendship and cooperation with other countries in this area on the basis of respect for each other's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, non aggression and non interference in each other's internal affairs, equality, mutual benefit and peaceful co-existence

d) To fully support the struggle of the peoples of Asian, African and Latin American countries against imperialism and old and new colonialism, racial discrimination, for national independence, democracy and social progress, to strengthen the solidarity and friendship and the relations of cooperation and mutual assistance in all fields between our country and the developing countries, to actively contribute to the struggle of the non aligned countries against imperialism's policy of aggression and monopoly with a view to safeguarding their independence and freedom, winning back the right to definitive ownership of their natural resources, and establishing a new international economic order on the basis of respect for their national sovereignty

e) To fully support the just cause of the working class and the working people in the capitalist countries who are striving to build a broad united front, spearheading their struggle at the chieftains of native and foreign monopoly capitalists to win welfare rights democracy and social progress, safeguard national independence and world peace, win success step by step and ultimately gain complete victory for socialism

f) To establish and expand normal relations between our country and all countries on the basis of respect for each other's independence and sovereignty, equality and mutual benefit.

g) Together with the fraternal countries and the progressive people throughout the world to resolutely carry on the joint struggle against the policy of aggression and war provocation of US led imperialism, thus making an active contribution to the safeguarding and consolidation of world peace.

Faithful to Marxism Leninism, our Party will unceasingly educate its members and our people to imbue themselves with the pure revolutionary sentiments of President Ho Chi Minh, continue upholding the banner of national independence and socialism, closely combine genuine patriotism with proletarian internationalism, oppose all tendencies to opportunism and all manifestations of bourgeois and petty bourgeois nationalism, firmly defend our independence and sovereignty, actively fulfil our duty towards our nation and satisfactorily discharge our internationalist duty towards the people of other countries

VII

1 That our Party has led our people to success in such a great revolutionary cause is first of all due to its firm grasp of and absolute loyalty to Marxism Leninism. It has constantly used the *revolutionary* and *scientific* substance of Marxism Leninism in its revolutionary line and methods and in its entire struggle in all stages

The historic mission of building our country into a prosperous socialist country and the struggle for the successful materialization of the resolutions of the Congress confront our Party with new and very heavy tasks and require that our Party be stronger. Our Party, all its cadres and members must not only have ever higher ethical and moral qualities and an ever higher standard of knowledge, especially in methodology, economic laws and the law of the class struggle in relation to the situation of our Party being a ruling Party, but also new abilities in the domain of organizing the socialist revolution, a domain in which our Party still has many shortcomings

It is the common task of Party building at this stage to grasp more firmly Marxist Leninist concepts of Party building and the practice of building our Party, to thoroughly understand the political line and tasks set by the Congress to apply and develop the experience summed up and make Party building abide more strictly by the immediate tasks of the Party while standing ready to meet requirements of long term tasks. We should heighten the working class character and quality of Party leadership

combine the revolutionary and scientific character, ensure the correctness, creativeness and successful implementation of the Party line and constantly ensure unity and cohesion, and maintain close ties with the masses so that the Party can fulfil its historic mission in all situations

Party building must be carried out in line with the following guiding principles

First, the Party must be solidly built in all three aspects: political, ideological and organizational. In Party building ideological and organizational work must be closely coordinated and must proceed from the political line and tasks, and at the same time must ensure the correct definition, full grasp and strict implementation of the political line and tasks

Second, the Party must be built in the revolutionary mass movement. The masses must be organized to participate in Party building and join in supervising Party activities, and Party cadres' and members' work and qualities

Third, Party building must be closely linked to the strengthening of organization and the enhancement of the State's managerial capacity, and the building and consolidation of mass organizations

Fourth, the raising of the standards required for Party membership must be coordinated with that of Party branches and primary organizations, the raising of the quality of cadres must be coordinated with the strengthening of the leading body at each level and in each branch.

Fifth, when expanding the Party ranks, we must attach importance to quality instead of going after numbers. development should always go alongside consolidation. On the one hand, outstanding and qualified persons must be admitted, and on the other, degenerate and corrupt elements must be expelled from the Party without delay

We must guard against the infiltration of opportunist elements, spies and reactionaries into the Party

2 To strengthen Party primary organizations is a particularly important task in Party building. The Party branch and primary unit are basic fighting units and the cells of the Party. On the basis of the common unified principles of the Party, Party organizations in various fields of activity must have different forms of organization, different types and methods of leadership suited to the character and field of activity of their unit.

To improve the working method of Party primary organizations it is necessary to handle correctly the relationship between the Party, the State and the masses, to bring into full play the power of the administrative organs, respect the managerial system of the State, respect and give full play to the effect of the mass organizations in the discharge of each specific task. The activities of Party branches and primary organizations must be improved, their meetings must have a concrete and rich political content.

The Party apparatus at all levels must be strengthened. The Party committees of provinces and cities must be strong, capable of correctly and creatively applying the Party line and policies and of contributing to the building of the line and policies of the Central Committee. The district Party Committees must be capable of leading the building and development of economy and culture, taking agriculture to large-scale socialist production and raising the living standards of the people in each district.

The principle of collective leadership and personal responsibility in the Party executives must be strictly observed. Conditions necessary for every executive committee member to fully participate in discussing and deciding on undertakings must be created, the concrete tasks,

powers and responsibility of everybody must be clearly defined *Personal arbitrariness and abuse of power* must be opposed, at the same time, complete dependence on the collective, shirking of responsibility and hesitation to take decisions must be avoided. Party committees at all levels should improve their working methods and refrain from using a piecemeal style of work, build and constantly perfect a network of internal communications successfully carry out investigation, research, test work pilot schemes and summing up of experience, and regularly control the implementation of the line and policies

Party members must firmly grasp the theomes of communism, be absolutely loyal to the revolution, volunteer to fight with self sacrifice all their life for the independence and freedom of their Motherland, for socialism and communism Party members must have a firm knowledge of Marxism Leninism, firmly grasp the lines and policies of the Party, have the abilities to shoulder the tasks entrusted them, to lead the masses and contribute to the leadership of the Party organization That is why they must constantly study and pay attention to their training in all fields

Party members must respect and contribute to the building of the system of collective mastery of the working people, maintain close ties with the masses and carry out propaganda, mobilization and organization among the masses properly

Party members must care for Party building, foster their sense of organization and discipline, and the spirit of self-criticism and criticism, defend the Party, safeguard the unity and cohesion of the Party Party members must uphold proletarian internationalism and contribute to fulfilling the Party's international duties.

The admission of new Party members must be closely guided Through the revolutionary movement of the masses,

we should find outstanding people, educate and foster them then admit qualified persons into the Party's ranks. The first to be chosen are outstanding members of the working class, especially industrial workers. At the same time, we should select outstanding people among working peasants, and in the people's armed forces, and outstanding intellectuals tempered and tested in the practice of the revolution. It is necessary to avoid narrow mindedness, but we must guard against the infiltration of the Party by opportunists and reactionaries. The admission of new members must be carried out in strict observance of the criteria and procedures stipulated in the Party Constitution. It is necessary

To resolutely and promptly expel degenerate and corrupt elements and unqualified members from the Party ranks

To develop and carry out plans for cadre training. To improve the selection, training, fostering, use and promotion of cadres in order to build a contingent of cadres of the Party, State and mass organizations, strong in both quality and numbers, able to fulfil all tasks entrusted by the Party and the State. The quality of a cadre lies in the combination between his political qualifications and working ability, which find their expression in the fulfilment of his task.

To organize theoretical and political education, rapidly raise the standard and working ability of all categories of cadres, first of all, leading and managing cadres and those who have worked many years and had no opportunity to study

As a matter of urgency to train and appoint new young cadres of worker, working peasant and socialist intellectual stock. To increase the worker element in the ranks of leading and management cadres. Importance must be attached

to the training, fostering and promotion of ethnic minority cadres and women cadres. Cadres whose political qualifications or working ability are insufficient and who are not up to their tasks must be given more suitable jobs.

To strengthen the machinery assisting the Party committees and State organs on cadre work, heighten the scientific and planning standard of cadre work. Appropriate forms must be devised to collect the opinions of Party cadres and members and the masses on cadre work to guard against conservatism, narrow mindedness, sectionalism, sectarianism, prejudices or favouritism.

We must continue developing the tradition of *unity and oneness of mind* in the Party, act upon President Ho Chi Minh's behest: "Preserve the unity of the Party as the apple of one's eye"

In the ideological field, the solidarity and unity within the Party are based on Marxism-Leninism which finds its expression in the Party line, and on the consciousness of all members on the Party ideal. Ideological unity must be ensured by organizational unity, which leads to unity in action. Democratic centralism must be strictly observed in order to firmly guarantee the organizational unity of the Party.

Democratic discussions and debates are the indispensable premises for and methods to achieve unity and oneness of mind within the Party. Party members have the right to discuss and decide every problem of the Party and the rights to present within the Party organizations any personal opinion concerning the interest of the revolution.

However, democracy must be under centralized guidance, full democracy must be combined with the highest centralism. Violation of the principle of democratic centralism is tantamount to sapping the discipline and unity of the Party.

The Party's strict discipline must be rigorously enforced. To constantly strengthen the ties between the Party and the masses Party cadres and members must listen to the opinion of the masses and resolutely combat bureaucracy. Each Party organization, each Party committee and each Party member must regularly practise *self-criticism and criticism*. This is a law governing the development and progress of the Party and also a fundamental method to enhance unity and oneness of mind within the Party.

We must preserve and develop the tradition of unity and oneness of mind of the Party. Party cadres and members must be sincere and open minded, love and respect one another and wholeheartedly assist one another in fulfilling their tasks.

Ideological work in the Party must be improved and intensified. It is necessary to make the resolutions of this Congress pervade all Party cadres and members and to fundamentally raise their political standards and consciousness in their activities. We must improve the forms and methods of education in the Party, improve the quality of political activity, organize a good network of information on current events and policies, periodically open short-term courses on Party line and policies, improve theoretical and political education, etc.

We must step up theoretical study in order to further clarify problems concerning the line for the socialist revolution and sum up the experiences of the Vietnamese revolution.

The orientation of the ideological work of the Party is to educate thoroughly in socialist and communist ideologies, to bring home the revolutionary and scientific character and the spirit of independence and sovereignty and creativeness of the Party. To resolutely overcome petty bourgeois ideology and combat all influences of

bourgeois ideology and vestiges of feudal ideology among Party cadres and members. To constantly strengthen the ties between the Party and the masses, Party cadres and members must follow the mass line, listen to the opinions of the masses and resolutely combat bureaucracy.

The new stage of the revolution requires that all Party cadres and members always remember and act upon President Ho Chi Minh's teaching: "We must preserve the purity of our Party, we must be worthy leading cadres and faithful servants of the people."

Our country is entering a new era of the nation's history. This is the era of a completely and perpetually independent and unified Viet Nam, a socialist Viet Nam advancing to prosperity and a higher civilization, to make an important contribution to the cause of peace, national independence, democracy and social progress in Southeast Asia and the world.

Our people are beginning a great march in the period of peaceful construction of socialism. We are determined to "rebuild our country and make it more dignified, more grand and more beautiful" as willed by President Ho Chi Minh. We shall transform our country into one with a modern industrial, agricultural economy, advanced culture, science and technology, a civilized and happy life and a worthy position in the world.

We know very well that the road forward has not only advantages but also many difficulties including those caused by our shortcomings and weaknesses. But looking to the future with great confidence and energy, we are sure to overcome all difficulties and win more and more successes.

The resolutions of this Fourth National Congress of our Party open up broad prospects for the overall develop-

ment of our country and the blossoming of the wisdom and talents of all Vietnamese

To carry out the resolutions of the Congress is the duty, honour and in the interest of the Vietnamese communists and the entire Vietnamese people

Each Party cadre and member, each Party organization each unit of the Party organization must see clearly his or her responsibility and honour in the new stage, endeavour to implement the Congress resolutions, increase his or her ties with the masses, and build the Party to make it ever steadier and stronger

Let our entire people workers, peasants, soldiers, youth women, intellectuals, all social strata and fraternal ethnic groupings in the great Vietnamese family turn revolutionary heroism in our fight for national salvation into revolutionary heroism in creative labour to build the motherland ! The socialist revolution is our festival Let us turn the whole of our country, each place and each unit, into great construction sites filled with the spirit of revolutionary offensive and with revolutionary heroism

For our Motherland and for socialism, let our entire Party, our entire people and our entire army enthusiastically march forward !

Long live the Communist Party of Viet Nam the organizer of all victories of the Vietnamese revolution !

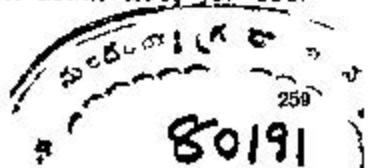
Long live the heroic Vietnamese people !

Long live the glorious Socialist Republic of Viet Nam !

Long live invincible Marxism Leninism !

Proletarians of all countries and oppressed people unite !

Our great President Ho Chi Minh lives for ever in our cause !





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