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TRANSLATIONS ON VIETNAM

No. 1895

HOC TAP, No. 12, 1976

SPECIAL ISSUE ON

VWP FOURTH NATIONAL CONGRESS OF DELEGATES

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PARTY ACTIVITIES AND GOVERNMENT

'HOC TAP' URGES APPLICATION OF CONGRESS RESOLUTIONS

Hanoi HOC TAP in Vietnamese No 12, Dec 76 pp 3-12 BK

[Editorial: "Let Us Transform the Fourth Party Congress Resolutions Into a Seething Revolutionary Movement of the Masses"]

[Text] Our heroic country recently witnessed a momentous political event: the Fourth National Party Congress of delegates, held in mid-December 1976, achieved fine success.

As a new and important milestone on the path of the Vietnamese revolution, the Fourth Congress was a congress of total victory for the cause of national liberation and of the reunification of the fatherland, a congress for taking the entire country to socialism.

Attended by thousands of eminent communist fighters representing more than 1.5 million party members throughout the country, the congress held discussions in a democratic manner and unanimously decided upon major issues important to the destiny of the nation and the future of the country. The great achievements of the congress were its decision to change the name of the VWP to the VCP; its decision on the line of socialist revolution and of socialist economic building in our country in the new stage; its decision on the main orientations, tasks and targets of the Second Five-Year Plan (1976-1980); its decision on the line to build the party so as to enhance its ability to lead and to fight in the new stage; its adoption of the (revised) statutes of the VCP; and its election of our party's new Central Committee.

The historic resolutions of this Fourth Congress have opened up vast horizons for the comprehensive development of our country and for the expansion of the intellectual power and talents of all we Vietnamese. These resolutions are a beacon guiding our entire party and people in successfully building socialism, definitively abolishing the exploitation of man by man in our country, vanquishing poverty and backwardness, taking the country to a new era in the history of the nation, and bringing about a plentiful and happy life for our people.

In very general terms, the congress reviewed the diversified experiences of our nation's anti-U.S. war of resistance for national salvation.

The historic victory of epochal significance of the anti-U.S. war of resistance for national salvation was eloquent proof of the clear-sighted leadership of our party, a firm and strong Marxist-Leninist party founded, educated and trained by President Ho.

With its correct, creative, independent and sovereign political and military lines, our party led our people from one victory to another, from the August revolution and the anti-French war of resistance, to the building of socialism in the North and the recent anti-U.S. war of resistance for national salvation. As the climax and the glorious conclusion of the decades-long national liberation struggle led by our party, the anti-U.S. war of resistance for national salvation inherited and further developed the experience accumulated by our party.

Foremost among these lessons is that our party simultaneously held high the two banners of national independence and socialism, enabling the Vietnamese revolution to embody the shining truth of our time that national independence and socialism are closely linked with each other. It was with these two banners that our party successfully mobilized the strength of the entire nation, and combined the strength of our people with that of our time to create a massive integrated strength to vanquish the chieftain of imperialism, the United States.

Based on the world's new balance of forces--between the revolutionaries and the counterrevolutionaries--which came into being after World War II, and boundlessly confident in the revolutionary potential of our nation, our party upheld the revolutionary offensive spirit, never flinching before any escalation by the enemy. On the contrary, it resolutely led our people in struggle to win victory step by step, and to advance to complete victory in the historic confrontation with the U.S. imperialist aggressors.

Our party also looked for and created a correct method of making revolution, that is: "To use combined revolutionary violence comprising the masses' political forces and the people's armed forces; to launch partial uprisings in the countryside and develop them into revolutionary war; to combine military struggle with political struggle and diplomatic struggle; to combine mass insurrection with revolutionary war; to combine uprising with offensive, offensive with uprising; to fight the enemy in all the three strategic areas--the mountain areas, the plains and the cities; to attack the enemy with three prongs--military operation, political action, and agitation among enemy troops; to combine the three categories of troops--the main forces, the regional forces, and the guerrilla militia--to combine guerrilla warfare with conventional warfare, to combine large-scale and medium-scale attacks with small-scale ones; to exercise our mastery over the territory to wipe out the enemy and to wipe out the enemy

in order to exercise our mastery over the territory; to firmly grasp the 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."

These lessons are very useful to our party and people in the protection and building of socialism at the present time.

Creatively applying the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism and the experience of fraternal countries in socialist construction to the specific conditions of our country--where the economy still consists mostly of small-scale production, and which is advancing directly to socialism, bypassing the stage of capitalist development--and based on the experience gained in 20 years of socialist construction in the northern part of our country, the Fourth Party Congress laid down the general line of socialist revolution in our country as follows:

"To firmly grasp the dictatorship of the proletariat, develop the working people's right to collective mastery, simultaneously carry out the three revolutions--the revolution in production relations, the scientific and technical revolution, and the ideological and cultural revolution--of which the scientific and technical revolution is the keystone; to step up socialist industrialization as the central task in the entire period of transition to socialism; to build a system of socialist collective mastery, large-scale socialist production, a new culture, and a new type of socialist man; to abolish the regime of exploitation of man by man, do away with poverty and backwardness; to incessantly heighten vigilance, constantly strengthen national defense, maintain political security and social order; to successfully build a peaceful, independent, reunified, and socialist Vietnam; and to actively contribute to the struggle of the world's people for peace, national independence, democracy, and socialism."

This entire line is an entity, consisting of prerequisites to be grasped, contents and tasks to be fulfilled, important measures to be applied, and targets to be attained in socialist construction in our country.

In accordance with this line, our party stressed: "The primary decisive condition for taking the socialist revolution to total victory is to establish and unceasingly strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat, and exercise and unceasingly promote the working people's right to collective mastery."

Firmly grasping the dictatorship of the proletariat means, as the congress pointed out, "firmly grasping the party line, strengthening the leadership of the working class, exercising and promoting the working people's right to collective mastery, building a solid and strong state, rallying broad strata of the people around the working class in order to carry out the three revolutions, abolish the regime of exploitation of man by man, do

away with poverty and backwardness, and successfully build socialism; consolidating and strengthening the forces of national defense, firmly maintaining political security and social order, and smashing all resistance and all aggression by the enemy; consolidating and developing relations of cooperation and mutual assistance with the fraternal socialist countries; and taking an active part in the struggle of the world's people for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism."

The dictatorship of the proletariat contains within itself the strength of all working people who have stood up to become masters of their own destiny, resolutely repress the counterrevolutionaries, reform the exploiting classes and begin the building of a new society. Because of the fact that the force of the masses under its leadership plays a decisive role in the success of the socialist revolution, our party stressed in its line that the masses' right to collective mastery must be promoted in this great cause.

Under these primary conditions, the socialist revolution in our country has developed in all fields--economic, political, cultural, ideological, and so forth. It encompasses three simultaneous revolutions--the revolution in production relations, the scientific and technical revolution, and the ideological and cultural revolution (of which the scientific and technical revolution is the keystone). These three revolutions influence one another, are closely linked with one another, and at the same time with the maintenance of political security and social order and the consolidation of national defense to satisfactorily build and protect socialism in our country. If we firmly grasp proletarian dictatorship, promote the working people's right to collective mastery, and simultaneously carry out the three revolutions, we will be able to build a system of socialist collective mastery, large-scale socialist production, a new culture, and a new type of socialist man. The carrying out of the three revolutions must be consistent with each step forward of the revolutionary cause.

The system of socialist collective mastery is a new system developed by our party from the historic experiences of proletarian dictatorship and on the basis of the teachings of Marxist-Leninist masters about the role of the masses in history, about socialist democracy--which is millions of times more democratic than capitalist democracy--about the goal of socialism--to support the people's happy life--about the capacity of man as master of society, of nature, and of himself under the conditions of socialism and communism, and so forth.

Profoundly and thoroughly analyzing this problem, the resolutions of the Fourth Party Congress pointed out: "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; and, on the basis of mastery over the entire country, mastery in each locality and each basic unit.

"Collective mastery includes genuine freedom for each individual."

Therefore, the question of socialist collective mastery is a very significant problem and, in order to satisfactorily solve it, it is necessary to have a comprehensive viewpoint, meaning that it is necessary to build a perfect system of social relations which will ever more adequately reflect the working people's mastery in these fields.

Another important point is the need to see that the system of socialist collective mastery is concentratedly reflected in the collective mastery of the working people, with the core being the worker-peasant alliance, essentially through the socialist state, under the leadership of the working class party. This means that we must pay attention to building a system of correct relations between the party, the state, and the people. It also means that the people exercise their right of mastery in varied forms, including developing the active role of the mass organizations with, however, the principal and most important form being that of exercising their right of mastery through the party-led socialist state. As a socialist state, it must have a strict legislative framework with which everyone must comply. This also means that the people exercise their right of collective mastery in an organized manner under the leadership of the party. Only if this is accomplished will they be able to exercise their right of mastery correctly and in conformity with the goal of building socialism and advancing to communist construction in our country.

The economic base of the system of socialist collective mastery is large-scale socialist production. The large-scale socialist production in our country emerges according to the law: advance from small-scale production to large-scale socialist production, bypassing the stage of capitalist development.

This is a rational, modern, and unified economic system in which all the sectors and production units are built on the basis of the socialist system of ownership concerning the means of production, and harmoniously operate according to a general economic plan, under the guidance and unified management of the administration of proletarian dictatorship. This unified economic structure closely combines industry with agriculture, the central economy with the local economy, and the economy with national defense. This economic structure also involves coordinating the division of labor and equilibrium [caan doois] in the country as a main task with strengthening economic relations with fraternal countries, and achieving the division of labor, cooperation, and mutual assistance on the basis of socialist internationalism, while developing the economy with other countries on the basis of firmly maintaining independence and sovereignty, and of mutual interest.

The building of large-scale socialist production in our country requires us to correctly settle the relationship between accumulation and consumption, and to strictly implement the saving systems.

From what has been mentioned above, it is clear that the building of the large-scale socialist production must be carried out in compliance with the line for building the socialist economy in our country as follows:

"Accelerate the socialist industrialization in our country, build the material-technical base of socialism, advance the economy in our country from small-scale production to large-scale socialist production. Priority must be given to rationally developing heavy industry on the basis of developing agriculture and light industry, combining the nationwide building of industry and agriculture into an industrial-agricultural structure; simultaneously build the central economy and develop the local economy, combine the central economy with the local economy within the structure of a unified national economy; combine the development of the production forces with the establishment and improvement of new production relations; combine the economy with national defense; strengthen the relations of cooperation and mutual assistance with fraternal socialist countries on the basis of socialist internationalism, and at the same time develop economic relations with other countries on the basis of firmly maintaining independence and sovereignty and of mutual interests; make Vietnam a socialist country with modern industrial-agricultural economy, advanced culture, science and technology, firm and powerful national defense, and a civilized and happy life."

Along with building the system of socialist collective mastery and the large-scale socialist production, we must build a new culture and a new socialist man.

The new culture is one with socialist substance and a national character, deeply imbued with the characters of the party and people. This culture, as Lenin pointed out, "must be the logical development of the total amount of knowledge which mankind accumulated under the ruling yoke of the capitalist society, the society of the landlords, the bureaucratic society."¹

President Ho once said: "To build socialism, first of all it is necessary to have socialist men." The new socialist men in our country are the crystallization and development of the most noble characteristics in the personality and soul of Vietnam forged during a 4,000-year history. At the same time they represent the assimilation of the newest cultural knowledge of mankind. They are the men exercising collective mastery, men working with a high sense of awareness according to discipline and technical regulations, and with creativeness and high productivity, men who love the socialist country and are imbued with proletarian internationalism.

¹"Selected Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1960, Book II, Part 2, page 441.

The new Vietnamese men must have lofty thoughts and feelings, and sufficient knowledge and ability to be the masters of society and nature, and their own masters; these new men nurture a deep hatred for the reactionaries, despise and detest exploiting and parasitic acts and lazy people, and ardently love the working people.

The Fourth Party Congress also correctly set forth the key orientations, tasks, and targets of the 1976-1980 five-year plan. This five-year plan has applied the general line and the economic line of the party in conformity with the present economic, cultural, and social situation in our country. This plan has outlined a correct strategic deployment aiming at the two basic targets of further building the material-technical base of socialism--along with initially shaping a nationwide new economic structure, of which the key component is the industrial-agricultural structure--and further improving the working people's material and cultural life. The main norms of the plan are markedly practical. With the effort of our entire party and people, these norms will certainly be carried out satisfactorily, thus creating favorable conditions for accelerating the socialist construction undertaking in the implementation of subsequent plans.

The Fourth Party Congress has correctly set forth the international task and foreign policy--a policy deeply imbued with the pure proletarian internationalism of President Ho, the respected and beloved leader of our party and people.

More than ever before, the nationwide socialist revolutionary undertaking requires our party to enhance its leading role and fighting strength.

We must further strengthen the party-building work. First of all, it is necessary to pay attention to building the party politically, ideologically and organizationally.

It is necessary to vigorously strengthen the party's basic organizations, thus making them truly solid fortresses and firm nuclei to lead the masses in emulating to carry out productive labor, and diligently and thriftily build socialism.

It is necessary to streamline and strengthen the party machinery at various levels, thus helping party committee echelons acquire experience in motivating the masses and, at the same time, gain a theoretical basis and necessary knowledge with regard to economic, cultural, scientific and technical matters. In the party committee echelons, it is necessary to strictly implement the principle: The collective assumes leadership, and the individuals are the executors. To this end, it is necessary to prevent individuals from practicing arbitrariness and dictatorship and, at the same time, to combat the attitude of depending on the collective and neglecting individual responsibility.

Party members must be the vanguard combatants who constantly remain exemplary, devoted to their duty, and are worthy of the confidence of the party and the people. To this end, party members must constantly train themselves and comprehensively improve themselves so as to have sufficient quality and ability to guide the masses in following them and striving for the success of the socialist revolution.

Our party must at all costs build a body of cadres imbued with the political line set forth by the party congress, absolutely loyal to the communist ideal, and able to fulfill the tasks entrusted by the party. This body of cadres must be uniform, meet the comprehensive requirements of the revolution, include leading cadres, managerial cadres, and scientific and technical cadres, combine old experienced cadres and the new and young cadres who can vigorously progress, and so forth. To this end, it is necessary to implement a correct policy toward cadres, with a clear-cut class stand.

We must strengthen unity and singlemindedness within the party, and "maintain the party's unity and singlemindedness like the apple of our eye," as President Ho taught us. This unity and singlemindedness must bear the characteristic of high principle and, at the same time, must be pervaded with deep comradeship.

The entire party must always remember and correctly implement President Ho's teaching: "It is necessary to maintain our party truly pure, and our party must be worthy of being the truly loyal leader and servant of the people."

Along with enhancing the fighting strength and leading role of the party, we must strive to improve the state's managerial ability and the activities of mass organizations, thus making all the organizations in the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat harmoniously carry out their activities, and jointly strive to strictly implement the historic resolutions of the Fourth Party Congress.

We know that the documents of this party congress have great theoretical and practical value and are a torch illuminating the path for our entire party, people, and army to steadily advance and successfully build socialism in our country. To help the entire party, people, and army thoroughly understand the documents of the congress, our party must intensively propagandize and popularize these documents over a long period of time and in many forms, with the aim of meeting the following basic requirements:

1. Make the entire party, people, and army clearly see the great successes of the congress and the significance of these successes for our people's revolutionary undertaking.
2. Make all cadres and party members--firstly, all leading cadres in various echelons and sectors--thoroughly understand the resolutions of the party congress, heighten their political awareness in all activities,

and turn the resolutions of the congress into concrete, realistic programs of action in each sector, locality, or basic unit.

3. Through propaganda and educational activities, make all our people ever more proud and confident of the party leadership, unite ever more closely around the party Central Committee, uphold their will to carry out revolutionary activities, resolutely overcome all difficulties, and successfully build socialism in our country, motivate all organizations and individuals to satisfactorily carry out the tasks set forth by the congress with a strong impetus, and create a seething mass movement in each sector, locality, or basic unit, with the aim of attaining high productivity, good quality, and great effectiveness.

Strongly encouraged by the brilliant success of the party congress, our entire party, people, and army are ever more enthusiastically and confidently embarking on the new struggle to build our country into a rich and powerful socialist state.

Under the leadership of the Central Committee elected by the congress, our entire party, people, and army are determined to transfer their heroic impetus in the anti-U.S. national salvation resistance to the great undertaking of building a peaceful, independent, unified, and socialist Vietnam.

Our party and people vow to be worthy forever of President Ho, the great son of our nation, the clear-sighted teacher of the Vietnamese revolution, and the founder and trainer of our glorious party. His bright image, his great thoughts, and his immortal undertaking will remain forever a source of encouragement, a source of intelligence, and a source of strength motivating our party and people to advance toward new successes.

Our cadres, party members, and people must prove to be worthy of the revolutionary martyrs who have sacrificed their lives for national independence and socialism.

Let us turn our entire country and every locality and unit into great construction work sites filled with revolutionary offensive impetus and revolutionary heroism.

Let us launch throughout the country a broad socialist emulation movement, with the participation of the entire people, with the aim of strictly implementing the historic resolutions of this party congress, thus making our fatherland increasingly powerful and give our people a bountiful, happy life.

Taking the lead in this great emulation movement must be the communist combatants, those who have vowed to struggle their whole life for the communist ideal, for the independence of the fatherland, and for the freedom and happiness of the people.

Our cadres and party members must clearly see their responsibility and honor in the new stage, strive to implement the resolutions of the congress, strengthen their relationship with the masses, and ever more firmly and vigorously build the party. When playing their leading role, our cadres and party members must uphold their sense of industriousness, thrift, honesty, and impartiality, wholeheartedly serve the people, and be the "truly loyal servants of the people," as Uncle Ho taught us. The virtues, honor, and responsibility of the communists lie there, as do the talents, intelligence, and leadership qualities of the communists.

Under the invincible Marxist-Leninist banner, our glorious Vietnam Communist Party will certainly implement fully respected and beloved Uncle Ho's sacred testament, and fulfill their historic mission: Leading the Vietnamese people in successfully building socialism throughout the country, and making a worthy contribution to the world's revolutionary cause.

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