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TRANSLATIONS ON VIETNAM

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TAP CHI CONG SAN, No. 1, 1977

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NOTICE

AS OF 1 JANUARY 1977 HOC TAP WILL BE CHANGED  
TO TAP CHI CONG SAN

28 April 1977

## TRANSLATIONS ON VIETNAM

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Except where indicated otherwise in the table of contents the following is a complete translation of the monthly theoretical and political journal of the Vietnam Communist Party published in Hanoi.

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WORDS OF HO CHI MINH

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 1, Jan 77 p 1

[Text] "Theory is the summarization of the experiences of mankind, the summarization of the knowledge of nature and society accumulated over the course of history. The theory of Marxism-Leninism is the summarization of the experiences in the workers' movement of all countries down to the present time..."

Practice without theory to guide it is blind practice, theory not linked to practice is empty theory."

Ho Chi Minh  
(speech opening the first theoretical training course of the Nguyen Ai Quoc School, 7 September 1957)

"Taking action without theory is no different than groping in the dark; progress is slow and frequent difficulties are encountered. Only with theory is it possible to understand everything in society, in the movement in order to adopt a correct policy and take correct action."

Ho Chi Minh  
(speech at the 1st National Training Conference, May 1950)

7809  
CSO: 4909

POLITICAL BUREAU RESOLUTION

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 1, Jan 77 p 2

[Text] Central Committee of the Vietnam Communist Party  
Number: 01-Ng/TW Hanoi, 5 January 1977

Resolution of the Political Bureau on changing the name of the theoretical and political organ of the party

--On the basis of the revolutionary task in the new stage;

--On the basis of the resolution of the 4th Congress of the Party on changing the name of the party to the Vietnam Communist Party,

The Political Bureau hereby decrees:

1. Beginning in January 1977, TAP CHI HOC TAP, the theoretical and political organ of the party, will change its name to TAP CHI CONG SAN.
2. The editorial board of the theoretical and political journal of the party is responsible for implementing this resolution.

On behalf of the Political Bureau,  
Truong Chinh

7809  
CSO: 4909



FROM INVINCIBLE STRENGTH IN THE WAR OF RESISTANCE AGAINST THE UNITED STATES  
FOR NATIONAL SALVATION TO MIRACULOUS STRENGTH IN THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION  
AND SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 1, Jan 77 pp 20-36, 77-95

[Article by Vo Nguyen Giap]

[Text] Along the path of progress of mankind as well as each nation, there are major milestones and great turning points which mark huge leaps forward.

To progressive mankind, the Russian October Revolution was one of these major milestones, one of these great turning points which ushered in a new era of tremendous prospects and endless possibilities. To our nation of Vietnam, our people of Vietnam, the total and complete victory of the war of liberation and the war to defend the country which lasted for more than 30 years and ended with the general offensive and uprising of the spring of 1975, the pinnacle of which was the historic Ho Chi Minh campaign, was one of these major milestones, one of these great turning points which ushered in the most brilliant era ever--the era of independence, unity and socialism.

The 4th congress of our party reviewed the very rich experiences gained in the great revolutionary struggle of the nation and, at the same time, set forth the general line of the socialist revolution, the line on building the socialist economy and the line on building an increasingly strong party. The congress laid the political and organizational groundwork for leading our people in the successful construction of socialism and communism in order to gradually lead our people to the pinnacles of the age.

In response to the appeal made by the congress, our entire party, all our people and our entire army are enthusiastically emulating and working in an unselfish manner to transform the resolutions of historic importance of the congress into living reality within our beloved fatherland.

Under the light of the resolutions of the congress, we must gain a truly deep understanding of the factors that brought us to the victory we enjoy today and a truly deep understanding of the factors that will take us to great victory in the new stage. Because, in the face of the great turning

point, the important task set forth by the party requires that each of us display a truly high spirit of political responsibility and make extraordinary creative efforts for the purpose of making the most worthy contributions possible to the revolutionary undertaking of the people and the nation.

The resolutions of the congress as well as the Political Report of the Party Central Committee deeply analyzed the primary reasons for the total and complete victory of the war of resistance against the United States for national salvation and very fully presented the main elements of the general line on the socialist revolution in our country. This article only presents several thoughts which prove the scientific and revolutionary nature, the correct and creative nature, the spirit of independence and autonomy of the revolutionary line of our party in the people's national democratic revolution as well as the socialist revolution and describes the extremely powerful strength of this line and the absolute confidence in the total victory of socialism in our country.

As soon as it was born, history entrusted our party with a very great mission, a mission which was not only of decisive significance with regard to the destiny of the nation, but one which was of profound epochal significance as well. It was the extremely difficult and complex mission of leading our people, our country, a country which is not very large and did not have a very large population at that time, a country with a backward and poor economy, in fighting and defeating cruel enemies whose economic and military strength were many times greater than our's. When the imperialists invaded our country, patriots who preceded us frequently appealed to and organized our people to arise and save the nation but they all met with defeat. Meanwhile, when imperialism appeared on the international stage and used its strength to enslave countless nations, these oppressed nations staged countless uprisings to throw off their chains but were submerged in a sea of blood.

Yet, in the beloved country of Vietnam, our party excellently completed its historic mission. The party launched the Soviet-Nghe Tinh movement and violently attacked the ruling system of the imperialists and their feudal lackeys at a time when our people had not one bit of free soil, not one piece of iron in their hands with which to fight. And, through these glorious days, the party established its right to be the sole leader of the revolutionary undertaking and established a firm base for the unshakeable alliance between the working class and farmers, thereby laying the foundation for uniting all our people in the effort to save the nation.

Then, the party led our people in a large rehearsal in the democratic front movement, launched new forms of attack against the enemy, expanded its forces and brought the various revolutionary classes and strata of patriots together within the vast revolutionary struggle. And, when it was only 15 years old, our party led all of the people in the general uprising which advanced the August Revolution to victory and established the Democratic Republic of Vietnam--the first worker-farmer state in Southeast Asia. As

President Ho said, this was the first time in the history of the colonial and semi-colonial nations that a party of the working class had led a successful revolution and seized political power throughout the country.

The victory of the August Revolution breached the system of old-style colonialism and caused this system to shake violently. Therefore, international imperialism launched an insane counter-attack. The French expeditionary army returned to invade and occupy our country with its modern weapons and an increasingly large number of troops. Under the leadership of the party and in keeping with the appeal by President Ho, our people arose to fight the enemy and save the nation, waged a long and difficult war of resistance, won victory after victory and, in the end, won the earth-shattering victory of Dien Bien Phu which liberated one-half the country and started northern Vietnam on the way to socialism.

Our party took advantage of the temporary peace in one-half the country and rapidly carried out socialist construction in totally liberated northern Vietnam; within a short period of time, it had abolished the system of man exploiting man, launched an attack on poverty and backwardness and created the first material and technical bases of socialism. Northern Vietnam became the firm revolutionary base of the entire country, displayed the superior nature of the new system and played a decisive role in advancing the revolution of the entire country to the victory we enjoy today.

On the great frontlines in southern Vietnam, our party, always loyal to the ideals of independence, freedom and socialism, led our people in heightening their determination to defeat the U.S. pirate aggressors. The economic and military power of the U.S. imperialists, the ringleaders of imperialism, is extremely large. Faced with the danger of defeat in their traditional neo-colonialist strategy, they immediately shifted to the strategy of a large-scale special war. Faced with the danger of defeat in the special war strategy, they immediately shifted to the limited war strategy. Faced with the danger of the failure of the limited war strategy, they immediately shifted to the Vietnamization of the war strategy which employed extremely cruel and insidious schemes. They impetuously sent to southern Vietnam more than one-half million expeditionary troops together with more than 1 million troops of the lackey puppet army and the armies of the vassal countries and made an impressive show of power, one which it seemed no strength could resist. It was their insane ambition to completely crush our people's war of resistance in a vain attempt to suppress the national liberation movement and intimidate and stop socialism from spreading throughout Southeast Asia. In this very fierce test of strength between reactionary and counter-revolutionary forces led by the United States and the revolutionary forces in which our people played the assault role, in the end, in contrast to the ambition of international imperialism, the Vietnamese won total victory and the U.S. imperialists were totally defeated.

With the great victories mentioned above and after nearly one-half century of waging the revolutionary struggle and more than 30 years of waging the war of liberation and the war to defend the country since World War II, the

situation in our country has changed completely, there is not the shadow of an enemy troop within the fatherland and genuine peace has been restored in independence and freedom; the road has been opened for our people to advance to socialism.

The total victory of the invincible people's war in the 20th century against the ringleader of imperialism, a victory which our friends on the five continents have praised as a legend, has become reality in our heroic Vietnam.

After the success of the Russian October Revolution following 3 years of a victorious civil war and faced with mounting difficulties and an extremely disrupted economy, Lenin raised the matter of where a policy could be found for moving the soviet government forward, strengthening the young dictatorship of the proletariat and rebuilding the ravaged country and he stated: the policy for saving Russia from the difficulties faced at that time had to be found in the great realities of the years of the revolution, the years of the civil war...that which brought Russia to victory in the revolution and the civil war would bring Russia to victory in socialist construction. Today, in this spirit and in the face of the very large but extremely glorious new task, our people must determine what factors brought us to victory in the 30 year revolutionary war and what factors must continue to play a large role, or play an even larger role, in the years to come so that our people can achieve victory in socialist construction. Of course, the basic laws of the revolutionary war and the basic laws of building a new society differ; however, both the revolutionary war and the building of a new society are fronts of the long and widespread revolutionary struggle to transform society and conquer nature. Therefore, what Lenin said is of even greater practical significance to us today.

At the 4th Congress of the Party the Political Report of the Party Central Committee scientifically reviewed the main reasons why our people won the total victory they enjoy today. We won this extremely large victory because our party is a great party, a genuine Marxist-Leninist party; because the people of Vietnam, the nation of Vietnam are a heroic people and a heroic nation; because we won the sympathy, support and great assistance of the socialist forces and the forces of national independence, democracy and peace throughout the world.

The most important factor in each victory is the correct and creative, the independent and autonomous leadership of our party, the party founded and forged by President Ho Chi Minh. Our party ever since its first days, has fully adhered to the principles of Marxism-Leninism, creatively applied them to the realities of the revolutionary struggle and the revolutionary war in our country and set forth one correct line: the Vietnamese revolution must carry out the people's democratic national revolution and advance directly to the socialist revolution without experiencing the stage of capitalist development. Always brandishing the two banners of national independence and socialism, this line, which is based on a scientific analysis of the social situation of our country, found concrete truths amongst

the realities of our country and discovered the law of development of Vietnamese society under the specific conditions of a colonial and semi-feudal country.

Following the great victory of the war of resistance against the French, our party set forth two strategic tasks for the Vietnamese revolution: simultaneously carrying out the socialist revolution in northern Vietnam and the people's national democratic revolution in southern Vietnam. Our party skillfully applied both of these laws and closely coordinated them to create a very powerful strength with which to wage the victorious war of resistance against the United States for national salvation and successfully build socialism.

Whereas national independence and socialism are the two largest revolutionary movements of the age, under the leadership of our party these two movements have been closely coordinated during the various periods of the revolution in our country; the present day strength of all of our people united together has been coordinated with the strength of the several thousand year tradition of resistance against foreign aggression; the strength of our nation has been coordinated with the strength of the age, of the three revolutionary movements to create an invincible combined strength, a strength always poised to attack the fortifications of the enemy.

An offensive strategy is the paramount feature of the revolutionary line of our party. It is an inevitable expression of the scientific and revolutionary nature of Marxism-Leninism and of the Vietnamese working class and its vanguard unit. The revolution is an offensive, thus, the basic strategy of the revolution must be an offensive strategy. Because, "to the practical materialist, that is, to the communist, the issue is revolutionizing the present world, attacking and transforming in a practical manner the present state of things."<sup>(1)</sup> As a genuine Marxist-Leninist party, as the experienced vanguard unit of the working class, our party always upholds the thinking of an offensive strategy, adheres to an offensive strategy, attacks the enemy regardless of how strong they might be, is determined to fight them and knows how to defeat them, regardless of how fierce the fight might be.

The revolutionary line and revolutionary thinking are not only expressed in the revolutionary-offensive spirit, but also in the great capabilities they encompass for transforming the world, changing things, defeating the enemy and advancing the revolution. Once revolutionary thinking has been thoroughly adopted, it creates extraordinary energy, creates an inexhaustible creative strength, the creative strength of the party and the masses. The revolutionary standard for the various forms of struggle and organization is whether or not they actually have the effect of overcoming each difficulty and obstacle and advancing the revolution to victory.

For this reason, on the basis of the line of the party and on the basis of offensive strategy, we determined: the two forces of revolutionary violence are the political forces of the masses and the people's armed forces; the

political struggle must be coordinated with the armed struggle and armed uprisings by the masses must be coordinated with the revolutionary war; the political struggle must evolve into an armed struggle and local uprisings must evolve into a revolutionary war; uprisings must be coordinated with attacks and attacks with uprisings in order to eventually stage a general uprising and offensive to win final victory. This struggle had to be carried out in all three strategic regions under suitable forms of struggle and forms of organization and on a suitable scale consistent with the comparison of forces between us and the enemy on the battlefield, within each strategic region and throughout the war as well as during each period of the war.

For this reason, our people developed a wide variety of forms of combat and forms of organization. We knew how to coordinate the three offensive elements, coordinate the guerrilla war with the conventional war and coordinate the military struggle and the political struggle with the diplomatic struggle. While setting our strategy for a long fight, we created opportunities and seized the opportunities that arose in order to win large victories. We knew how to begin the war, wage the war and conclude the war in a manner that benefited the revolution in our country and made a worthy contribution to the common cause of the world revolutionary movement; we knew how to advance from annihilating one enemy unit at a time and winning gradual victory to annihilating and routing the entire enemy force, winning total victory and liberating the entirety of our beloved country.

Over the various stages of development, after each victory the line and thinking of the party were gradually transformed into revolutionary reality within our society, into increasingly large material-forces in our country and created new bases and new strengths for advancing the revolution to a new stage of development. With the birth of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, a people's government was established throughout the country; then, agrarian reform was carried out while we were still waging the war of resistance. The revolutionary classes and the various strata of patriots became increasingly aware that the revolution was their revolution, that it returned to them their fundamental rights and satisfied their basic aspirations.

With the victory of the war of resistance against the French, in northern Vietnam, while the people's national democratic system continued to exist and develop in the liberated areas of the South, our party led our people in carrying out the socialist revolution and socialist construction to transform northern Vietnam into a society in which there is no exploitation of man by man, thereby successfully beginning the construction of the material and technical base of socialism. The dictatorship of the proletariat state was strengthened and the right of collective ownership of the working people was established more with each passing day. The superior socialist system brought about initial improvements in the material and cultural lives of our people. Of extreme importance is the fact that this system created a high level of political and spiritual unanimity and transformed northern Vietnam into an inviolable bastion amidst the bombs and shells of the enemy, into a strong rear base filled with strong vitality. The socialist system displayed its superiority as an inexhaustible source of spiritual and material

strength in the very stern challenges of the war of resistance against the United States for national salvation. It was the combined strength of the new social system, the new economy and the new, socialist man.

In order to wage the war of liberation and the war to defend the country for 30 years and contend with an enemy whose troop and equipment strength constantly increased, our party successfully performed a huge amount of practical organizational work, not only in the construction of the new social system, but especially in the buildup and development of the political and armed forces in the war. Because, only with "an unequalled organization" was it possible to transform the political and spiritual strength of our people into material strength in order to win victory over the enemy.

After the successful August Revolution, our party became a party in political power. During these glorious days, the party organized a new style state, the people's democratic state, to lead the people in the war of resistance against the French and organized the dictatorship of the proletariat state to lead the working people in northern Vietnam in carrying out the two strategic tasks of the revolution along with the compatriots and soldiers of the entire country. Under the leadership of the party, the new style state displayed its strength in the construction of the superior socialist system. When the war of aggression spread throughout the country, the state promptly put the entire country on a war time footing in every respect and led the working people in engaging in production and combat and performing the two tasks of supporting the great frontlines while protecting the rear area and the socialist system. Under the slogan "everything for the frontlines, everything for victory," our state mobilized manpower and materiel on an unprecedented scale for the fraternal South; it sent millions of its outstanding sons into battle along with the compatriots and soldiers of the South to kill the enemy and save the nation. Only a dictatorship of the proletariat state, a socialist system under the leadership of the working class could perform such miracles in combat and production.

The great success of our party originated in the many efforts it put into organizing the political forces of the revolution and transforming the patriotic forces of our people into an increasingly large political army. The revolutionary classes and various strata of patriots united together and fought to the end for the noble ideal "there is nothing more precious than independence and freedom." Moreover, these forces were more widely and strongly organized with each passing day and led our entire nation in the fight, thereby creating a strength which no enemy could defeat. In particular, on the great frontlines in the South, the compatriots and soldiers of the fraternal South showed themselves to be worthy of the title "bulwark of the fatherland"; they made sacrifices and fought in a spirit of unparalleled bravery in an extremely fierce and complicated war despite the bulldozers, bombs and shells of the enemy. Never before had our people's determination to kill the enemy and save the nation been as high, never before had their confidence in final victory been as strong; this intense revolutionary heroism blossomed on each bit of the fatherland's sacred soil.

The great success of our party originated in its organization of increasingly large and strong people's armed forces, the nucleus of which is the heroic people's army. We are filled with pride and enthusiasm when we look back on the course of development followed by the people's army, from the red self-defense units and the armed propaganda units with their sticks and pistols to the thousands of soldiers of the liberation army during the August general uprising which became well-trained regiments and divisions, although still primarily infantry units, in the resistance against the French and which were then rapidly expanded into the largest army in the nation's history, an army of powerful corps and modern branches and services. Through the various periods, this increasingly powerful revolutionary army has upheld the "determined to fight and win" tradition and has fought along with the people on every battlefield in the country to overthrow the Japanese fascists, win victory over the famed professional army of the French imperialists and, finally, defeat the U.S. expeditionary army, the largest and most modern army in the imperialist countries and annihilate and rout the puppet army, the largest and most modern lackey army of the United States. The growth of the people's army has paralleled the rapid and widespread development of the millions of militia and self-defense young men and women deployed in a vast battle position, thereby forming a nationwide revolutionary battle position. Never before had our people from the South to the North fought with such a brave spirit of determination; never before had our people had such a well-equipped and skillful large armed force.

The people's armed forces, comprised of the three categories of military forces, fought and defeated the enemy first in primarily small-scale combat operations then in medium-scale operations which gradually coordinated both small-scale and medium-scale combat operations and eventually in large-scale campaigns coordinated among the various branches. This constant progress toward victory was not only based on the increasing size and the increasingly modern equipment of the army, rather, it was primarily based on the thoroughly revolutionary nature of our army, on its increasingly tight organization and increasingly high level of technology as a result of which its fighting spirit, its combat discipline and its combat efficiency were constantly heightened. The rapid growth and increasingly large feats of arms of our people's armed forces were also due to an entire infrastructure organized during the war, the most significant element of which was the technical and rear service support system, especially the system of strategic roads, a system symbolized by the strategic road that bore the name of the great Uncle Ho.

Throughout the several decades of the longest fight against foreign aggression in the history of the nation, throughout the nearly one-half century of revolutionary struggle under the leadership of the party, the revolutionary forces of our people have constantly grown through stages of orderly growth intermixed with leaps forward and were highly developed in the course of uprisings and revolutionary war to become an extremely large combined strength capable of defeating each cruel enemy of the age. This constant and remarkable growth originated in the correct and creative revolutionary line, political line, military line and international line of our party. These lines embody



strong revolutionary-offensive thinking, scientific and effective revolutionary methods and inexhaustible ability to create forms of struggle as well as forms of organization. These correct and creative lines were also the origin of the great capabilities in practical organizational work, work which transformed the revolutionary thinking of the party into increasingly strong material forces for the purpose of winning victory over the enemy.

Because, as we look back on the entire course of the war, we see that the basic matter of important significance in the development of the war and which ultimately determined victory in the war was the comparison of forces between us and the enemy, that is, the continuous change in the comparison of forces in a direction favorable to us throughout the course of the arduous and violent revolutionary war.

Actually, the forces sent to the battlefield by the enemy constantly increased in number and were armed with increasingly modern equipment and technology. Whereas the French expeditionary army was many times larger than the Japanese fascist army, the force which the U.S. imperialists mobilized was a huge force supported by the large war efforts of an imperialist power, the tremendous military and economic might of the United States. In the largest war of aggression since World War II, the aggressor forces of the United States and its lackeys were organized into a vast system encompassing military operations, political activities, espionage and psychological warfare and insidious diplomatic tricks; in terms of military operations alone, this large system encompassed very modern branches and services with a large rear service support base. This very large and modern war of aggression system was controlled by persons they considered to be the most talented and intelligent persons within U.S. political and military ruling circles. This large system employed the latest generation of electronic means of war and applied the latest inventions of U.S. military science in a vain attempt to transform our country into what they called an "automated battlefield." The U.S. imperialists obviously had a very large ambition, a massive strategy and a determination to totally crush the war of resistance of our people and submerge it in a sea of blood. Under the illusion of winning a typical resounding victory, the U.S. imperialists sought to prove the immense power of imperialism, prove the ability of imperialism to win victory over the national independence movement and intimidate socialism everywhere in the world in the 1960's and 1970's.

As for ourselves, the resistance war forces of our people and nation were at first many times weaker than the forces of the enemy; however, these forces were mobilized and organized on an increasingly large scale and became a nationwide system. The resistance war forces of our people not only grew in size, grew in terms of their weapons and equipment, but they were also superior to the enemy in terms of their morale and politics, their determination to fight to the end for the independence and freedom of the fatherland, for socialism. However, in terms of the size of the army as well as the material-technical base, it must be said that our forces were still inferior to the forces of the enemy.

Thus, why was it that, in the end, our people won victory and the U.S. imperialists were defeated? Here, having mentioned the important change which took place in the comparison of forces between the two sides, it is necessary to emphasize the extremely large significance and impact, the decisive significance of the party's strategic guidance and ability to control the war in all aspects of the military, political and diplomatic struggles of the revolutionary war in extremely difficult and complex situations which always changed and developed rapidly. The strategic guidance and leadership of our Party Central Committee also originated in the correct and creative line of the party, in the ability to understand the laws of development of the war, from the general laws to the specific laws governing the entire situation and the entire course of the war as well as each battlefield and each period of the war, and in the scientific analysis of the development of the revolutionary struggle in our country as well as the world. This was a science as well as an art.

Through effective strategic guidance and leadership and on the basis of the specific situation surrounding the comparison of forces between us and the enemy at each place and time, our party deployed this force in an extremely effective strategic battle position and created a strategic position which enabled us to achieve a high level of combat efficiency, always take the initiative, and always attack the enemy. Meanwhile, the enemy, although they had sent a very large force to the battlefield, were always bogged down in a defensive strategy and always dispersed which significantly reduced and sometimes caused the complete loss of the combat efficiency of their army.

With correct and creative strategic guidance and leadership, our party knew how to make correct strategic decisions and formulate accurate strategic plans based on the specific situation of the battlefield during each period of time and on each front; at the same time, it provided the organization needed for the implementation of these decisions and plans. Meanwhile, although the enemy always had massive strategic plans established on bases they maintained were very scientific, plans supplied by their intelligence apparatus and electronic computers, these plans generally met with bankruptcy and ultimately led to their total defeat in the war.

With determined and effective, mobile and flexible leadership and strategic guidance, our party was able to promptly detect the relative strengths of the enemy, their weaknesses and vulnerable points, determine the times and places at which the enemy was relatively weak and correctly evaluate our basic strengths and existing weaknesses. Our party's guidance of the war, which was based on this correct evaluation, reflected the ability to use our strengths to deal fatal blows to the enemy at their weakest points and the ability to assemble overwhelming forces on decisive fronts, at decisive times and at decisive opportunities, sometimes in a sure, steady manner and sometimes in a bold, swift manner, but always taking the enemy by surprise and always taking the initiative, thereby depriving the enemy of time needed to react, exposing their weaknesses and routing and annihilating their forces.

If the comparison of the material and psychological forces of the two sides was one of the factors that determined victory, the effective strategic deployment had the effect of multiplying these forces many times. If position and power were important factors in the victory of the war, the strategic guidance and the ability to control the war were an extremely important factor, one of the factors in the multiplication of this position and power many times, which made it possible to create overwhelming superiority that sometimes allowed us to achieve victory on a battlefield with only one battle and allowed us to win increasingly large victories and advance the revolution to total victory.

The entire revolutionary war which lasted for 30 years and ended with the brilliant victory which totally liberated our beloved fatherland can be summarized in the words of the resolution of the 4th National Congress of the Party: "The most important factor in the victory was the leadership of our party and its independent and autonomous, correct and creative political line and military line.

The years and months will pass but the victory of our people in the war of resistance against the United States for national salvation will always be one of the most brilliant pages in the history of our nation, a brilliant symbol of the total victory of revolutionary heroism and the intelligence of man; and it will be recorded in the history of the world as one of the great feats of arms of the 20th century, an event of great international importance and profound epochal significance."(2)

The great victory of the invincible people's war and the social revolution in northern Vietnam provided our people and our nation with very valuable lessons and experiences which will help us complete the revolutionary task in the new stage. Most important are the lessons and experiences in building and developing the combined strength of the Vietnamese revolution and coordinating the strength of the nation and the strength of the age on the basis of the correct and creative, independent and autonomous revolutionary line of our party and the lessons and experiences in the talented, strong and determined leadership of our party. They are the lessons and experiences in the spirit of millions of persons uniting as one and the ability of the people of our entire country to reorganize themselves under the leadership of the party. They are the lessons and experiences in the spirit of unyielding bravery, the spirit of unprecedented sacrifices in combat on the part of our people, our army, and so forth. As we enter the new stage, we must review and creatively apply these lessons and experiences in the stage of the socialist revolution and socialist construction on a nationwide scale.

As we enter the new era, our entire party, all our people and our entire army, united as one, are again enthusiastically marching into battle, into a new battle to open "the great assault" in peaceful construction to transform society, conquer nature, abolish poverty and backwardness, build the new system and make our country "grander and more beautiful" as was the wish of Uncle Ho.

The victory of the war of resistance against the United States for national salvation was truly a great victory; the achievements of socialist construction in northern Vietnam have truly been great achievements. However, the revolutionary struggle of our people has not ended, it is continuing. The socialist revolution on the scope of the entire independent and unified country of Vietnam has only begun. Our people, who are "determined not to stop halfway," are determined to continue to move forward by means of a process of continuous revolution, in a strong revolutionary-offensive spirit and with great resolve to successfully carry out the new revolutionary task with its profound and thorough requirements and advance the socialist revolution to total victory in our country.

Today, in the new stage of the revolution, history has entrusted our party with a new and extremely important mission. It is the mission of leading our people in the successful construction of socialism in a country which is advancing primarily from small-scale production directly to socialism without experiencing the capitalist stage of development. The successful completion of this historic mission will transform our country from one of the most heroic and one of the poorest countries in the world into a prosperous and strong socialist country and bring comfort and happiness back to our people. The successful completion of this historic mission will be a worthy contribution to the development of the forces of the revolution in the present age, an age in which the primary trend is the transition from capitalism to socialism.

As we know, in the history of mankind, socialism became an historic inevitability once capitalism reached the pinnacle of its development and created irreconcilable contradictions between the social nature of production and the nature of capitalist ownership. This is also the law of the birth, development and destruction of capitalism which Marx and Engels discovered more than 100 years ago.

The realities of the success of socialism in our country will prove that, under present day world conditions, socialism has become an historic inevitability not only in the developed capitalist countries which are deeply mired in a worsening general crisis, but also an historic inevitability and a realistic possibility in those countries in which capitalism has not developed.

This very new possibility appeared with the new situation of the age when the socialist countries became the world system and the revolutionary forces in the world constantly developed and assumed the offensive position they now hold. In this new situation, on the road to a civilized and happy life even the countries that still have backward economies can bypass the stage of capitalist development filled with the suffering and cruel oppression and exploitation of the working people and advance directly to the socialist revolution once they have victoriously completed the people's national democratic revolution under the leadership of the working class.

Thus, the course of the socialist revolution and socialist construction in our country is a brand new course, one which has hardly been explored, one which

offers many very basic advantages but also poses many very large obstacles and difficulties.

We are carrying out the socialist revolution and socialist construction under circumstances in which our country has achieved total independence and reunification, the war of aggression has ended and true peace has been restored throughout the country. We have the leadership of a genuine Marxist-Leninist party, the experienced vanguard unit of the working class, which has a close relationship with the working people and the respect and confidence of the people. We have the socialist North which recorded major achievements in the construction of the new system even under the violent circumstances of the war. We have the dictatorship of the proletariat state which, today, has been established throughout the country. Our people have displayed an extremely brave fighting spirit, a spirit of unselfish labor and are very diligent and creative. We possess an abundant labor force, fertile land and rich natural resources and have been blessed by nature in many ways. We are also carrying out the socialist revolution under basically favorable international circumstances: the two friendly countries on the Indochina peninsula are moving steadily down the road to socialism; the forces of socialism, national independence, democracy and peace are developing strongly; the scientific-technological revolution which is developing in the world with the strength of a typhoon is also creating new capabilities for us.

Besides the basic advantages mentioned above, the largest difficulty and obstacle faced at this time is our country's economy which is basically still a backward agricultural economy even though the first material-technical bases of socialism have been established in the North and, in the South, capitalism, a rather important portion of which is the product of the war of aggression, has established the initial bases of a system of large-scale production. Generally speaking, small-scale production still predominates, the majority of labor is manual labor and labor productivity is very low. The gross social product as well as total national income of the entire country as well as per capita are still at a very low level, the level of the countries with the most underdeveloped economies in the world.

It is in this situation that we must carry out the very glorious but very large task of meeting the pressing requirements of the material and cultural lives of the working people as well as the requirements of political security and the defense of the nation while completing the construction of the material-technical base of socialism in our country within a relatively short amount of time.

The 4th National Congress of Delegates of the Party was an extremely important event, it was the congress of the total victory of the cause of national liberation, the congress of the reunification of the country, the congress of the entire country's advance to socialism.

The historic 4th congress set forth the general line of the socialist revolution in the new stage in our country as:

"Firmly controlling the dictatorship of the proletariat, upholding the right of collective ownership of the working people and simultaneously carrying out the three revolutions: the production relations revolution, the scientific and technological revolution and the ideological and cultural revolution, the key one being the scientific and technological revolution; accelerating socialist industrialization, the central task throughout the period of transition to socialism; establishing the system of socialist collective ownership, building the system of large-scale socialist production, building the new culture and molding the new, socialist man; abolishing the system of man exploiting man and abolishing poverty and backwardness; constantly heightening our vigilance and regularly strengthening the national defense system and maintaining political security and social order; successfully building a Vietnamese fatherland of peace, independence, unity and socialism; and making a positive contribution to the struggle of the people of the world for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism."

The general line of the socialist revolution set forth by the party is the crystallization of the intelligence of the entire party and is a vivid expression of the high degree of unanimity and the great determination of our entire party and all our people, determination to successfully complete the new strategic task of the revolution in the new stage. It is not surprising that, in contrast to the beginning of the war of resistance against the French and the beginning of socialist construction in northern Vietnam as well as the beginning of the war of resistance against the United States for national salvation,--it is not surprising that today, only a short time after our country shifted to the new stage of history, our party has quickly set forth a general line on the socialist revolution, a line with complete guidelines and details concerning the basic issues we face. This is because our party is a genuine Marxist-Leninist party that has been forged in nearly one-half century of revolutionary struggle, because the party knows how to scientifically analyze the basic characteristics of our country's society in the new stage and has summarized and developed upon the very rich experiences of socialist construction in the North and even the war of resistance against the United States for national salvation and also knows how to selectively accept and creatively apply the advanced experiences of the fraternal countries.

Continuing to brandish the two banners of national independence and socialism, the party, in adherence to the law of development of the revolution in our country as well as in keeping with the general trend of development of the age, has charted the only correct course for leading our people in the successful construction of a prosperous and strong socialist Vietnamese fatherland. Our party always considers political power to be the fundamental issue of each revolution, the prerequisite for moving the revolution forward; it always considers the forces of the working people to be the forces which determine the victory of the revolution. For this reason, the revolutionary line of the party in the new stage emphasizes the need to firmly control the dictatorship of the proletariat and uphold the right of collective ownership of the working people, the nucleus of whom is the alliance of workers and farmers under the leadership of the working class.

With the success of the August Revolution, our party became a party in political power. Then, with the victory of the war of resistance against the French, the people's democratic government, through a process of continuous revolution, became the dictatorship of the proletariat government in northern Vietnam. Under the leadership of the party, this new style state, as mentioned above, mobilized and organized our people to victoriously wage two sacred wars of resistance and, at the same time, begin the successful construction of the superior socialist system in northern Vietnam and complete the people's national democratic revolution throughout the country.

Today, with the total victory of the war of resistance against the United States for national salvation, political power is in the hands of the people and the working people of our country have become the true masters of the beloved fatherland. To advance the socialist revolution to total victory, "the first prerequisite is to establish and constantly strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat and implement and constantly uphold the right of collective ownership of the working people"(3) throughout our country.

The dictatorship of the proletariat and the right of collective ownership of the working people are the prerequisite to and an effective tool and powerful moving force in carrying out the socialist revolution in our country, the main elements of which are the three revolutions: the production relations revolution, the scientific-technological revolution and the ideological and cultural revolution, the key one being the scientific-technological revolution.

Under the country's present conditions, the production relations revolution is a very pressing need in order to coordinate transformation with construction and construction with transformation with primary emphasis upon construction, abolish the system of man exploiting man, establish the system of public ownership of the instruments of production on a nationwide scale and, on this basis, continuously improve the socialist production relations in accordance with the guidelines of development. Only in this manner is it possible for the production relations revolution to open the way for the strong development of production forces, create the objective conditions and set forth guidelines for the scientific-technological revolution and, at the same time, lay a good foundation for the ideological and cultural revolution. In this manner and only in this manner is it possible for the production relations revolution to coordinate with the other two revolutions in creating an increasingly strong base for upholding the right of collective ownership of the working people.

The scientific-technological revolution has the task of completely transforming the production forces in our country, having an impact upon all of the factors of production forces and gradually upgrading small-scale production and labor which is still primarily manual labor to large-scale socialist production, mechanization and automation with increasingly high labor productivity. By doing this, the scientific-technological revolution will create the material-technical base of socialism, gradually develop socialist industrialization, the central task throughout the period of transition, create an increasingly

strong base for strengthening the socialist production relations and, at the same time, accelerate the ideological and cultural revolution. Thus, the scientific-technological revolution will constantly improve the ability of the working people to be the masters of nature and exert its positive and widespread influence in each aspect of social life.

The ideological and cultural revolution, which has an extremely large impact and is both vast and complex in content, plays the decisive role in raising the cultural and spiritual levels and transforming the spiritual, ideological, and cultural lives of society. With its central task of building the new culture and molding the new man, this revolution is a determined and sharp struggle against the reactionary, backward thinking and culture of the classes of exploiters and neo-colonialism, against the decadent customs left behind by the old society; this revolution causes the spiritual life of our society to be increasingly imbued with the world view and philosophy of life of Marxism-Leninism; it also causes Marxism-Leninism to assume a position of absolute superiority on the ideological front, inherits and enhances the fine traditions of the nation and selectively accepts and creates the very best of the civilization of man. As the production relations revolution and the scientific-technological revolution continuously develop and demand increasingly deep knowledge of the laws of nature and society, the ideological and cultural revolution becomes an even more pressing requirement and not only has the effect of building the new culture and molding the well-developed socialist man, but it also stimulates the development of social production and makes the cultural and spiritual lives of our people increasingly beautiful and rich.

Our party's viewpoint of simultaneously carrying out the three revolutions, the key one being the scientific-technological revolution, is the creative application of the principles established by the founders of scientific socialism. Marx analyzed and established the organic relationship between production relations and the economic structure of society, on the one hand, and its superstructure, on the other hand, within which production relations and the structure of the economy of society play the decisive role; he analyzed and established the organic relationship between production and the corresponding level of development of production forces, within which production forces are the "most dynamic, most revolutionary factor. Due to the general characteristic of the proletarian revolution, namely, that the political revolution precedes the economic revolution, and due to the specific characteristics of the political and socio-economic conditions in our country, namely, that we have an advanced political system and advanced production relations but backward production forces, it is even more necessary that the three revolutions be very closely related, stimulate one another's development and, in addition, appear and develop at the same time, thereby creating an extremely strong moving force, a large combined strength in the entire course of the socialist revolution and socialist construction. Because the socio-economic system of our country is still primarily one of small-scale production and lacks the large-scale machine industry base ordinarily created in capitalism, the scientific-technological revolution plays the key



role in the three revolutions, has a decisive effect in building the material and technical base of socialism and carrying out the socialist industrialization of the national economy and has a strong and widespread impact upon each aspect of the development of social life.

Through the process of carrying out the three revolutions, the system of socialist collective ownership is formed and developed, the socialist economy grows, the new socialist culture develops and the new socialist man reaches a higher and more comprehensive level of development. These basic factors of the new society develop at the same time as the abolition of the system of man exploiting man, the victory over poverty and backwardness, the elimination of reactionary thinking and the rule, suppression and readiness to thwart each scheme of the counter-revolutionary forces and each aggressor enemy. The birth and development of the system of socialist collective ownership in our country are an objective historic necessity, a reality consistent with the process of development of our nation, with the law of development of mankind in the new age.

The thinking of being the master of the country has its origins in ancient times, in the spirit of independence and autonomy, in the long tradition of unyielding struggle of our nation, in the building and defense of the country. Ever since our party was born and raised the two banners of national independence and socialism, ever since the successful August Revolution, ever since the victorious war of resistance against the French and the start of the construction of the socialist system in one-half of the country, socialist patriotism and the thinking of socialist collective ownership have become ever more deeply ingrained in the hearts and minds of the working class and working people of our country and have undergone new stages of development, taken on new meaning and assumed new quality. When the struggle to liberate the nation won total victory and the entire country began the advance to socialism, the system of socialist collective ownership was established and forged in labor and combat in the North and, today, it has begun to be established throughout our country.

"Building the system of socialist collective ownership means building a society whose master is the organized working people, the nucleus of whom is the alliance of workers and farmers under the leadership of the working class."<sup>(4)</sup> The economic base of this system is large-scale socialist production, the socialist mode of production. Due to its comprehensive and creative nature, this system is the combination of all of the relations in each aspect of the actual life of society, from economic relations and the economic structure of society to political and cultural relations, the relations among persons and the relations between man and the natural world. In this significance, the system of socialist collective ownership marks a leap forward in the development of our country's society as it enters the new period of history, the period in which the working class, collective farmers and the strata of socialist intellectuals, all manual and mental laborers become the masters, the master of society, the masters of nature, the masters of themselves and the masters of the construction and defense of the country.

Building the system of socialist collective ownership is a process of continuous development from a low to a high level, from the lack of perfection to perfection. Today, in our country, with the establishment and constant strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the working people enjoy favorable conditions for being the masters of their lives and making worthy contributions to the construction of an increasingly beautiful new system. However, the present structure of society in our country is not uniformly developed and is, in some respects, not truly consistent with the right of ownership of the working people; the level of socialist consciousness has not truly been raised, the right of ownership is not truly guaranteed by necessary regulations, and so forth. Due to this situation, the working class and working people of our country, do not, generally speaking, fully realize the revolutionary change in their position and role from the position of slaves and hired workers to the role of masters.

Our party, our state and our mass organizations must do everything that can be done to truly heighten the sense of collective ownership in each worker, heighten his pride and confidence in the new system. Our people rose to wage an extremely brave fight, throw off their chains, annihilate and defeat each enemy and win the right to be the masters of the country, the masters of society. Today, that age has past and gone forever are the long nights of slavery which the foreign aggressors and the classes of exploiters who ruled our country inflicted on the destiny of our people, our nation. In the construction of the new system, it has come time for each worker to stand up, because everyone has the right to "stand tall," time to live, work and struggle for the civilized life, the prosperity and strength of the fatherland, for his own comfort and happiness. Today, it has come time for each worker to deeply understand what his basic obligations are, what his basic rights are, and devote his energies and intelligence, develop his organizational and managerial skills, be self-conscious and take the initiative in order to create the new life and build the new system.

As the socialist revolution and socialist construction move forward, each form of oppression and exploitation will be abolished, the socialist production relations will be improved, production forces will develop more strongly, the ideological and cultural level of the people will be raised and the long-standing unorganized and negative habits of the small-scale producer will give way to the new virtues of the socialist worker. As the system of socialist collective ownership is developed and strengthened, the working people of our country will advance to the pinnacles of freedom and happiness. This is the course to the beautiful social system which Engels foresaw: "For the first time, man will become the true and conscious master of nature because he is the master and has the status of a master of his own life in society... Only then will man create his own history in a totally self-conscious manner; only then will the social principles he has applied yield the desired results on a very high and constantly increasing level. This is the leap forward by mankind from the kingdom of the inevitable to the kingdom of freedom."(5)

Therefore, the system of socialist collective ownership embodies inexhaustible capabilities and a very large strength with which our country can achieve

brilliant success in the construction of a prosperous and strong socialist Vietnamese fatherland.

As stated above, in the face of the great task which the revolution has established for the working people of our entire country in the new stage, our party quickly set forth a general line on the socialist revolution in our country, the contents of which are correct and creative, rich and specific concerning the basic issues we face. With its very scientific and thoroughly revolutionary nature, this line encompasses a very strong offensive strategy and, at the same time, sets forth creative revolutionary methods consistent with the specific characteristics of our country's situation. The pressing matter of decisive significance at this time is that our entire party, all our people and our entire army devote their spirit and energies and make every effort to transform the revolutionary line and thinking of the party into material strength for the purpose of transforming society, conquering nature, winning victory over poverty and backwardness and successfully building socialism in order to bring back a civilized life, prosperity and strength to the country, comfort and happiness to the people. We can only achieve this objective through practical organizational work. "With a correct line, a correct policy, the matter of organization is decided"(6); "thinking is revolutionary theory, and only with correct thinking are correct actions possible. However, thinking must become practice through organization, organization is the tool, the means for transforming thought into action, into reality."(7)

In this significance, the resolution of the 4th congress of our party emphasized the great importance of practical organizational work. In Russia, when beginning the peaceful construction of socialism with its countless complex difficulties, the Bolshevik Party very highly evaluated the experiences of the working people in organizing themselves during the three years of the civil war; in our country, under the leadership of our party, the working people of our country accumulated an extremely valuable storehouse of experience in practical organizational work during the 30 years of the revolutionary war and the decades of socialist construction during the war. However, as we begin the period of peaceful socialist construction on a nationwide scale, it is clear that our country's revolution has undergone a major change, reached a great turning point: it has shifted from simultaneously carrying out two strategic tasks to carrying out but one strategic task, namely, carrying out the socialist revolution in order to rapidly, strongly and steadily advance to socialism. This brand new task raises very new and very high requirements with regard to practical organizational work. Moreover, due to the specific characteristics of the socialist revolution in our country, the economy in which small-scale production still predominates and the long and fierce war which has had very serious aftereffects, the subjective capabilities in organization and management of the working people of our country as well as our party and our state are still limited in certain respects. Therefore, organization and management are one of the major difficulties we face, difficulties that can only be overcome through very high determination and very high creative energies on the part of each and every one of us. This is also why, while

each of us is very enthusiastic over the correct and creative, independent and autonomous line of our party, practical organization and social management are becoming our foremost concern.

With a high spirit of responsibility and the momentum of victory continuing in the peaceful construction of the country, we are firmly confident that we will surely successfully resolve the problems of practical organization, of reorganizing the economy and society, of managing society and the economy just as we achieved sweeping success in our practical organizational work in the revolutionary war. Because, if the political line determines the organizational line, a correct political line not only is a prerequisite to the success of practical organizational work, it also embodies organizational capabilities and correct organizational guidelines. Because, under the light of the resolution of the congress on the general task as well as the specific tasks of the revolution, we have acquired new capabilities for summarizing and developing upon existing organizational experiences and, at the same time, we have acquired additional conditions for making innovations in organizational work. We are also selectively studying and correctly and creatively applying the experiences of the fraternal countries in the organization and management of society and applying the present knowledge in the world of the science of organization and management.

The socialist revolution and socialist construction encompass all fields of social life in our country. Therefore, organizational work and management are very large and complex. We must first of all build an increasingly strong dictatorship of the proletariat system throughout our country. We must build a system of organizations to lead and manage socialist society in every respect, from production forces to production relations, from the infrastructure to the superstructure, from the material life to the spiritual and cultural lives. The task of most pressing importance at this time is that of rapidly building and strengthening this system and establishing correct relations among the party, the state and the people, from the central level to each locality, each basic unit. In substance, this system is the organizational aspect of the new system, it is a combined force stimulating the birth and development of socialism in every area.

As a party in political power, in order for the lines and policies of the party to be fully implemented in the social life of the entire country, it is necessary to constantly increase the fighting strength and improve the political and organizational leadership of the party but, in conjunction with this, it is extremely important to constantly strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat state. This new style state fully expresses the leadership of the party and, at the same time, fully expresses the right of collective ownership of the working people. This new style state must be fully capable of effectively organizing and managing each aspect of social life. As an administrative apparatus and an organization which manages the economy and culture, this state not only has the task of abolishing the old, but it is also tasked with building the new and must develop its effectiveness and role by means of an increasingly improved

system of law. As a result, we "must attach importance to building the constitution and the laws of the state, which is one of the essential measures in establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat throughout the country, upholding the right of collective ownership of our people"(8) and insuring that each worker fully enjoys each of his rights while fulfilling each of his obligations to the country. With regard to society, the dictatorship of the proletariat state must always attach importance to the task of strengthening the national defense system and strengthening the maintenance of political security and social order to insure that the country is always ready and able to thwart each plot of the aggressors and counter-revolutionaries. Building and improving the structure of the state apparatus clearly demands a large practical organizational effort. Without an increasingly improved state apparatus, which not only requires the additional improvement of existing governmental organizations but also the rapid building of the revolutionary government apparatus in the newly liberated areas, it is difficult to talk about teaching, organizing and mobilizing the masses to build the new system, difficult to talk about thoroughly comprehending the line of the party or setting forth specific plans for implementing this line.

Our practical organizational work must also be expressed in the improvement of the activities of the mass organizations, especially the Trade Union and the Youth Group. The mass movement must be given new meaning which reflects the requirements of the revolutionary task in the new stage. We must gain the participation of the masses in the management of the state, the management of the economy and the management of each job in the life of society. Once the masses deeply realize that they are the true masters of society, a revolutionary leap forward will occur, one which will create new capabilities and strengths for practical organizational work.

If coordinating the leadership of the party with the creative energies of the masses is a law for creating tremendous strength for winning victory in every revolutionary undertaking, today, in the new stage, coordinating the unified and effective activities of the dictatorship of the proletariat state under the leadership of our party with fully upholding the right of collective ownership and fully developing the creativity of the working people will surely create an extremely large strength for advancing the socialist revolution to total victory.

The key issue in all organizational work is the need to reorganize social production and rapidly, strongly and steadily advance our economy in which small-scale production still predominates to large-scale socialist production. "The reorganization of social production and the redistribution of production forces are, thus, of immediate and long range basic importance and designed to make the most efficient use possible of 'the two sources of all wealth, land and labor' as Karl Marx said"(9); only in this way is it possible to create a firm economic base for the system of socialist collective ownership. The reorganization of social production involves the production relations revolution and a revolution in production forces, that is, the scientific-technological revolution; at the same time, it is

one of the important elements of the ideological and cultural revolution. Because, in the organization of production, the first factor is workers; however, these workers are coordinated with one another within social relations, the most basic ones being production relations. The worker, as a production force, is also coordinated with the other factors of the instruments of production within the activities of social production. Therefore, in both substance and content, the reorganization of social production involves carrying out the three revolutions in each aspect of the activities of society for the purpose of building the system of large-scale socialist production.

We must improve the management of the reorganization of production within the basic units. We must reorganize the federated enterprises and federations of enterprises so that they are highly centralized and modern, reorganize the state farms, cooperatives and construction sites and reorganize the artisan and handicraft installations which still occupy an important position within the national economy. It is necessary to apply the principles of the science of organization, the science of organizing the economy and organizing labor in order to reorganize these basic units, strengthen their organizational structure and bring the coordination among each factor of production forces as well as between production forces and the various forms of production relations into compliance with the laws of development of the socialist economy. By doing this, we will cause the successful units which are models of organizational structure as well as models of production management that have appeared in the various sectors and localities to become increasingly widespread. The reorganization of production must be based on the plan and production goals of the sectors and localities, upon actual capabilities in terms of labor, materials, capital, and so forth in order to establish an appropriate scale, make production lines efficient, apply advanced technical methods, stabilize the supply of materials, organize transportation and the consumption of products well, etc. Organizational work will have an effect, a decisive effect in strengthening labor discipline, making full use of machine capacity and raising labor productivity and economic returns. And, conversely, strengthened labor discipline and increased labor productivity will create the conditions for further improving the organizational structure and the mode of management and, in addition, provide new capabilities for performing practical organizational work.

At present, the problem of reorganizing social production is a very pressing, nationwide problem. The reorganization of social production, which will create the most efficient industrial-agricultural economic structure for our entire country, is a matter of strategic importance; it will create a combined economic strength that will open large capabilities and lead to leaps forward in the economy of our country. With the great victory of the war of resistance against the United States for national salvation, our people became the masters of the entire country with its fertile deltas, rows of forested mountains, vast offshore waters and large continental shelf. Our people became the masters of their entire abundant labor force, a force which is comprised of more than 20 million persons and has initial

installations in heavy industry, important installations in light industry, etc. However, due to the aftereffects of the feudal and colonial economy which lasted for many years and the circumstances of the fierce war, the division of labor and the distribution of labor are presently in a rather serious state of unbalance. As a result, the majority of labor reserves are not being utilized well and the great potentials of the country have not been developed.

On the basis of the actual situation of the country presented above and on the basis of the general line of the socialist revolution and the line on the construction of the socialist economy in our country, we must carry out in a spirit of utmost urgency the reorganization of the national economy and socialist industrialization, the central task throughout the period of transition to socialism, in order to create an increasingly efficient modern industrial-agricultural structure throughout the country. The basic course we will follow in creating this structure is: "giving priority to the rational development of heavy industry on the basis of agricultural and light industrial development, coordinating industry and agriculture throughout the country in an industrial-agricultural structure..." This very correct and creative economic line will closely coordinate industry and agriculture within a unified structure so that they develop smoothly toward large-scale socialist production. In the process of this development, industry will be the main foundation of the national economy and play the dominant role in the national economy; agriculture will be the base for industrial development. Therefore, industry and agriculture must be closely linked, they must create the premises and conditions needed for each other and stimulate each other's development.

Carrying out the reorganization of social production on a strategic scale and in accordance with the line of the party will permit us to develop our most valuable asset in terms of production forces, namely, the abundant labor reserves and develop all of the great potentials in each region of the country. With a labor force filled with the spirit of diligence and creativity, with rich natural resources on the land, underground, at sea and in the continental shelf and with work tools and means which, although primarily rudimentary, do include some semi-modern and modern units, we will build a socialist economy filled with vitality, one capable of rapidly moving forward. With regard to production relations, the system of the two forms of national ownership will be established throughout the country with the state-operated form playing an increasingly dominant role. As regards tools and equipment, we will make full use of and develop each rudimentary, semi-modern and modern capability, make advances in modern science and technology the primary direction of development and gradually re-equip the entire national economy on the basis of modern technology. With regard to the scale of development, we will make full use of small scale, medium scale and large scale, with large scale as the main guideline, and gradually transform our country's small-scale production into large-scale socialist production.

By means of practical organizational work, we will truly transform our entire country into a vast socialist worksite with special features reflecting the

conditions and capabilities of each region, thereby forming a prosperous lowland economic area, a well-developed mountain economic area and a coastal economic area with its unique special products. Our entire country will be filled with a spirit of enthusiasm to work to build the country and will produce as much material wealth for society as conditions permit.

On the basis of an increasingly efficient strategic organizational structure, an increasingly efficient strategic deployment of the national economy, and only on the basis of such a structure and deployment, is it possible for the three revolutions, the key one being the scientific-technological revolution, to play an increasingly large role and possible for the economy of our country to advance to socialism with the greatest possible strength and at the highest possible rate. Because, only by means of such a large-scale reorganization, only by knowing how to utilize each form of organization, each tool and each technical process can we truly mobilize and organize each citizen to fulfill his obligation to work, constantly raise labor productivity and economic returns and create increasingly favorable conditions for advancing our country's economy to large-scale socialist production. With a strong revolutionary-offensive spirit and by fully adhering to the practical viewpoint, we can fully implement the central slogan of action set forth by the party: "everything for production, everything for socialist construction, everything for the prosperity and strength of the fatherland, the happiness of the people."

The process of improving the management of and reorganizing social production is also the process of establishing a close relationship between the central economy and the local economy under a unified plan for the entire country. The abilities of the entire country must be focused on building the central economy, which consists of the key sectors and installations that have a decisive impact upon the entire national economy; at the same time, each province and municipality must develop an efficient economic structure and become an integral part of the economy of the entire country and each district must become an agricultural-economic unit and develop the strengths of each locality.

This is the best course to follow to develop each capability of the country well, rapidly increase production, accelerate the division of labor, open new sectors and trades and create additional material wealth for society. In the process of building the strategic structure of the national economy, it is necessary to correctly coordinate the economy and the national defense system, coordinate the strategic deployment of the economy with the strategic deployment of the national defense system. It is necessary to coordinate the labor obligation with the military obligation and utilize the strength of the armed forces in the task of maintaining a readiness to fight in defense of the fatherland as well as in the task of participating in work and production to build the economy. This is the matter of coordinating the building of the country with the defense of the country, which reflects the law of building the country in conjunction with defending it, and is a matter of survival to the nation; therefore, while reorganizing social production and building the system of large-scale socialist production, we must give particular attention to this matter.



We must fully adhere to the viewpoint of establishing good coordination of the division of labor and balance in every area within the country, which are of prime importance, with the strengthening of economic relations with the fraternal socialist countries while developing economic relations with the other countries on the basis of maintaining our independence and sovereignty and benefiting all parties in order to create new favorable conditions, conditions which will help accelerate the construction of the system of large-scale socialist production.

At present, the working people of our country have very much confidence in the leadership of the party, in the correct and creative revolutionary line of our party. At the same time, we enjoy very basic, very large advantages; however, we also face difficulties not only in the construction of the material and technical base of socialism, but also in the daily lives of the people. How can we overcome these difficulties and correct the lack of balance in the supply of grain, food, equipment and finished materials, energy and fuel, exports and imports, and so forth? How can we resolve these pressing problems in order to stabilize and gradually improve the standard of living of the people and, in addition, create additional favorable conditions for building the material and technical base of socialism? The only guideline for resolving these pressing problems, for winning victory over poverty and backwardness, for building a life of comfort and happiness is practical organizational work. This work is of decisive significance not only in the immediate future, but over the long range as well. This is a very large and complex job because it encompasses tens of millions of workers throughout the country, an extremely large volume of tools and materials of all types and many localities in different territorial areas which have varied, rich natural resources; moreover, it also encompasses the entirety of the political, economic, cultural and social life of our country's society.

Of course, we cannot wait until our cadres and our people possess all the capabilities they need in practical organization, possess all the talents they need in the management of society and the management of the economy before beginning our work. Every revolutionary action and every practical organizational effort, even if small in scope and of limited impact, is of extreme importance at this time as long as it complies with laws and guidelines. We know that practical organizational work demands of our party, our state and our leadership and management cadres increasing knowledge of science. However, we cannot mistakenly think that the common laborer, the ordinary worker, collective farmer and socialist intellectual do not possess tremendous abilities to perform practical organizational work in their field of endeavor. The matter of decisive importance is that each and every one of us must possess a high spirit of political responsibility, possess a full measure of revolutionary ability, be concerned with the interests of the people and the country and understand the line and policy of the party. On this basis, the matter of decisive importance is developing our creative energies and finding the best possible methods of operation, forms of organization and technical procedures and the most effective management methods. Because, practice has proven that organization is a science,

not every method of organization creates the same strength in production and combat. Under similar objective conditions, the organization of one army will defeat the organization of another army, one organization of production is more productive than another. Thus, building a strong organization is not a simple matter. Briefly stated, a strong organization must be consistent with the objective law which has the effect of stimulating the development of that which is being organized; it is that organization which shows itself to be the best organization for fulfilling the task and targets that have been established. This organization must be one which is politically and ideologically strong, efficiently structured and highly disciplined, one which operates smoothly in a very effective and highly productive manner. Therefore, rather than tailoring tasks to suit the existing organization, the organization must be established on the basis of tasks and the methods for performing these tasks, on the structural factors of the organization. In the final analysis, the most accurate measurement of a strong organization is the practical effectiveness of the organization, its combat effectiveness in past years and its productivity today.

Therefore, each of us must be determined to turn his hands to organizational work, to learn through practice and learn theory in order to perform this work well. We must endeavor to accelerate organizational work along correct guidelines and create a unified system encompassing small, medium and large scales, a system strong enough to stimulate forward progress, strong enough to transform society, conquer nature and create new stages of development for the socialist revolution. This is a science and an art. The situation requires that we make the greatest possible efforts, learn the science of practical organization, overcome each difficulty and obstacle and be determined to transform the historic resolution of the 4th Party Congress into living reality.

Today, the words spoken by V.I. Lenin are of even greater significance to us: "They must understand that practical work is everything now; that the historical moment has arrived when theory is being transformed into practice, vitalized by practice, corrected by practice, tested by practice; when the words of Marx, 'every step of real movement is more important than a dozen programs,' become particularly true." (10)

Today, in the broadest meaning of the concept of management, social management and economic management, which encompass the whole of the vast issue of practical organization, have become the task of foremost importance in the activities of our state under the leadership of the party. As the dictatorship of the proletariat is strengthened, the right of collective ownership of the working people is more fully upheld and the socio-economic structure is reorganized along increasingly efficient lines, control and management have an increasing effect upon the entire political-economic-social system. Conversely, as control and management are exercised in an increasingly self-conscious and effective manner, a manner increasingly consistent with the objective laws of development of socialist society, the entire political-economic-social system throughout the country will develop the great strength that lies within it and stimulate the development of the new system, the new economy, the new culture, the new man.

As mentioned above, during the successful August Revolution and then in the victorious war of resistance against the French, our party organized an entire social management and economic management system and controlled the war in a very effective manner. During the years of temporary peace in northern Vietnam, our state set forth correct plans for the restoration and development of the economy and culture with the result that, in only a short amount of time, the first material and technical bases of socialism were constructed in one-half of our country. During the years of the fierce resistance against the United States for national salvation, the dictatorship of the proletariat system was challenged and became increasingly strong and was one of the main factors in the great victory of the war of resistance. The economic and cultural development plans during the years of this fierce war had a major impact: they stabilized the life of the people, strengthened the rear area, mobilized the manpower and wealth of the entire country for the front and insured the completion of large strategic plans, thereby making worthy contributions to the completion of the people's democratic national revolution throughout the country.

When our country's revolution entered the new stage, the central task of our party and people shifted to the front of the peaceful construction of the country, to carrying out the socialist revolution and socialist construction on a nationwide scale. In the face of the new situation, social management and economic management, the primary tool of which is the state plan, have assumed a larger role and much larger tasks. For the first time in history, we have favorable conditions for managing and controlling the entire society and economy of our country under a unified plan and oriented toward the common objective of the revolution. Management is a very difficult job, "it is a science and an art," "a science and a revolution" which demands an increasingly high level of political leadership and much knowledge of theory as well as practice.

Planning, the basic function of management activities, demands, in view of its integrated nature, a firm grasp of the actual situation as well as the laws of development of the economy, nature and society; it demands that we truly "be the masters of the production process, the masters of needs, the masters of life." Planning is not a purely economic or cultural activity, rather, it encompasses the important aspects of social issues, issues related to every aspect of the life of the people. The plan is the embodiment of the economic and social tasks which must be carried out during each specific period of time.

For this reason, the resolution of our party congress fully analyzed the important significance of the economic and cultural development plan and expressed the need to make every effort to successfully complete this plan. Here, I only want to emphasize a few points which must be fully understood so that the state plan truly becomes an effective tool, one of the strong moving forces stimulating the advance of our country's economy and culture.

To begin with, as the second platform of the party, the economic and cultural development plan must always reflect a thorough understanding of our party's

general line on the socialist revolution as well as the fundamental economic laws of socialism. The plan must be based on existing capabilities and conditions and those capabilities and conditions which will be created in the course of the development of society and set forth specific targets, specific stages of development during each period of time for our country's system of production in the advance from small-scale production to large-scale socialist production. We must always be cognizant of the fact that the ultimate objective of our social system as well as the state plan is satisfying the rising material and spiritual needs of the working people. On this basis, we must reach practical conclusions and "attach more importance to use value and make production capacity and the needs of life, of building the new material-technical base the primary bases for establishing economic plans." Such a plan is always impregnated with strong offensive thinking and, at the same time, fully reflects the practical viewpoint and is both bold and realistic. In the guidance of planning, it is necessary to always combat tendencies toward conservatism and hesitancy resulting from a less than full understanding of the great potentials of the country and the great creative capabilities of the working people; at the same time, it is necessary to avoid the tendencies toward subjectivism and impracticality. It is also necessary to abolish the lingering influences of bourgeois thinking concerning management, business, profits and so forth, thinking which does not attach full importance to the fundamental economic law of our system.

The economic and cultural development plan must fully reflect the line of our party on building the socialist economy and must accelerate the improvement of socialist production relations and the reorganization of the social economy. On a nationwide scale, carrying out socialist industrialization, successfully building the most efficient strategic industrial-agricultural economic structure possible is the center of the plan. In the next several years, we must succeed in making the 500 districts agricultural-industrial economic management units and the 38 provinces and municipalities economic management units which have a structure of sectors and trades and a division of labor suited to the specific conditions in terms of labor, natural resources, material, and so forth of each locality and each territorial area within the scope of the unified economic development plan of the entire country. The economic-technical sectors must clearly define their position and task as well as the relationship among sectors and the relationship with the various localities and establish specific guidelines for development and specific objectives for the purpose of making the most effective contribution possible to the smooth development of the national economy. The plan of each sector as well as each locality must be based on the common plan of the state and set forth specific guidelines and requirements for carrying out the three revolutions, the key one being the scientific-technological revolution. Only in this way is it possible to make full use of the great reserves our country has in its labor and natural resources and bring about balanced and smooth development throughout the country as well as within each locality and sector within the complex relationship among the various sectors, localities and territorial areas.

The economic and cultural development plan must be founded on scientifically based forecasts. In the present situation, the management agencies on the various echelons, especially those within the newly liberated localities, have not been strengthened; accounting and control work in production as well as consumption has not been accelerated; basic investigations of the labor force and natural resources as well as the needs of society have only recently begun. We can neither demand that all the bases needed for the establishment of the plan exist at the very outset nor can we wait for these bases to be established before drawing up the plan. Consequently, the plan must be established on specific, known bases; at the same time, it must reflect actual capabilities and correct guidelines for development in order to guide and develop the creative activities of the working people. And, we must always keep abreast of the actual situation surrounding development in order to adjust and supplement the plan so that it is constantly improved. With regard to the scientific nature of the state plan, we must insure that the contents of the plan truly reflect the key role played by the scientific-technological revolution and must consider scientific and technical advances to be extremely important measures in insuring the implementation of the plan, insuring that the scientific-technological plan meets specific needs better and becomes an integral part, a key component of the common plan.

The economic and cultural development plan must fully reflect the principle of democratic centralism, one of the fundamental principles of planning as well as the entirety of economic-social management, in general. In the present situation as well as over the long range, the formulation of the plan must be carried out under unified guidance from the central level to the locality and the installation in accordance with the related reciprocal process from the installation and locality to the central level. "The plan must be formulated from the lower echelon to the upper echelon, from the upper echelon to the lower echelon. The plan must be formulated from the installation, the locality and each sector upward." In the present situation of our country, which is in the process of developing from small-scale production to large-scale socialist production, it is even more necessary that centralism go hand in hand with democracy. Only through centralism and unification is it possible to overcome the tendencies of localism and partialism. Only by spreading true democracy, beginning within each locality and installation, is it possible to develop each capability and potential of the people and country. Thus, the plan must insure the impact of unified management and the important impact of the central economic sectors while developing the creative activities of the localities and installations so that all the working people truly participate in planning. Only by coordinating centralism with democracy is it possible to gain the direct participation of the working people in state management; in addition, this coordination also makes an important contribution to insuring that the material and cultural needs of social life are met within each locality under the unified guidance of the state. Only in this way it is possible to create new conditions and new capabilities for increasing the realistic value of the plan and doing a better job of balancing and selecting optimum plans not only in the field of the distribution of labor, materials and capital but also in the field of circulation and distribution. As a result, the state

plan yields higher economic returns, leads to higher labor productivity, causes the largest possible volume of products to be produced under given conditions and advances the national economy at a rapid rate.

Our party congress set forth the task of virtually completing the process of advancing our country's economy from small-scale production to large-scale socialist production in the space of 20 years and, at the same time, set forth the guidelines, tasks and principle objectives of the 1976-1980 five year plan. If planning is a basic function of management, it is also only a basic function in the initial stage. Because, to transform the objectives of the plan into reality, an entire process of practical work by society is needed. Planning is one of the universal laws of the socialist revolution and socialist construction; at the same time, it is an extremely important expression of the superiority of the socialist system. Once a correct economic and cultural development plan has been formulated, management performs the task of "transforming the entire economic structure of the state into a single huge apparatus"(11), into a smoothly operating economic apparatus in which tens of millions of persons "are controlled by a single plan."(12) Thus, management also serves the function of guiding the entire integrated process of implementing the plan. This is an extremely complex process of struggle because, whereas during the war the battlefield situation changed rapidly, the integrated system of relations in social life, from production relations to production forces, from production to circulation and distribution, is constantly changing and creating new capabilities, new difficulties, new requirements. In the present world situation, the integrated system of our country's economy and society is, in many areas, still related to one degree or another and to the economic situations of the other countries and under a reciprocal impact of these economic situations to some extent. As a result, guiding and controlling the implementation of the plan, that is, controlling the entire socio-economic system, is a very important function of management and demands a very high spirit of responsibility, an increasingly strong command of science and much talent in the art of guidance.

Guidance and control of such importance first demand that we constantly keep abreast of the changing situation in each area of the national economy as well as the changes in the needs of the economic, cultural and social lives at each place and each time, in each sector, in each locality and throughout the country. The rising requirements for an increasingly large volume of economic information must primarily be met by means of very strict discipline in reports and requests for directives and a high degree of sensitivity to each aspect of the socio-economic situation; only in this way is it possible to help the management agency always keep abreast of the continuous development of practice, abreast of the changes in that which is being managed. The work methods of the leadership and management cadre of going to installations, observing production first-hand and detecting problems can be considered necessary and very effective methods of acquiring information. At the same time, it is necessary to gradually organize an increasingly mechanized and automated technical information system. Economic information work not only has the task of providing the bases for guiding the

implementation of the plan in accordance with the best possible guidelines, it also helps provide scientific forecasts to serve as the basis of the long-term plan and the prospects plan.

Such effective guidance and control demand the prompt establishment of specific policies and measures and the ability to use the important economic levers for the purpose of accelerating production and improving the standard of living. We have a system of economic policies encompassing many areas, such as the capital construction investment policy, the expansion of credit policy, a price policy, monetary policy, policies on wages, purchases, export incentives, etc. We also have policies on socialist transformation, the opening of new economic areas, circulation and distribution and the domestic trade of materials and commodities. We have started to build a system of economic-technical standards. However, through practice and in the face of the expansion of the socialist revolution and socialist construction to a nationwide scale, we see that the present system of policies and regulations, although basically correct, is obviously inadequate or unsuitable in some respects and, in some cases, even fails to meet the requirements of production and everyday life. Therefore, "management policies and regulations must be re-examined, amended, supplemented and systematized in order to truly have the effect of levers"(13); at the same time, it is necessary to adopt new policies and measures to meet the requirement of beginning the new economic tasks. We must soon correct the long-standing inefficiencies in the policies on prices, wages, credit, and so forth as well as in the use of psychological and material incentives. Full attention must be given to the cost accounting system, one of the basic factors in the socialist economic management system, so that cost accounting becomes an effective management tool and helps abolish the style of management which encompasses many echelons.

Such scientific and effective guidance and control require that the management agencies on the various echelons of the state be able to apply the systems viewpoint and the methods of systems analysis in order to fully assess the comprehensive nature of the national economy, specific economic capabilities and rising social needs and, on this basis, achieve as best possible the smooth and balanced operation of the entire socio-economic system. As the level of guidance and control increases, not only do the activities of the economy yield large returns, but the structure of the economy is capable of changing to comply with the most efficient guidelines as well, consequently, the effectiveness of guidance and control is increased. It is necessary to take an overall view based on the systems viewpoint and correctly coordinate the various organic relationships, especially the important ones, within the economic line and plan: the relationship between industry and agriculture, between the central economy and the local economy, between economic construction and the strengthening of the national defense system, etc. Once the full implementation of the state plan has begun, it is necessary to determine and control the matters of key importance and focus the use of forces on the areas and jobs of greatest importance on a nationwide scale as well as within each sector and locality. Focusing our forces at this time on resolving the agricultural problem in order to build a truly

strong machine sector, the key sector, is a very correct policy, a typical example of concentrating the use of forces on resolving key problems. Of course, while focusing the use of forces on the jobs of prime importance, we cannot give light attention to the other areas because the national economy is an entity within which the strong acceleration of one area requires corresponding development in the other areas. Moreover, depending upon the development of the economy, we must, while focusing our forces on resolving this key problem, prepare the conditions for the next stage of development, for shifting our forces to new key areas.

In order for guidance and control to truly play an effective role in organizing the implementation of the plan, it is of pressing importance that we strengthen and improve the state apparatus on the various echelons, particularly with regard to its role as an economic and cultural management agency. Positive steps must be taken to strengthen these agencies in every area from the building of their organizational structure and the deployment of cadres to the establishment of responsibilities and authority, the strengthening of discipline and the improvement of their style.

The organizational structure and staff of the management agencies must be correct and efficient and based on the management task, the principle of management by sector coordinated with management by locality and territorial area and the principle of the centralization, specialization and federation of production. Now that economic management has been expanded to the scope of the entire country and new developments have occurred in the economic task of the technical sectors as well as the provincial and district levels, the organizational structure of the management apparatus must also undergo prompt changes in order to be consistent with the requirements of the new task. In the process of developing the national economy from small-scale production to large-scale socialist production, it is necessary, in conjunction with the new developments, to predict changes in the organizational structure of the management agencies.

The matter of decisive importance when correctly establishing this organizational structure is the selection and deployment of cadres. Only with an efficient organizational structure is it possible to fully develop the capabilities of cadres; conversely, only when cadres are correctly deployed is it possible to develop the effectiveness of the organization. With regard to cadres, we must be determined to implement the policy of the party; on the basis of the standards of qualities and abilities, those cadres who complete their tasks well must be promoted while those who lack the necessary qualities and skills must be replaced. "A pressing and vital task in cadre work in the years to come is that of training, improving, supplementing and renewing the corps of leadership and management cadres of the party and state"(14) so that our cadres possess a full measure of political responsibility and the knowledge and skill needed to provide good economic management. We must expand the corps of scientific and technical cadres who come from worker and farmer backgrounds, from the ranks of the revolution, which is needed for the management of an increasingly modern economy.



Another job which must be performed with very high determination is that of clearly defining duties, responsibility and authority in order to bring about a strong change in discipline and work style. When talking about the system of responsibilities, about the decisive importance of labor discipline and labor productivity, it is first of all necessary to talk about the responsibility, discipline and work efficiency of the management agencies, of the leadership and management cadres on the various echelons.

The daily rising requirements of social management, economic management and the guidance and control of the implementation of the plan demand that the leadership and management cadres on the various echelons always improve their political qualities, improve their work skills, deepen their knowledge of the science of organization, of organizing the economy and labor and deepen their knowledge of the latest methods of planning. In addition, leadership and management cadres must also be sensitive to the new needs of the people and society, show creativity when necessary, detect and resolve new problems and detect and develop the new potentials of the socio-economic system. The success or failure of organizational work, in general, and of the guidance and control of the implementation of the plan, in particular, depends, to a large extent, upon the revolutionary-offensive spirit and the skill in practical organization of the corps of leadership and management cadres, upon the efficiency of the management agency. Therefore, it has come time to put an end to the situation in which agency staffs grow in a haphazard manner, cadres who do not perform their jobs still retain their positions, responsibilities are not clearly defined and discipline is loose, a situation which reduces the effectiveness of economic management and has more than a small influence upon the common revolutionary undertaking. The strengthening of economic management agencies and the eventual establishment of a truly effective economic management system throughout the country as well as the strengthening of the corps of economic management cadres have become an extremely pressing requirement. Only in this manner is it possible to heighten the impact of guidance and control in the organization of the plan's implementation. This is one of the decisive factors in the successful completion of the state plan as well as in socialist construction over the long range.

The correct and creative line of the party is the origin of each strength of the socialist revolution. The organization and management of the society and management of the economy, which include planning, have the task of implementing this line, of transforming it into real strength. Effective guidance and control, that is, the highest expression of the science and art of management, have the role of guiding the development of this real strength from one state to a new and higher state and, as a result, greatly increase this strength, thereby making an important contribution to strengthening labor discipline, raising labor productivity and economic returns while helping develop and improve the line of the party. "The organization and management task in the new stage is very clear: we must rapidly unify management throughout the country and, at the same time, improve management and eventually establish a new nationwide management and planning system in order to advance the economy to large-scale socialist production, advance our entire country to socialism."(15)

We must make every effort to constantly improve our organization, management and planning while continuously raising the level of the guidance and control of the implementation of the state plan. Only in this way can we cause our country's entire economy to develop in accordance with laws in a balanced, smooth and increasingly rapid manner, meet the material and cultural needs of the working people and the needs of the national defense system and the maintenance of security and social order, gradually carry out socialist industrialization and successfully build the material and technical base of socialism in our country.

Generally speaking, we have recorded very large achievements in practical organizational work, the management of society and economic management under the leadership of the party since the day our country was totally liberated. Shortly after the total liberation of southern Vietnam, revolutionary governments were established everywhere. And, only 1 year after liberation, a successful nationwide general election was held; the common National Assembly of the entire country was elected, thereby marking a great historic event: the birth of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam.

With boundless enthusiasm and pride, our entire party, all our people and our entire army have been struggling and working in an unselfish manner to heal the wounds of the war and promoting a vast movement of the masses to participate in production from the countryside to the cities. We have gradually begun the establishment of a unified system of organization and management throughout the country. Many policies and resolutions of our party and state on improving organization, improving management and unifying policies and regulations have begun to have a positive effect. Political security and social order have been maintained. Ideological and cultural activities, now being carried out on a large scale, have begun to abolish the influence of the decadent, neo-colonialist culture and build the new culture, the new life throughout our country.

As we move forward, we enjoy many large advantages; however, not all is advantages, we also face many difficulties and obstacles which must be overcome, shortcomings and weaknesses which must be corrected. Today, the class struggle is continuing in our country to resolve the problem of "who defeats whom" which exists between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between socialism and capitalism. We are continuing this arduous, fierce and complicated class struggle under new forms and measures suited to the new situation which "coordinate transformation with construction, politics with economics, peace with force, persuasion with compulsion, education with administration..." The negative factors of the non-socialist economic segments and the activities of dishonest merchants, hoarders and speculators and counter-revolutionaries are posing difficulties to us. In this massive struggle, we are confident that socialism will win total victory because the working class and laboring people have become the masters of the entire country and the strength of the dictatorship of the proletariat is constantly growing.

The brilliant success of the 4th congress of our party was greeted by the working people throughout the country in a spirit of absolute confidence.

Our entire party, all our people and our entire army are in complete agreement with the correct and creative, the independent and autonomous line set forth by our party. At the same time, however, there are still some among us who are somewhat concerned and do not have true confidence in our organizational and management capabilities, in our ability to perform a job of decisive significance in order to transform the historic resolutions of the party into living reality within the life of our country's society.

In Russia, the economic and social situation during the first days following the victory of the October Revolution was fraught with extremely serious difficulties; when the great Lenin announced the famous plan for the electrification of the entire country, many persons considered this plan to be an illusion that could never be realized. The situation in our country is different. We are advancing to socialism with more than just our bare hands; however, it must be noted that our material and technical base of socialism is still very weak, our starting point is low, our poor and backward economy has been ravaged by years of war and, as mentioned above, our people will continue to encounter difficulties in their everyday lives for several years. These are obstacles limiting the rate of development of our country. However, there is something else that is posing a major obstacle to practical organizational work and reducing the effectiveness of social management, in general, and economic management, in particular; there is something else that is causing the correct resolutions, the correct policies of the party to be less than thoroughly implemented. There is something else that is causing a number of unreasonable situations concerning policies as well as measures, situations which have been noticed, noticed long ago in some cases, to continue to exist, continue to go uncorrected.

This very large obstacle which presently exists at a number of places and on several echelons is what our leaders call the "frightful inertia" which causes "frightful slowness" in practical organizational work. What causes this frightful inertia to appear and develop? Objectively speaking, our country is advancing from small-scale production to large-scale socialist production and has experienced decades of war; therefore, this frightful inertia is the expression of the long-standing habits of earning a living in a fragmented manner, of conservative thinking, of the handicraft style that has existed for thousands of years in the backward socio-economic system of our country. Subjectively, this inertia and this slowness are caused by a lack of knowledge of the lines and policies of the party, a lack of knowledge of the laws of socialism and a lack of knowledge of organization and management at a time when the performance of the new revolutionary tasks involves new, very high requirements. A number of cadres still lack a spirit of responsibility, are not sensitive to reality and lack concern for the pressing everyday needs of the working people; this means that they lack the revolutionary-offensive spirit, are complacent and are not enthusiastic over the undertaking of the people and the party. Here, it is necessary to mention the organizational influence of conservative thinking because, ordinarily, in the face of each major change of the revolution, there are even some persons among those that accept the new political factors who do not perceive the new organizational requirements; they are usually

"satisfied with the old forms of organization...and allow these old forms to bind them, to transform them into the slaves of all that is old and backward."(16)

The reason why organizational work and management are still marked by rather serious bureaucracy and authoritarianism, by a great waste of labor, our most valuable asset, by a great waste of time, the condition needed for the existence and development of everything in society, by indifference over whether a job is performed or not, by sometimes being unable to do something because of ignorance about it or sometimes refusing to do something even though one knows about it and is able to do it, and so forth, the reason why these ills still exist is this frightful inertia, this conservatism in thought and organization, which is the basis of the development of the lack of responsibility and the lack of a sense of organization and discipline.

Therefore, as we enter the new stage and in order to open the way for progress in practical organizational work and bring about a strong change in economic management and social management, the leadership of our party and state must totally eliminate this frightful inertia and become more deeply involved in abolishing each subjective as well as objective ideological and organizational cause of slowness in organizational work and management. This, a pressing job of very important significance, is the responsibility of the state management agencies on all echelons, the responsibility of each and every worker, each and every soldier, the persons who today have become the collective masters of our society. Thus, we have a clearer understanding of the words spoken by Le Duan: "An organization can be the most revolutionary or the most conservative of things. It is the most revolutionary when it is totally suited to the needs of life. It is the most conservative because it generally displays frightful inertia when life is constantly changing and moving forward. The organization of large-scale industry is of a highly revolutionary nature; the organization of handicraft production is of an unimaginable conservative nature." And, "it is obviously necessary to carry out an entire revolution in organization at these places from the structure of the apparatus, the mode of operation, internal relations and work methods to the deployment of cadres."(17)

We have the correct and creative revolutionary line of the party, consequently, practical organizational work assumes even more decisive importance. There is no other way to manage society and manage the economy well than by performing good practical organizational work to create an organizational structure of the national economy which is increasingly consistent with the laws of socialism and constantly improve the system of organization, the management of society and the management of the economy. Particular attention must be given to the scientific organization of labor because only by organizing labor in a scientific manner is it possible to build and strengthen socialist labor discipline, constantly raise labor productivity, improve product quality and raise economic returns. "All our attention must be focused on the problems relating to labor discipline" because "labor discipline is the key to the entire economic construction of socialism, it is the basic point in our understanding of the dictatorship of the proletariat."(18) This is difficult and demanding work because it is

related to each aspect of the economic base of society and the lives of tens of millions of persons. We must be determined to accelerate practical organizational work and create self-imposed discipline so that everyone puts all of his revolutionary fervor into his work and transforms his revolutionary fervor into practical actions. The important task in the leadership of our party and state on all echelons is that of molding revolutionary-offensive thinking, waging an intense struggle to abolish each obstacle that influences practical organizational work and making every effort to gradually upgrade the organizational structure of the social management and economic management apparatus from decentralization and a handicraft workstyle to the organizational structure of large-scale industry with the management procedures and work style of large-scale industry. With the correct and creative line of the party and with effective organizational work, the strength of the working people will be developed more with each passing day and become a socialist labor emulation movement in each installation, in each locality, throughout our country. This is the course by which the working people of our country, under the leadership of the party, can move forward to thoroughly implement the revolutionary line of our party, beginning with meeting and exceeding the quotas of the 5-year plan and, over the long range, successfully building a prosperous and strong socialist Vietnamese fatherland.

Following more than 30 years of the war of liberation and the war to defend the country and after more than one-half century of revolutionary struggle under the leadership of the party, our nation and our people have entered a new era with the deportment of victors.

The years and months will pass but the imposing feats which our people have performed over the past one-half century and more, over the past 30 years and more, will forever be recorded in history as a shining epic. The brilliant victory of the fight fought with unparalleled bravery throughout our country has provided us with very valuable lessons and experiences with regard to the completion of the people's national democratic revolution as well as the construction of the new system. These lessons and experiences will continue to be of value over the long range in everything from the skillful application of Marxism-Leninism and the establishment of a correct, creative, independent and autonomous revolutionary line, from our firm confidence in the line of the party and our determination to fight to implement this line to our organizational ability and the art of providing practical guidance and transforming this line into a great combined strength for defeating every enemy. The great victory of our people has created the basic conditions and factors for advancing the revolution to new stages of development.

Our party entered a new era with the historic 4th congress which set forth the general line of the socialist revolution in our country, a line designed to mobilize and organize our people in launching the great attack on the front of the peaceful construction of the country.

Whereas the line on the resistance against the United States for national salvation reflected the coordinated application of all of the experiences

gained by the party in the revolutionary struggle since its founding, with its extremely rich and creative content, the line on the socialist revolution set forth by the congress is the combination and enhancement of all of the experiences in revolutionary struggle of our party, including the lessons of the great war of resistance against the United States as well as socialist construction in the North. This line marks a new stage of development of revolutionary leadership and the application of Marxism-Leninism by our party in the new stage. This line is the origin of the new combined strength of the revolution, it is the torch lighting the way for the working people of our country to advance to victory after victory and successfully build socialism in our country.

A new and very basic advantage enjoyed now that peace has been restored throughout the country in independence and freedom is that our party and our people are able to concentrate all their forces, concentrate their intelligence, energies and talents on one strategic task, namely, carrying out the socialist revolution and socialist construction throughout the country.

Under the light of the line of the party and with the increasingly strong dictatorship of the proletariat state, all our compatriots and soldiers, in the spirit of collective ownership, the spirit of socialist patriotism, the spirit of diligent labor and creative intelligence and with absolute confidence in the leadership of the party and high determination must struggle wholeheartedly to successfully complete the new revolutionary task established by the party. We must deeply understand that without confidence, without determination, without revolutionary fervor, no revolutionary activity can be effectively carried out; however, confidence and revolutionary fervor alone are not enough. The great revolutionary undertaking in the new stage demands that our people, under the leadership of the party and the management of the state, possess the full sense of responsibility of the collective masters of our society and our country and self-consciously and effectively perform the task of managing society, managing the economy; it demands that each of us truly realize the decisive significance of practical organization, overcome each phenomenon of slowness and conservatism, charge forth in the midst of victory into practical actions and learn while working. By means of vast practical organizational work of increasing effectiveness, discipline, quality and productivity, the working class and working people of our country will continuously transform the revolutionary line of the party into material and spiritual strength, into an increasingly large strength, a miraculous strength, and successfully build the system of socialist collective ownership, the system of large-scale socialist production, the new culture and the new socialist man.

In the course of its advance, the revolutionary undertaking of our people will still encounter major difficulties and major obstacles. However, in view of the entire process of our nation's struggle to survive and develop since antiquity and in view of the stages of revolutionary struggle of our people since the imperialists invaded our country one after the other, especially since the time our party was founded, it must be said that never

before have our people enjoyed the large advantages they enjoy today for building and defending the country; never before has the road to a civilized and happy life been as wide as it is today.

The 4th congress of the party established the task of virtually completing the upgrading of our country's small-scale production economy to large-scale socialist production within the space of 20 years. This is an extremely large undertaking, one which demands that our people make extraordinary efforts and display a high spirit of creativity. However, the history of the development of mankind is progressing logarithmically. As a social system advances, the rate of its advance increases. Whereas it took capitalism several hundred years to assume a ruling position in the world, only a little more than one-half century has passed since the successful Russian October Revolution yet the socialist system has become the primary factor determining the development of mankind. In an age in which the working class has become the central character of history, tremendous revolutionary changes are occurring within society, the three revolutionary movements are strongly developing their offensive position and the scientific-technological revolution is sweeping the world with the force of a typhoon and opening new, boundless capabilities for progressive mankind in the struggle to become the master of society and conquer nature. In Vietnam, in slightly more than 30 years, a relatively short amount of time in the several thousand year history of the nation, our people have grown tremendously, grown with unmeasurable speed and brought about remarkable, unprecedented changes. The revolution is a festival of the working people. In the new stage, revolutionary energy, the spirit of collective ownership and socialist patriotism permit the working class and working people of our country under the leadership of a genuine Marxist-Leninist party to perform new miracles and move the revolution strongly forward at a rate in which 1 day is the equivalent of 20 years.

To carry out the sacred Testament of the great Uncle Ho under the leadership of the glorious Vietnam Communist Party headed by Le Duan, the general secretary of the party, may the people and army of our entire country vigorously display the spirit of victory and the revolutionary heroism manifested in combat in the task of building the country, display the revolutionary-offensive spirit and take the initiative in writing new, brilliant pages in the history of the nation. We are determined to thoroughly carry out the resolution of the congress beginning with meeting and surpassing the goals of the 5-year plan of the state and moving forward to successfully build a Vietnamese fatherland of peace, independence, unity and socialism, advance our country to the pinnacles of civilization and happiness and advance socialism to total victory, thereby making a worthy contribution to the revolutionary struggle of the people of the world for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

#### FOOTNOTES

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3. The resolution of the 4th National Congress of Delegates of the Vietnam Communist Party.
4. Ibid.
5. Engels: "Anti-Duhring," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1960, pp 476-477.
6. Le Duan: "Nam vung duong loi cach mang xa hoi chu nghia, tien len xay dung kinh te dia phuong vung manh," [Adhering to the Line on the Socialist Revolution and Moving Forward To Build a Strong Local Economy], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1968, pp 42-47.
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11. V.I. Lenin: "Complete Works," French version, Paris-Moscow, 1961, Volume 27, p 87.
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13. Le Thanh Nghi: speech delivered at the 4th Congress of the Vietnam Communist Party.
14. Le Duc Tho: Report of the Party Central Committee Reviewing Party Building and the Revision of the Party Statutes delivered at the 4th Congress of the Vietnam Communist Party.
15. Nguyen Duy Trinh: "Xac dinh quan diem dung dan, nang cao nang luc va pham chat cua can bo, dang vien," [Establishing the Correct Viewpoint and Improving the Ability and Quality of Cadres and Party Members], HOC TAP Journal, No 9, 1976, p 32.
16. Le Duc Tho: "Mot so van de xay dung Dang trong giai doan cach mang xa hoi chu nghia va chong My, cuu nuoc," [Several Matters in Party Building in the Stage of the Socialist Revolution and the Resistance Against the United States for National Salvation], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1967, p 132.



17. Le Duan: "Cach mang xa hoi chu nghia o Viet-nam," [The Socialist Revolution in Vietnam\_7, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1976, Volume 2, p 437.
18. V.I. Lenin: "On Organizing and Managing the Socialist Economy," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1970, p 210.

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WORDS OF LE DUAN

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 1, Jan 77 pp 38,40

[Text] "Marxist-Leninist scientific theory, the embodiment of the achievements of the most progressive scientific knowledge of mankind, is always the compass guiding each action of our party, the torch lighting the way for our country's revolution."

Le Duan  
Cach mang xa hoi chu nghia o Viet-nam  
[The Socialist Revolution in Vietnam],  
Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1976,  
Volume 1, p 71.

"Without Marxist ideology there can be no communism..."

To carry out the ideological and cultural revolution, it is first of all necessary to possess a theory, to clearly recognize the course of development of society."

Le Duan  
(speech at the Northern Vietnam Propaganda  
and Training Conference, April 1961)

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## NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE AND SOCIALISM--THE EVER-VICTORIOUS BANNER OF THE VIETNAMESE REVOLUTION

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 1, Jan 77 pp 45-53

[Article by Nguyen Duc Binh]

[Text] 1. The red thread running throughout the history of the Vietnamese revolution since the founding of the party.

The Political Report of the Party Central Committee at the 4th National Congress of Delegates pointed out: "Brandishing the banner of national independence and socialism, this line has been the red thread running throughout the history of the Vietnamese revolution since the founding of the party, it is the ever-victorious banner of the Vietnamese revolution." (1)

The above mentioned summary by the party is of important significance in terms of providing political and theoretical guidance, guidance of thoughts and practical actions. Not only does it reveal the deep origin of the victory of the Vietnamese revolution, but is also sets forth the fundamental guideline for our country's revolution in the new stage.

Only with a thorough comprehension of this strategic viewpoint can we have the basis for understanding our country's revolution, deeply understanding the lines of the party--not only its domestic lines, but its foreign policy as well, not only its lines in the preceding stage, but its line in the present stage as well.

This conclusion is of universal value. It helps us to understand the far-reaching processes of the world revolution in our age. On the one hand, it reflects, under the conditions of Vietnam, "the greatest truth of the age, namely, that national independence, democracy and socialism are inseparable today." (2) On the other hand, by applying it in a correct and creative manner, the Vietnamese revolution helped illuminate this "great truth" of the present age.

### 2. The decision of history itself.

Our nation of Vietnam, a nation which possesses a tradition of stubborn, unyielding resistance against foreign aggression, has defeated many very powerful enemies in its history.

In the second half of the 19th century, the French imperialists came and stole our country from us. While the quisling feudal class surrendered, our people, refusing to yield and determined not to be enslaved, bravely took up arms in resistance against the country-robbers and the traitors. Liberation struggles were always taking place, and some uprisings lasted for 20 to 30 years.

However, all of these movements ultimately met with defeat. The main reason was the lack of a correct line. At that time, there was no progressive class that could set forth a correct line for saving the nation in order to lead the movement.

In the 1920's, the national liberation movement in our country underwent a new change. As a result of the colonial exploitation by the French imperialists, the proletariat, petty bourgeoisie and then the bourgeoisie were born. A very broad and deep national liberation movement of many different political shades and distinct class characteristics developed. The most prominent characteristic of this period was: along with the bourgeois and petty bourgeois movements that were scattered throughout the three regions of the country and were basically revisionist in nature, a national salvation movement of workers and farmers, a movement of proletarian nature, developed more deeply with each passing day and achieved unity. Finally, the year 1930 marked a decisive turning point through several symbolic events:

First, the defeat of the Vietnam Nationalist Party in the Yen Bai insurrection revealed, in the fullest and most thorough manner possible, the ineffectiveness of the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie as leaders of the national liberation revolution.

Meanwhile, two extremely important events marked the total victory of the national salvation stand of the proletariat: one was the birth of our party on the basis of unifying the communist organizations within the country; the other was the development immediately thereafter of a revolutionary movement of unprecedented breadth and depth throughout the country, the highpoint of which was the earth-shattering uprising by the workers and farmers of Nghe Tinh.

These were truly milestones separating the ages in the history of the Vietnamese revolution, in the destiny of the Vietnamese nation.

Thus, following a long period extending from the second half of the last century, history had performed a major job: it had fully examined all the different national salvation platforms and, in the end, rendered its decision in an unmistakably clear voice: of all the classes and strata, only one class, the proletariat, is capable of brandishing the banner of the nation, the banner of national liberation.

### 3. The key to the matter.

This decision of history is eloquent proof of the great truth of Marxism-Leninism, the revolutionary science of the present age. The first Vietnamese

to learn this truth was President Ho Chi Minh, the great leader who founded and forged our party, the immortal father of the Vietnamese revolution. He said: "The only course for saving the country and liberating the nation is the course of the proletarian revolution"(3); and "only socialism and communism can liberate the oppressed nations and the working people of the world from the yoke of slavery."(4)

Thus, why is the national liberation undertaking only possible with the proletarian revolution, with socialism, with communism? The key to the matter lies in the following: the nation is always closely linked to the class.

As everyone knows, in the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries, the nation was linked to the bourgeoisie. Then, the bourgeoisie was the representative of the new mode of production, the capitalist mode of production, the only mode of production at that time capable of replacing, and which inevitably had to replace, feudal production which had become outmoded. Therefore, the bourgeoisie was, at that time, the ascending class, the class in the center of the age, the only class capable of holding the anti-feudalist national banner. The class struggle of the bourgeoisie against the feudalists at that time was in the form of a national movement. Lenin said: "...The period of the total victory of capitalism over the feudal system was closely linked to the national movements."(5) However, behind the national banner were the interests of the bourgeoisie. The victory of the national movement at that time was, in substance, the victory of bourgeois nationalism, the victory of a nationalism that could only be bourgeois. It was the victory of the bourgeoisie, the victory of capitalism.

In the period of imperialism, the situation is completely different. Capitalism has entered its final stage, it is rotten and in the throes of death. Capitalist production has become outmoded. The antagonisms within the mode of capitalist production will inevitably lead to its destruction. The new mode of production replacing it can only be the socialist mode of production. The representative of this mode of production is the proletariat. The proletariat, as a result, steps on stage as the class in the center of the age. Henceforth, the nation is closely linked to the proletariat and represented by it. Today, the proletariat is the only class capable of brandishing the banner of national liberation, the banner of national independence and sovereignty and the banner of the progress and prosperity of the nation.

Thus, the decisive events of 1930 marked the meeting between the Vietnamese revolution and the truth of the new age and brought the evolution of our nation into the mainstream of the age. With strength far exceeding the inherent strength of its small numbers--because this is the unimpedable strength of a law of history of a worldwide nature--the Vietnamese proletariat and its vanguard party assumed, at the very outset, the right to hold and continuously brandish the national banner, the banner of national liberation. Because it is in the hands of the working class, this banner is the banner of national independence and socialism.

4. When the entire country had the one strategic task of carrying out the people's democratic national revolution.

The coordination of national independence and socialism, expressed in this stage in the form of socialism, was not the immediate goal, the immediate task was the people's national democratic revolution, socialism was only a prospect to move toward. Although only a prospect, the very selection of this course of development was truly of epochal significance in the history of the Vietnamese revolution. To a large extent, this selection was determined by the correctness of the entire strategic line and revolutionary policy of the party.

The people's national democratic revolution and each basic matter pertaining to revolutionary line and methods in this stage, with the exception of none, were examined and fully determined by the party without confusing them with the socialist revolution; on the other hand, they were never separated the least bit from the prospect of the socialist revolution. In strategic guidance, this was a basic premise for returning a thoroughly revolutionary and scientific nature to all the activities of the party in the people's national democratic revolution and deeply impregnating these activities with the Marxist-Leninist doctrine of continuous revolution. The selection mentioned above determined the nature of the people's national democratic revolution which the 1930 Political Platform of the party called "the democratic bourgeois revolution." Although it was a democratic bourgeois revolution, it was one of a new style. It was new primarily in the fact that it was not led by the bourgeoisie, but by the proletariat. It was new in the fact that although it was a democratic bourgeois revolution, it was able, in the course of its development, to not only carry out the anti-imperialist and anti-feudalist task, but it also, in the liberated area, established a people's democratic system with the rudiments of socialism, thereby creating the premises and conditions for advancing to the socialist revolution.

Such a revolution, although it was still a democratic bourgeois revolution in nature, was new in that it went beyond the framework of the democratic bourgeois revolution. It was new because its victory "was not only the victory of the people over imperialism and the feudal system, but also the political victory of the proletariat over the domestic bourgeoisie, the victory of the new style state. Therefore, the victorious conclusion of the people's national democratic revolution also had the significance of beginning the socialist revolution."(6)

Lenin's theory on the change of the bourgeois democratic revolution into the socialist revolution has truly found in the Vietnamese revolution a model example of its creative application.

The selection mentioned above determined, of course, the moving forces as well as the leading forces of the people's democratic national revolution. The 1930 Political Platform of the party pointed out: "Within the bourgeois democratic revolution, the proletariat and farmers are the two main forces

but the revolution can only achieve victory under the leadership of the proletariat." (7) At the same time, on the basis of the alliance of workers and farmers, the revolution mobilized all other strata of the people and assembled all patriotic Vietnamese, including some in the upper strata, in the united national front of resistance against the imperialists and their lackeys.

The thorough nature of the democratic national revolution was also determined by the revolution's prospect for socialism.

A nation which is not liberated cannot talk about advancing to socialism. True national liberation is only achieved when the country is independent and the people are free. Winning national independence, therefore, also meant achieving democracy. There could be no national independence without democracy. Of course, the opposite was just as true. And, in our country, in the national democratic revolution, democracy primarily meant democracy for the peasant, it meant implementing the slogan "land to the tiller." The implementation of this slogan abolished the feudal system. However, because the colonial question was, in substance, a peasant question, giving "land to the tiller" was also part of the national question, one of the basic elements of national liberation. Thus, the peasant question was not only the question of anti-feudal democracy, it was the substance of the anti-imperialist national (colonial) question. It was both national and democratic in nature. Moreover, it would not have been consistent to equate the nation with anti-imperialism, democracy with anti-feudalism. In fact, resisting imperialism was not only a task of a national nature, it also inevitably encompassed resisting the feudalists and achieving democracy. Furthermore, according to Lenin, the struggle for the right of national self-determination lies within the scope of the struggle for democracy. Resisting the imperialists was, in our country, a task not only of a democratic nature, but one of a national nature as well, because: first, the feudalists served as the base and the lackeys of the imperialists, therefore, fighting the imperialists to liberate the nation could not be separated from simultaneously fighting the feudalists; secondly, even without the imperialists, the feudal system in our country had long ago become an obstacle to the development of the entire nation and its removal had become an historic requirement of the entire nation, not only a requirement of the peasantry.

The above analysis shows the organic relationship between national independence and democracy and this one fact alone demanded and led to the thorough nature of the national democratic revolution. This is not to mention the fact that the national democratic revolution was within the framework of the prospect of advancing to the socialist revolution as a result of which the thorough nature of this revolution was very evident indeed! According to Lenin, "...It is inconceivable for a socialist revolution to win victory without achieving total democracy; the proletariat cannot prepare itself to win victory over the bourgeoisie if it does not wage a comprehensive, thorough and revolutionary struggle to achieve democracy." (8) This principle is particularly true with regard to revolutions in countries such

as our's where struggling for democracy involves an entire stage of revolutionary strategy. The performance of the national and democratic tasks was designed to clear the way for the socialist revolution. As the national and democratic tasks were more thoroughly carried out, the more the road to socialism was opened, the prospect of the socialist revolution became less distant and the victory of this revolution became more of a certainty.

5. When the entire country was simultaneously carrying out two strategic tasks.

From July 1954 to 30 April 1975, simultaneously carrying out two strategic revolutionary tasks--the people's national democratic revolution and the socialist revolution--was the major characteristic of the Vietnamese revolution, a very unique form coordinating national independence and socialism within the Vietnamese revolution. These two different revolutionary strategies were simultaneously carried out by one nation in both zones of the same country under the leadership of one party. This was the implementation of the line of the 3rd Party Congress.

While stating that each zone had its own revolutionary strategy, the resolution of the 3rd Party Congress pointed out that the tasks of both zones were designed to resolve the common contradiction of the country, namely, the contradiction between our nation and the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys. The strategic revolutionary tasks in both zones were, therefore, closely interrelated, had an impact upon each other and stimulated each other's development. Within this relationship, the revolution in southern Vietnam had an "immediate impact" upon the effort to liberate southern Vietnam while the socialist revolution in the North had the "most decisive" impact upon the development of the entire Vietnamese revolution, upon the effort to reunify the country.

Thus, the coordination of national independence and socialism in this stage assumed a different form.

The war of resistance against the French also took place under the banner of national independence and socialism, but, at that time, socialism was still nothing more than a prospect.

Through the great victory of the war of resistance against the French, northern Vietnam was liberated and shifted to the socialist revolution and socialist construction.

The war of resistance against the United States was also waged under the banner of national independence and socialism but in this war socialism was no longer a future prospect, rather, it had actually begun to be constructed in one-half the country and had recorded initial achievements.

Socialism, which was only an ideal at the time, was not strong enough to fight and defeat the French imperialists. But socialism was needed not only as the strength of an ideal, but also as an organizational-material strength, the strength of a new social system to fight and defeat the U.S. imperialists.



The coordination of national independence and socialism in each of the zones has displayed different characteristics. Northern Vietnam fought the United States through the strength of socialism and national independence. Southern Vietnam fought the United States through the strength of national independence and also of socialism. Because, to liberate southern Vietnam, it was necessary to build and protect socialism in northern Vietnam; to build and protect socialism in northern Vietnam, it was necessary to win victory over the U.S. pirates in southern Vietnam. As the great rear area of the entire country, northern Vietnam sent manpower and materiel to the great frontlines in southern Vietnam. The North was also forced to deal with two extremely barbarous air and naval wars of destruction waged by the U.S. imperialists. Only true socialism in the nature of a system could have the forces needed to simultaneously fight the enemy in the South, fight the enemy in the North and coordinate with the Lao and Cambodian revolutions on the battlefield; only it could have the forces and the socio-economic conditions for organizing the large and extremely complex and difficult job of engaging in combat, production and construction at the same time.

Northern Vietnam was strong not only as the result of socialism which had become a system, but also as a result of the strength of national independence, of the will to liberate the South and reunify the country, also as a result of this strength which inspired "everyone to do the work of two people." The strength of southern Vietnam was the strength of national independence and the strength of socialism. The compatriots of the South fought and died not only to liberate the South but also to defend the socialist North, reunify the country and join the North in advancing to socialism. The strength of the South was indigenous strength and strength originating in the North--the great socialist rear area, the revolutionary base of the entire country.

Thus, here it was the strength of the entire country consisting of the most revolutionary forces closely linked to socialism, forces which were created by socialism, patriotic forces in the process of accepting socialism and even forces which, although they had not fully accepted socialism, possessed a measure of patriotism. Thus, the banner of national independence and socialism permitted the mobilization and assembling, in the steadiest and broadest manner possible, of each force of the entire nation in the resistance against the United States for national salvation.

With the banner of national independence and socialism, the strength exhibited in the resistance against the United States for national salvation was also the strength of our nation coordinated with the strength of the world, the strength of the age. This coordination had been achieved before in the war of resistance against the French. In the resistance against the United States for national salvation, this coordination was fully developed because socialism truly existed in more than one-half of the country. The Political Report of the Party Central Committee presented by Le Duan at the 4th Congress of the Party stated: "For the past few decades, Vietnam has been one of the focal points of the coordination of the revolutionary movements of our age."(9)

Here were concentrated all of the inherent, fundamental contradictions of the age, especially the contradiction between socialism and capitalism and that between the oppressed nations and imperialism. This was a struggle between socialism and national independence, on the one hand, and U.S. imperialism, the ringleader of the imperialists, the international gendarme, the cruellest enemy of mankind, on the other hand. The struggle between our nation and the U.S. imperialists, therefore, was very symbolic in terms of its scale, depth and influence. This was truly an historic struggle bearing the imprint of the age. It was the undertaking of our nation and of all mankind. Because, by attacking Vietnam, the U.S. imperialists sought to attack all revolutionary movements in the world. Therefore, by brandishing the banner of national independence and socialism, "the Vietnamese revolution expressed the shining truth of the present age, namely, that national independence and socialism must be closely linked together, that the fight of our people to save the nation had to be closely coordinated with the offensive position of the three revolutionary movements, that the basic requirements of our people had to be coordinated with the revolutionary goals of the people of the world of peace, national independence, democracy and socialism. As a result of coordinating the strength of our people with the strength of the age, as a result of the correct international line of the party, we won the very large spiritual and material support of the fraternal socialist countries, of all revolutionary and progressive forces in the world, thereby creating an international front of unprecedented breadth supporting Vietnam in its resistance against the U.S. imperialist aggressors."(10)

6. Continuing to brandish the banner of national independence and socialism and advancing the entire country rapidly, strongly and steadily down the course of socialism.

With the total victory of the resistance against the United States for national salvation, the Vietnamese revolution entered a new stage--the stage of the independent and unified country performing the one strategic task of carrying out the socialist revolution.

The several thousand year history of Vietnam has been the history of a unified country, a unified people; it has been the history of continuous struggle to defeat each aggressive and devisive power; it has been a history in which the two targets of the struggle, national independence and unification, have always been closely linked. The sacred task in the war of resistance against the United States was to rewin the national sovereignty taken from us by force and, at the same time, end the partitioning of the country and achieve reunification. With the departure of the Americans and the collapse of the puppets, the reason for the division of the country was abolished and our fatherland was, in fact, reunified. The general election in April 1976 made that which our nation had achieved on the great historic day of 30 April 1975, namely a totally independent and unified Vietnam, official.

In the present age, an age in which the law of history is that national independence, democracy and socialism are inseparable, an age in which, in our country, the working class has the role of leading the revolution,

the victorious conclusion of the national democratic revolution marked the opening of the socialist revolution. This decisive turning point occurred in northern Vietnam 20 years ago and on a nationwide scale on 30 April 1975. Thus, independence and unification are not only closely linked to each other, independence and unification are also closely linked to socialism.

May the entire country advance to socialism! This slogan, which was once the ideal for which we struggled, once the banner which inspired us, has now become the slogan of our actions, the immediate revolutionary task of the working class and all the working people of our country.

As the noble goal of the revolutionary undertaking of the working class, socialism today, in theory as well as practice, is the most thorough, most reasonable and most effective, it is the only solution to each and every problem facing our nation in the evolution of history in the present age. National independence, the reunification of the fatherland, the right of ownership of the people, economic prosperity, brilliant cultural development, a powerful national defense system, freedom, dignity and happiness for each Vietnamese, and so forth, with socialism we have everything!

Independence and unification are prerequisites to the advance of the entire country to socialism. The socialist revolution also created conditions without which it would have been impossible to achieve true independence and unification, impossible to even dream of independence and unification in the present age. Independence and unification based on socialism are the strongest, most stable kind of independence, the highest and fullest form of unification. Socialism and only socialism can finally, thoroughly and forever resolve the matter of the independence and unification of the fatherland, which has been a matter of survival to our nation throughout its several thousand year history.

Coordinating national independence and socialism has been the basic line of the Vietnamese revolution for slightly less than one-half century. However, only today has this coordination truly been fully achieved. In the past, when the entire country had but one task, the national democratic revolution, although this coordination existed, the national democratic task took priority over it. Even when we were carrying out the two strategic tasks, although northern Vietnam had begun to carry out the socialist revolution and socialist construction, because the country was still partitioned, southern Vietnam was still suffering and northern Vietnam was twice the target of wars of destruction waged by the U.S. pirates, the task of winning national independence was of utmost importance.

Today, now that southern Vietnam has been totally liberated and the people's national democratic revolution has been completed, national independence and socialism are truly one. Our nation has become a socialist nation and socialism is the base and prerequisite for thoroughly maintaining national independence, for the course of the progress and prosperity of the nation.

This is the course of building an independent, autonomous socialist economy with a modern industrial-agricultural structure created by giving priority to the rational development of heavy industry on the basis of agricultural and light industrial development; by practicing self-reliance, establishing an efficient division of labor, raising labor productivity and developing domestic production capacity while strengthening our economic relations with the socialist countries and establishing with them a division of labor, cooperation and mutual help in the socialist international spirit. The development of economic relations with all other countries must be based on the maintenance of independence and sovereignty and benefit all parties.

This is the course of the development of a socialist and national culture, a culture built on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and the thinking of socialist collective ownership, a culture which crystallizes the fine traditions of the nation and selectively incorporates the fruits of the civilization of man. This culture is the embodiment of the essence and style of the fraternal nationalities within the great Vietnamese socialist family.

This is the course of building the country in coordination with defending it. In conjunction with building socialism in every respect, we will make every effort to build a strong national defense system, build up the people's armed forces and build the national defense industry, thereby insuring that the country is always ready to defeat each attack by aggressors and firmly defend the socialist Vietnamese fatherland.

The unified Vietnam of today has a population of 50 million, measures 330,000 square kilometers, stretches over 15 degrees of latitude and has more than 3,000 kilometers of coastline, a vast continental shelf, tens of millions of hectares of forests, the fertile Red and Mekong River Deltas, rich natural resources and convenient routes of water and land communications linking every region of the country and linking our country to the entire world. Above everything else and more valuable than everything else is the fact that we have more than 20 million diligent, brave and intelligent workers who took their destiny into their own hands with the establishment of the right of collective ownership throughout the country.

The independent, unified and socialist Vietnam is obviously a Vietnam of strong potentials, great capabilities and an extremely bright future.

Independent, unified and socialist Vietnam, which occupies an important strategic position in Southeast Asia, is an inviolable bastion of the socialist system in this region and has a deserving position and prestige in the international arena, will surely win the increasing sympathy and support of the people's of all countries, most importantly the fraternal socialist countries, and will surely make a positive contribution to the common struggle for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism in Southeast Asia, Asia and the entire world.

Continuing to brandish the banner of national independence and socialism, our people, under the correct, clear-sighted and tested leadership of their Marxist-

Leninist vanguard unit, the Vietnam Communist Party, will surely successfully build a prosperous and strong socialist Vietnamese fatherland.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Le Duan: the Political Report of the Party Central Committee at the 4th National Congress of Delegates.
2. Le Duan: "Đuoi là cơ về vàng của Đảng, vì độc lập tự do, vì chủ nghĩa xã hội, tiến lên giành những thắng lợi mới" [Advancing Under the Glorious Banner of the Party To Win New Victories for Independence, Freedom and Socialism], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1970, p 19.
3. Ho Chi Minh: "Tuyển tập" [Selected Works], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1960, p 705.
4. Ibid., p 794.
5. Lenin: "Complete Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1963, Volume 20, p 462.
6. Le Duan: "Đuoi là cơ về vàng....," p 69.
7. "Văn kiện Đảng(từ 27-10-1929 đến 7-4-1935)" [Party Documents(from 27 October 1929 to 7 April 1935)], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1964, p 49.
8. Lenin: "Complete Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1963, Volume 22, p 181.
9. Le Duan: the Political Report of the Party Central Committee at the 4th National Congress of Delegates.
10. Ibid.

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## BUILDING THE SYSTEM OF LARGE-SCALE SOCIALIST PRODUCTION

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 1, Jan 77 pp 54-64

[Article by Hong Giao]

[Text] Advancing from small-scale production directly to large-scale socialist production is the new course of history, the inevitable course of development of the Vietnamese revolution in the present age. According to the general law of the development of history, mankind progresses from small-scale, feudal production to large-scale capitalist production and then from large-scale capitalist production to large-scale socialist production. The high level of development of large-scale capitalist production inevitably creates the socio-economic premises for the birth of socialism and large-scale capitalist production is taken over by socialism and transformed into large-scale socialist production. In our country, a former colonial, semi-feudal country, we are advancing from small-scale production directly to socialism without experiencing the stage of capitalist development. When presenting their arguments on the development of scientific socialism in the capitalist countries with highly developed systems of large-scale production, the classical authors of Marxism-Leninism also predicted the possibility of economically backward countries bypassing the stage of capitalist development and advancing directly to socialism. According to this prediction, two conditions are needed to bypass the stage of capitalist development and advance directly to socialism: first, it is necessary to overthrow the rule of the exploiting classes and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat; secondly, the assistance of the proletariat in the advanced countries is needed to successfully carry out the proletarian revolution.

Today, when analyzing the historic conditions which make it possible for the economically backward countries to bypass the stage of capitalist development, we maintain that the advance by every country to socialism is determined by the country's law of internal development and that each country must determine its law of development, chart its own course and move forward in a spirit of self-reliance while seeking assistance from and broadening cooperative, economic and cultural relations with the fraternal socialist countries. The party's 4th National Congress of Delegates pointed out that the most important characteristics of the socialist revolution in our country

is: "Our country is in the process of advancing from a society whose economy is predominately one of small-scale production directly to socialism without experiencing the stage of capitalist development." (1) Under these conditions, we must have a full understanding of the law of building socialism in the process of advancing directly from small-scale production to large-scale socialist production. We are capable of charting a course from small-scale production to large-scale socialist production because the process of advancing from small-scale production to large-scale capitalist production has already occurred in history and, today, there are scores of countries advancing to socialism from large-scale capitalist production, countries which have different levels of development and which are highly developing their systems of large-scale socialist production. On the basis of understanding the science of Marxism-Leninism, we can examine the experiences gained in history and apply the two types of laws mentioned above as well as the economic laws of socialism for the purpose of determining the law governing the advance directly from small-scale production to large-scale socialist production. The initial experiences of socialist northern Vietnam are very valuable assets which help us achieve increased awareness of the law of the process of advancing directly from small-scale production to large-scale socialist production. Thus, we need not wait for the development of large-scale production by capitalism to begin our advance to socialism, rather, we can, on the basis of historical conditions, take the initiative and gradually create socialism in the course of advancing to large-scale production.

We clearly understand that it is impossible to build socialism with a system of small-scale production characterized primarily by decentralized production based on individual labor and manual tools and with an economy which is primarily agricultural, an agriculture characterized by monoculture and which does not produce enough grain, in which the level of the division of social labor and social labor productivity are very low. Capitalism can only be established on the basis of the system of large-scale capitalist production; socialism, on the other hand, is the product of a more highly developed system of large-scale production, one which reflects its superiority over large-scale capitalist production not only in terms of the system of social ownership and the structure of the economy, but also in terms of the scale of production and the level of science and technology.

Large-scale socialist production is a system of production which is socialized on a society-wide scale and constructed upon the foundation of highly developed large-scale industry and on the basis of the system of socialist ownership of the instruments of production under the two forms of national ownership and collective ownership. It is a system of social production based on a modern industrial-agricultural economic structure encompassing very many sectors, economic units and agencies which are closely linked to one another and form an entity that develops in a balanced and smooth manner under the centralized and unified leadership of the dictatorship of the proletariat state. Within the system of large-scale socialist production, the labor of each individual becomes social labor, every job is performed for society in accordance with a common and unified plan and all of society cares for the

life and brings happiness to each family and person. On the basis of these economic relations, the socialist relations among persons are established in keeping with the principle of "one for all and all for one," which reflects the noble *raison d'être* of socialism.

Large-scale socialist production is the economic base of the system of socialist collective ownership and it is the working people who create the system of large-scale socialist production and exercise collective ownership of it. On the basis of the system of socialist collective ownership, the entire national economy is a unified entity organized and managed by the socialist state. The establishment of the various forms of ownership (national and collective) and the various forms of organization and division of labor (the sectors, localities and economic units) does not mean the division of the right of socialist collective ownership of the working people into the rights of ownership of small, individual collectives, rights which are separated from or even opposed to the system of collective ownership throughout the country; to the contrary, these are different forms of collective ownership which are closely coordinated with one another and reflect the unity of the system of socialist collective ownership of the working people as manifested by the state.

The system of socialist collective ownership defines the objective of large-scale socialist production. "The construction and development of the system of large-scale socialist production must have the objective of satisfying the rising material and cultural needs of society better with each passing day by continuously developing and improving production on the basis of the system of collective ownership and a modern system of science and technology." (2) In contrast to the natural economy within which the production of the private farm family is of a subsistent nature, in contrast to the small commodity economy and in complete contrast to the capitalist economy which produces goods for the purpose of earning a profit, large-scale socialist production is a system of social production which produces products for the purpose of satisfying the material and cultural needs of society and, on this basis, satisfying the needs of each family, each person. Of course, the product of large-scale socialist production is still in the form of a commodity; however, it is a commodity of socialized production, a commodity which is produced and circulated in accordance with a plan. Therefore, our attention must first be given to the use value of the product. On the other hand, we attach importance to value and the law of value because they comprise one of the levers in managing the economy, providing incentive for work and stimulating increases in social labor productivity and the economization of the necessary work time of society and, as a result, in producing more products at lower costs.

On the basis of the system of socialist collective ownership, the material and cultural needs of society are formed in a conscious manner. These needs must be satisfied on a self-conscious basis, on the basis of organizing life in a planned manner on a society-wide scale as well as for each family. The satisfaction of the needs of everyday life must not only include attention to material needs, but also to cultural needs in order to create a civilized,



happy life. The satisfaction of material and cultural needs cannot only be achieved by means of distribution in accordance with labor for those who are able to work, but it is also necessary, on the basis of the situation surrounding the development of production, to gradually increase the social welfare system, gradually expand the raising of children by society, organize health care, education, relaxation and entertainment for everyone, organize the lives of the elderly, the weak, the disabled and those who are unable to work and maintain a system of fair, efficient, planned and organized distribution. To satisfy the material and cultural needs of the people, it is necessary to know how to exercise collective ownership of the labor force and reorganize labor in order to produce the products needed for everyday life, especially when production is still primarily based on manual labor, full use is not being made of social labor and many of the needs of everyday life are not being satisfied.

To develop production and create an increasingly large use value for the purpose of satisfying the rising material and cultural needs of society, it is necessary to rapidly advance the economy from small-scale production directly to large-scale socialist production and continuously develop and improve production on the basis of the system of collective ownership and a modern system of science and technology.

To advance our country's economy from small-scale production directly to large-scale socialist production, the 4th National Congress of Delegates of the Party set forth the line on the construction of the socialist economy in our country as:

"It is necessary to accelerate the socialist industrialization of the country, build the material-technical base of socialism and advance our country's economy from small-scale production to large-scale socialist production. It is necessary to give priority to the rational development of heavy industry on the basis of agricultural and light industrial development; coordinate the construction of industry and agriculture of the entire country within one industrial-agricultural structure; simultaneously carry out central economic construction and local economic development; coordinate the central economy with the local economy within a unified national economic structure; coordinate the development of production forces with the establishment and improvement of the new production relations; coordinate the economy with the defense of the nation; strengthen our relations of cooperation and mutual assistance with the fraternal socialist countries on the basis of socialist internationalism while developing our economic relations with the other countries on the basis of maintaining our independence and sovereignty and benefiting all parties; transform Vietnam into a socialist country which has a modern industrial-agricultural economy, a progressive culture, science and technology, a strong national defense system and a civilized and happy life."(3)

The system of large-scale socialist production encompasses the two fundamental material production sectors, industry and agriculture, and is based on modern technology. Industry and agriculture are two different production sectors but they are not separated from each other, rather, they are closely

related. In the history of the development of production, industry first took the form of subsidiary household trades closely linked to agriculture. The division of social labor transformed handicraft products into commodities and laid the initial foundation for separating industry and agriculture. The separation of industry from agriculture and the creation of opposition between industry and agriculture only occur in the process of advancing from small-scale production to large-scale capitalist production.

In the process of advancing directly from small-scale production to large-scale socialist production, it is essential that a major redistribution of labor be carried out between industry and agriculture; however, industry and agriculture are not separated from each other, rather, they are closely coordinated within one structure. The process of forming the industrial-agricultural economic structure is the process of applying, at the very outset, the form of federations of production for both industry and agriculture in conjunction with the process of the specialization and modernization of production. The coordination of agriculture and industry within one structure makes it possible to closely link agricultural production to the processing industry, closely link production to investments in and the equipping with new technology in a manner that makes the most efficient use possible of the various production factors for the purpose of producing much wealth and a manner that causes the various relations within the production and reproduction cycles to develop by the most efficient and shortest route possible. This is the best form for developing industry and causing industry to have a direct impact upon agriculture in a manner that yields the highest possible returns; it is also the form for modernizing agriculture as rapidly as possible. The modern industrial-agricultural structure is considered the skeleton of the national economy and, as in the body of man, only when the skeleton is strong and balanced can the entire body develop in a uniform and robust manner.

The system of socialist collective ownership permits and demands the close coordination of industry and agriculture within one structure from the very outset. Because, "socialist society is a production and consumption union of industrial and agricultural workers. If, within this union, industry is not coordinated with agriculture, the sector which supplies it with raw materials and grain and consumes its products and if industry and agriculture cannot, for this reason, be coordinated within a unified national economic structure, there can be no socialism at all."(4)

To transform the backward agricultural economy into an economy which has a modern industrial-agricultural structure, our party states that it is necessary to carry out socialist industrialization and consider it the central task during the period of transition to socialism.

The 4th Congress of the Party charted the basic course for creating the modern industrial-agricultural economic structure as "giving priority to the rational development of heavy industry on the basis of agricultural and light industrial development"(5) so that agriculture and industry are closely coordinated within a unified structure and smoothly develop toward

large-scale socialist production in a manner in which industry and agriculture are closely linked in each stage of development and stimulate and support each other's development.

The key factor in building an economy which has a modern industrial-agricultural structure is the creation of a system of heavy industry. With the strength of modern technology, heavy industry is the lever which upgrades small-scale production to large-scale production, liberates the labor of man from backward manual labor and replaces it with labor using machines, consequently, it increases the strength of man in his effort to conquer nature and produce an abundance of wealth. Therefore, priority must be given to the development of heavy industry in order to equip all of the sectors of the national economy with new technology.

In the advance from small-scale production to large-scale socialist production it is absolutely necessary that priority be given to the development of heavy industry; however, the development of heavy industry cannot be carried out on a unilateral basis. Because, heavy industry cannot be developed if agriculture and light industry do not create the conditions required for its development. These conditions are accumulated capital, labor, grain, food products and consumer goods and a market. On the other hand, the material and cultural needs of the people demand, at the very outset, the urgent development of agriculture and light industry. Consequently, it is necessary, at the very outset, to carry out a strong stage of development of agriculture and light industry. In order for a system of agriculture to serve as the base for the development of industry (both heavy industry and light industry) and meet the daily needs of the people, it must be a system of large-scale agriculture, consequently, it is immediately necessary for agriculture to take one step toward large-scale production. A system of agriculture which is advancing toward large-scale production must be closely linked to the development of light industry (both small-scale industry and the handicraft industry), consequently, agriculture and light industry must be coordinated and serve as the base upon which priority is given to the development of heavy industry. Thus, the development of agriculture and light industry demands a certain amount of support from heavy industry. Therefore, heavy industry must be coordinated with agriculture and light industry at the very outset; each stage of development of heavy industry must be a stage which stimulates the development of agriculture and light industry and this, too, will create the conditions for giving priority to the development of heavy industry. Priority must be given to the development of heavy industry but, in the final analysis, the development of heavy industry is designed to develop agriculture and light industry for the purpose of producing more and more consumer goods for society while building the national defense system.

The development of heavy industry on a priority basis must be based on agricultural and light industrial development; however, we must not wait until agriculture and light industry have become the "base" before beginning the development of heavy industry. At the very beginning, when agriculture and light industry are still at a low level of development, we possess some

of the conditions for developing heavy industry by relying upon the system of collective ownership and international mutual assistance and cooperation. Therefore, we must know how to utilize existing advantages for the purpose of immediately developing heavy industry and immediately causing heavy industry to have an impact upon agriculture and light industry. On the other hand, we cannot wait until heavy industry has been constructed before we begin to upgrade agriculture to large-scale production. At the very outset, when heavy industry is still in its infancy, we can, through cooperation, apply the latest achievements of science and technology and utilize the limited impact of heavy industry to move agriculture one step closer to large-scale production; moreover, through international trade and cooperation, we can carry out the mechanization of agriculture and gradually advance it to modernization.

Le Duan pointed out: "Thus, we cannot wait until modern industry has developed before we begin to advance agriculture to large-scale production and we must not move forward to large-scale production on the basis of agriculture alone. The path to large-scale production in our country must be: giving priority to the rational development of heavy industry on the basis of agricultural and light industrial development... This is the only line consistent with the specific conditions of our country. This line reflects respect for the dominant role played by industry and respect for the law of giving priority to the development of heavy industry, a fundamental law which, if violated, will virtually make it impossible to achieve large-scale production, a law which will allow us to avoid the unnecessary difficulties in economic and social life caused by giving priority to the development of heavy industry in a unilateral manner." (6) With this line, we can resolve the difficulties encountered when beginning the advance from small-scale production to large-scale socialist production, namely, the need to accumulate capital for socialist industrialization and the need to support the life of the people, in a manner consistent with the system of socialist collective ownership.

The system of large-scale socialist production is a unified national economy based on the system of socialist ownership (national ownership and collective ownership) of the instruments of production and under the centralized management of the dictatorship of the proletariat state. However, the centralization and unification of the system of large-scale socialist production do not mean the transformation of large-scale socialist production into a pure centralized economy under the sole and direct management of the central state administration, rather, it must be a unified national economic structure comprised of the central economy and the local economy. The resolution passed by the congress states: "It is necessary to build the central economy while developing the local economy and coordinate the central economy with the local economy within a unified national economic structure."

The need to "build the central economy while developing the local economy" is based on the characteristics of the process of advancing directly from small-scale production to large-scale socialist production in our country.

By relying upon the strong position of the new production relations, the socialist state can initiate centralized management on a society-wide scale at the very outset when production forces are beginning to gradually develop from decentralization to centralization in order to build large-scale, modern production installations, transform small-scale production and upgrade small-scale production to large-scale production. This is the process of integrated development, of the coordination of orderly development with leaps forward. Therefore, as Le Duan stated, "We must not only know how to develop upon the strengths of the entire country, but also upon the strengths of each locality in order to launch a movement to develop production within many different areas on a large scale as well as a small scale. We must not only be able to utilize each advantage of the socialist system to construct large-scale, modern economic installations to form the skeleton of the national economy, but we must also be able to create within the localities suitable forms of economic organizations in order to mobilize each potential of the people as highly as possible for economic construction, the development of production and the organization of life."(7)

On the other hand, the system of collective ownership of the working people must also be expressed in collective ownership on a nationwide scale, on the scale of each locality and installation. This form of organization of collective ownership fully reflects the principle of democratic centralism in economic construction and management, insures the gradual strengthening of centralism on the basis of democracy and insures the continuous development and spread of democracy. On this basis, the right of collective ownership of the working people is fully implemented within each locality (and each installation) to develop the initiative and creativity of each locality under a wide variety of forms.

Within the unified national economic structure, the central economy plays the dominant role; therefore, it is necessary to focus the capabilities of the entire country on building the central economy which consists of the key sectors and installations that have the most decisive effect upon the development of the entire national economy. The local economy (province and municipality) is an integral part of the economy of the entire country, therefore, it must be developed into an efficient economic structure based on the planning and plan of the entire country and the labor, technical and natural resource capabilities of the locality with the help of the central economy. The development of the local economy is designed to meet the needs of the local people and fulfill the locality's obligation to the state, thereby making a positive contribution to the development of the national economy.

Simultaneously carrying out central economic construction and local economic development and coordinating the central economy with the local economy within a unified national economic structure are the most efficient form of organization for coordinating industry (both central industry and local industry) with agriculture on different levels of technological development and on both a large and small scale of production and permits us to develop each capability of the country as best possible, accelerate the technological

revolution to coordinate leaps forward with orderly development, accelerate the redistribution of social labor on a nationwide scale and within the scope of each locality and installation, build the cities and gradually urbanize the countryside, accelerate the process of the agglomeration and centralization of capital, rapidly improve the standard of living of the people and create the economic base of the national defense system. These processes are consistent with the law of advancing directly from small-scale production to large-scale socialist production, consistent with the system of socialist collective ownership of the working people.

Within the local economy, the district plays a particularly important role. The congress resolution states: "The district is the place at which agriculture is coordinated with industry, the worker with the farmer, the state with the farmer, the national economy with the collective economy. The district is the center for carrying out the three revolutions to build the new countryside, the new economy, the new culture and the new man in the countryside to support the material and cultural lives of the people."

Accelerating the development of districts into agricultural-industrial economic units (or agricultural-forestry-industrial economic units) is an effective way to advance agriculture to large-scale socialist production.

The process of advancing from small-scale production directly to large-scale socialist production is the process of "coordinating the development of production forces with the establishment and improvement of the new production relations." In the countries that have advanced to socialism from large-scale capitalist production, modern production forces already exist in the form of large-scale industry. Therefore, the main task they face is carrying out the production relations revolution and establishing socialist production relations in a manner consistent with social nature of production forces while continuing the development of their large-scale production which has become socialist. In our country, as we begin the advance from small-scale production directly to large-scale socialist production, we not only lack socialist production relations, we also do not have modern production forces. Therefore, we must build both the new production relations and new production forces from the beginning. The special characteristic of the process of advancing from small-scale production to large-scale production is the transformation of both production forces and production relations. The difference between the process of advancing to large-scale capitalist production and the process of advancing to large-scale socialist production lies primarily in the difference in the nature of production relations. The process of advancing to large-scale capitalist production contains within it a contradiction between the social nature of production and the system of capitalist ownership; conversely, in the process of advancing to large-scale socialist production, there is consistency between the social nature of production and the system of socialist ownership. Due to the close link between the new production relations and new production forces, these relations and these forces simultaneously appear as soon as a new enterprise is established or a new agricultural cooperative is constructed.

The production relations revolution abolishes the system of exploitation and the system of private ownership; establishes the system of socialist ownership (under the two forms of national and collective ownership); establishes the system of collective ownership of the economy by the working people; organizes and manages large-scale production in keeping with the principles of socialism; and implements the system of socialist distribution. The production relations revolution creates the new, socialist production relations and helps transform small-scale production into large-scale socialist production. The scientific-technological revolution primarily transforms manual production into production which is mechanized and gradually automated, creates the material-technical base of large-scale socialist production and applies the achievements of modern science and technology. The scientific-technological revolution creates modern production forces while creating the base for strengthening and improving the socialist relations within production.

The production relations revolution and the scientific-technological revolution are closely linked and must be simultaneously carried out in a manner closely associated with the ideological and cultural revolution, with the key role played by the scientific-technological revolution. The congress resolution states: "We must always fully understand that the special characteristic of the advance from small-scale production to large-scale socialist production is that the production relations and production forces are always closely linked to each other and stimulate each other's development." The production relations revolution and the scientific-technological revolution develop in accordance with the law of cause and effect under which causes become effects and effects become causes; these revolutions develop in an integrated manner and accelerate the process of advancing directly from small-scale production to large-scale socialist production.

The process of building the system of large-scale socialist production in our country is closely linked to the process of building a strong national defense system, building the socialist fatherland, defending the socialist fatherland and defending socialism. Today, our country is at peace, it is independent and reunified and the entire country is advancing to socialism under very favorable international circumstances. However, the struggle to resolve the problem of "who defeats whom" which exists between socialism and capitalism is a sharp and complicated struggle in the world today. Peace, national independence, democracy and socialism are the objectives of the intense struggle of the age. Therefore, in the new stage of the revolution, it is still necessary to constantly strengthen our national defense forces and make every effort to build a strong national defense system in order to maintain the independence of the country.

To advance the economy from small-scale production to large-scale socialist production in conjunction with building a strong national defense system it is necessary to coordinate the economy with the defense of the nation; this is an important element of the line on building the socialist economy. Coordinating the economy with the defense of the nation within an efficient

economic structure will cause the economy and the national defense system to be closely linked, to supplement each other. Building the system of large-scale, modern socialist production in a manner coordinated with the buildup of the national defense system will rapidly lay the foundation for building a modern national defense system. Conversely, coordinating the buildup of the national defense system with economic construction will result in national defense forces serving as competent economic forces in the process of building the system of large-scale socialist production. The coordination of the economy with the national defense system must be fully achieved in the process of building the modern industrial-agricultural structure, the process of building the central economy and developing the local economy and the process of building the new production forces and new production relations as well as in the expansion of economic relations with the socialist countries and the other countries of the world. In order to establish this coordination well, the congress resolution points out: "The armed forces have the obligation of strengthening the national defense system while actively participating in economic construction, thereby helping build the material-technical base of socialism. It is necessary to implement the military draft for all male youths and the system of the army fulfilling its obligation in economic construction. On the basis of accelerating the construction of the country it is necessary to establish important strategic areas and build the national defense industry to insure that the country possesses increasingly strong and modernized national defense forces."

The advance from small-scale production to large-scale socialist production is the process of coordinating the division of labor within the country with international cooperation and an international division of labor. In the present age in which the development of production forces has gone beyond the framework of one country, social labor is not only distributed within a country, rather, it must also be distributed, to some extent, on an international scale. To economically backward countries such as our's which is advancing directly to socialism without experiencing the stage of capitalist development, broadening the cooperative relations and international division of labor with the socialist and other countries for the purpose of acquiring the modern technology of the world in order to accelerate the scientific and technological revolution within the country is essential in advancing directly from small-scale production to large-scale socialist production. This is particularly true today when the scientific and technological revolution in the world is developing intensely and creating the conditions for the underdeveloped countries to utilize the achievements of modern science and technology to take leaps forward and catch up to the advanced countries; therefore, as stated in the congress resolution, it is necessary to "strengthen the division of labor and our relations of cooperation and mutual assistance with the fraternal socialist countries on the basis of socialist internationalism while developing our economic relations with the other countries on the basis of maintaining our independence and sovereignty and benefiting all parties." This is particularly true today, now that our country is completely independent and unified and we have favorable conditions for broadening our economic relations with many



countries of the world, primarily the socialist countries, for the purpose of acquiring international assistance, cooperation and trade in order to soon build the key material-technical bases which lay the foundation upon which the economy can move forward.

Of course, international cooperation and an international division of labor must insure the construction of an independent, autonomous economy. The broadening of economic relations with foreign countries is designed to build an independent, autonomous economy and, only on the basis of building an independent, autonomous economy, is it possible to seek and utilize international cooperation and an international division of labor in the best possible manner. We can seek the assistance of other countries but we must primarily broaden our international cooperation and the international division of labor. Therefore, our main foundations are the labor and resources of our country, the system of socialist collective ownership and the high development of the creative talents of our people in order to accelerate economic construction. Every effort must be made to rapidly increase the output of high quality export goods, primarily agricultural products, forestry products, marine products and the products of light industry, the handicraft trades and so forth so that we can import modern technology and accelerate the construction of the material-technical base of our country. We must display self-reliance in coordination with broadening our economic relations with the fraternal socialist countries and other countries in order to develop each capability of the domestic economy as best possible and step up the process of advancing directly from small-scale production to large-scale socialist production.

The economic construction line presented above reflects the law of advancing directly from small-scale production to large-scale socialist production. Basically, it is the process of abolishing the old economic structure, establishing the new economic structure within which there is balance and harmony among the basic elements of the national economy and establishing the correct relations between industry and agriculture, between the central economy and the local economy, between the new production forces and the new production relations, between the economy and the defense of the nation and between the domestic division of labor and international cooperation and the international division of labor. These elements are closely coordinated within one entity and create the development of the entire national economy. This is a strategic economic deployment of a revolutionary and scientific nature, one which reflects the self-consciousness of the process of advancing directly from small-scale production to large-scale socialist production. This self-consciousness demands that the economy develop in a planned manner, that the plan be used as the primary tool and that effective, appropriate use be made of the market, prices, wages and credit to control the process of advancing from small-scale production to large-scale socialist production. We must truly transform the process of advancing from small-scale production to large-scale socialist production into a highly self-conscious process and overcome the spontaneity of small-scale production and the remnants of bourgeois economic viewpoints. On the basis of thoroughly understanding the requirement of building an efficient economic structure, we must reorganize

social production, redistribute production forces, carry out the redistribution of social labor, build the various sectors, areas and production units, organize the circulation and distribution system, build the planning and management system and organize the economic management apparatus in a manner consistent with the gradually forming and developing system of large-scale socialist production. The key factors are that we must firmly control the dictatorship of the proletariat, uphold the right of socialist collective ownership and develop the creative abilities of the working people, promote an intense socialist emulation movement in each sector, locality and installation to transform the entire country into a worksite and make every effort to practice frugality in socialist construction, raise labor productivity, increase economic returns and improve product quality. By making every effort to successfully implement the economic construction line set forth by the 4th National Congress of Delegates of the Party, we will surely virtually complete the process of advancing directly from small-scale production to large-scale socialist production within the space of 20 years, thereby making Vietnam a socialist country which possesses a modern industrial-agricultural economy, an advanced culture and science, a strong national defense system and a civilized, happy life.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. The resolution of the 4th National Congress of Delegates of the Communist Party of Vietnam.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. J. Stalin: "Complete Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1966, Volume 7, p 195.
5. The resolution of the 4th National Congress of Delegates of the Communist Party of Vietnam.
6. Le Duan: "Cach mang xa hoi chu nghia o Viet-nam" [The Socialist Revolution in Vietnam], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1976, Volume 2, p 517.
7. Ibid., p 48.

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## WARM CONGRATULATIONS, DEEP INTERNATIONAL FEELINGS

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 1, Jan 77 pp 65-71,76

[Article by Tien Lam]

[Text] The 4th Congress of the party was not only a milestone in the history of our country, it was also a major event of the international communist and workers movement, an event for which our brothers and friends throughout the world expressed deep feelings. Twenty-nine fraternal parties and revolutionary organizations in the world sent delegations to attend the congress, delegations which conveyed deep international feelings to our party and our people. Many other parties and revolutionary organizations sent messages of warm congratulations. Many parties sent gifts filled with significance. When they arrived in our country, all of our brothers and friends expressed boundless joy when they peered into the clear blue sky of Vietnam, a sky no longer fouled by the aircraft of the enemy which, not too long ago, were spreading death and destruction; when they saw the fields of ripe rice which only yesterday were pock-marked with bomb craters and soaked with the blood of women, children and elders; when they saw first-hand the factories, schools and hospitals that have been restored or constructed on piles of broken bricks in the cities, when they visited the city which bears the name of Uncle Ho, our brothers and friends were happy and moved when they saw that the South is changing each day and that the greatest desire of Uncle Ho has been achieved: Vietnam has been reunified, the North and South now dwell within the same house.

These feelings are natural. Because, all our brothers and friends share the ideals and goals of our people. For years, progressive mankind shared our deep hatred of the U.S. imperialists, the international gendarme, and shared the suffering of our people as they endured countless sacrifices and hardships; today, our brothers and friends share the joy of our people's brilliant victory. The people of the world live and respect our people. This is because our people won victory over the ringleader of imperialism, thereby changing the balance of power in the world and in each country in favor of the revolutionary movement. This is because, through their miraculous fight, through their spirit of genuine international unity, our people won the hearts and minds of the righteous people of the world. The example and lesson of our people have been and will continue to be a source of inspiration and guidance in the fight of each oppressed nation.

In their expressions of congratulations and in their messages, the fraternal parties and revolutionary organizations of the world, through sincere, meaningful words, praised and evaluated the imposing feat of arms of our people and the historic importance of the Vietnamese revolution. Through them, we see even more clearly that our party and our people are truly great, we have become prouder and more confident.

#### A Great Contribution, Epochal Significance

On behalf of the great communist party of the Soviet Union, comrade Suslov said: "How great was the contribution made by the Vietnam Lao Dong Party to the common revolutionary undertaking, to the process of liberating the world! Vietnam has proven that a nation which is under the leadership of communists and which struggles bravely against oppression and exploitation for freedom and independence...is invincible. The conclusion of the long and difficult Vietnamese war also clearly confirmed that the balance of power in the world has undergone a basic change in the favor of socialism, that the imperialists are coming to the end of the period of ruling and bullying the world... The victory of Vietnam has not only basically changed the entire situation in Southeast Asia, it has also opened fine new prospects for the entire Asian continent. The forces of peace, national independence and socialism are expanding their position in Asia..."

A close friend of the Vietnamese, a representative of a genuine Marxist-Leninist party and of a people who have always been closely linked to our people through a friendship sealed in blood, Kaysone Phomvihane said: "The history of the patient, determined and brave revolutionary struggle of the Vietnam Lao Dong Party is one of the most glorious and brilliant pages in the history of the world revolutionary struggle and is of epochal significance..."

...Throughout the past 30 years, having assumed the role of assault troops on the anti-imperialist front, the Vietnamese...through their infinite sacrifices, opened the way for the defeat of old style colonialism and defeated the largest strategic counteroffensive by imperialism, led by the United States, against the world revolutionary movement since World War II, thereby signalling the total and unavoidable collapse of neo-colonialism. This was a great contribution to the cause of maintaining peace in the world and protecting the socialist system, an important contribution to increasing the strength and developing the offensive position of the three revolutionary movements, one worthy of the 'respect' and 'admiration' of progressive mankind."

As many other delegates stated, the change in the world balance of power in the favor of socialism brought about by the victory of our people and other peoples is irreversible; capitalism continues to be gradually repulsed and is mired in a full-scale, deep general crisis from which it cannot be saved. The counter-revolutionary global strategy of the U.S. imperialists has been upset, capitalism has lost its historic initiative forever.

The victorious struggle of our people is of profound epochal significance because, as Tetsuzo Fuwa, delegate from the Japanese Communist Party, said:

"It was the focal point of the anti-imperialist struggle in the world, it completed a great task of major impact upon the entire world situation."

One of the distinct achievements of our party and people, one mentioned by many international delegates, is their unswerving loyalty to the principles of proletarian internationalism, loyalty reflected in the tireless struggle to unite all revolutionary forces in Indochina and the world. Vietnam had the strength to bring the three revolutionary movements of the age together, to assemble a broad front of progressive mankind resisting the U.S. imperialist aggressors. Kurt Hager, delegate from the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, said: "In the conscience of the people of the world, Vietnam is not only a bright example of an heroic struggle against imperialism...it is also a symbol of the vitality of proletarian internationalism, of the strength of international solidarity against imperialism."

Since World War II, the world revolution has been continuously attacking imperialism. Due to the objective development of history, Vietnam became the symbol of that attack. The consolidation of the victory of Vietnam has accelerated the common attack by the three revolutionary movements.

Through the congratulations we have received, each of us more clearly sees that the fight waged by our people had the effect of protecting peace and strengthening the world socialist system. While the U.S. imperialists were bogged down in Vietnam, the socialist countries made rapid progress and recorded brilliant achievements in socialist construction and communist construction. With the liberation of southern Vietnam, a new peace of the socialist system was born. With the establishment of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, the balance of power shifted heavily in favor of the socialist system. Vietnam has become a strong bastion of socialism in Southeast Asia. With the victory of the revolutions in Laos and Cambodia, Angola and Mozambique, and so forth, the prestige and influence of socialism in the world have continuously grown and socialism has increasingly played the role of the factor determining the trend of development of mankind.

Many delegations from battlefields of intense fighting against the imperialists, from places still being oppressed and exploited by imperialism, spoke of the great contributions, the lessons, experiences and bright examples of Vietnam in the national liberation movement. By defeating two imperialist powers, France and the United States, Vietnam removed major obstacles and opened the way for the national liberation movement to become the main trend of the age. Celestino Bernardo a delegate from the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola, said: "...Vietnam has always been a source of inspiration to the struggle of the Angolan people and the oppressed peoples of the world... The victories won by the Angolan people are the logical result of the victory of Vietnam, the Cuban revolution and, looking back over history, even the Russian October Socialist Revolution..." Armando Panguen, delegate from the Mozambique Liberation Front, said: "We must study your experiences... We are grateful for your lessons, support, example and inspiration." Sharing this thinking, Volodia Teitelboim Volosky delegate from the Chilean Communist Party, stated that "the undertaking of the Vietnam

party, the Vietnamese is and will be the revolutionary school of number one importance, a living lesson and a source of great inspiration to us as well as all the peoples struggling to liberate themselves."

Through many living examples, through sincere, moving words, the delegates from the developed capitalist countries expressed deep gratitude to our party, our people.

As Ignacio Gallego, delegate from the Spanish Communist Party, Joaquim Gomes dos Santos delegate from the Portuguese Communist Party, Herbert Mies delegate from the German communist party, Giancarlo Pajetta, delegate from the Italian Communist Party, Winston, delegate from the American Communist Party, and so forth, stated, the fight of the Vietnamese truly set an example and provided help for the entire workers' movement, for all democrats. In the struggle to unite with our people and expose the crimes of the U.S. imperialists, the communist parties of the large capitalist countries assembled large forces and formed a united front resisting the monopolistic capitalists. In this process, many persons who never struggled before have acquired deep political enlightenment. In demonstrations or direct struggles with the capitalists, shouts of "Vietnam-Ho Chi Minh" are always heard. This is a slogan whose significance everyone clearly understands, a slogan which increases the strength of each person. And, communists are very proud to be called friends of Ho Chi Minh. In Italy, there is an entire generation called the Vietnam generation. In the United States, a large collective of soldiers for peace has developed under the influence of the brave fight of the Vietnamese. In West Germany, very many youths have joined the communist party as a result of the influence of the fight waged by the Vietnamese.

In such countries as Spain, Portugal and Chile where for many years hundreds of thousands of persons have been suppressed and imprisoned by fascist systems, communists and democrats have found in the heroism and intelligence of the Vietnamese an inexhaustible source of inspiration for continuing in the struggle for freedom and democracy. In Canada, as William Kashtan said, Canadians, as a result of the struggle of Vietnam, more clearly see the aggressive nature of the U.S. imperialists and have expanded the movement demanding genuine independence for Canada and an end to monopolization by the U.S. imperialists. In Sweden, as Eivor Marklund reported, a whole new generation has been enlightened and clearly understands the need for the struggle against imperialism, for international unity in the resistance against the aggression of imperialism.

Many communist parties of other countries followed the struggle of the Vietnamese and learned from it many valuable lessons, lessons which have strengthened their confidence, resolved many of their countries' problems and alleviated many of their concerns in the course of development of the revolution. For this reason, progressive mankind, through the delegates who attended our party congress, expressed deep gratitude to our people. As the delegates from Spain, Chile, Mexico and other countries said, "millions of workers, revolutionaries and democrats have deep feelings for a nation to

which mankind must forever be grateful"; "the entire world will forever owe a debt to the victorious Vietnamese"; "every man and woman living in this world feels enthusiasm for and gratitude to the Vietnamese."

As for themselves, our people never forget the feelings of international duty which the people of the world have had for our people over the past 30 years. The people of the world always sympathized with and supported our people. We consider this to be one of the factors of the victory of Vietnam.

#### A Correct, Creative Line

The most decisive factor in the victories which our people have won was the correct, creative political, military and diplomatic line of the party. All the fraternal parties and revolutionary organizations of the world have praised this line, this line closely associated with the name of the revered Uncle Ho.

Suslov (USSR) said: "We have admiration for the revolutionary line of the Vietnam Lao Dong Party. Vietnamese communists made skillful use of each form of struggle: military struggle, political struggle, and diplomatic struggle. The Vietnam Lao Dong Party has displayed deep knowledge in the Marxist-Leninist spirit of the main trends of the age. National liberation and the reunification of the country were closely coordinated with the liberation of society, with the struggle for socialism. Vietnam has a tested, experienced leader of the masses in the Vietnam Lao Dong Party, a militant Marxist-Leninist party which knows how to closely coordinate the general laws of the development of socialism with the specific historic conditions of its country, how to creatively apply and develop the great theory of Marxism-Leninism while giving attention to studying the experiences in socialist construction of other countries."

As Kayson Phomvihane said, the Vietnam Lao Dong Party and the Lao Revolutionary People's Party are two fraternal parties that share the same roots--the glorious Indochinese Communist Party founded, built and forged by the great President Ho Chi Minh. He said that "the underlying cause of the remarkable victories of the Vietnamese revolution is the correct, independent and autonomous line and the creative, unique revolutionary methods of the Vietnam Lao Dong Party... As a result of brandishing and skillfully coordinating the two banners of national independence and socialism, the party developed the strength of the nation to the highest possible degree, made the most effective use possible of the strength of the age and coordinated them into the combined strength of the Vietnamese revolution; it firmly adhered to the viewpoint of violence, constantly maintained an offensive strategy and knew how to gradually win victory over the enemy, divide the enemy, de-escalate the enemy's efforts in order to attack them, win small victories and eventually win total victory... The party, which smoothly combined genuine patriotism with noble proletarian internationalism by means of flesh and blood and a correct international line that 'conformed to both sentiment and reason,' sincerely, bravely and resolutely did everything it

could to make a worthy contribution to increasing and strengthening the solidarity within the socialist system and the world revolutionary movement; in particular, it made a tremendous contribution to building the Vietnam-Laos-Cambodia militant alliance which, in reality, became one of the factors determining the victory of the revolution of each country in the past as well as the future...

...This proves that the Vietnam Lao Dong Party is a Marxist-Leninist party which has much leadership experience, is faithful to and has creatively applied Marxism-Leninism...to accurately and creatively resolve each problem concerning its line, strategic targets, stages of development and revolutionary methods and establish the correct relationship between the nation and the world, thereby setting an example of the shining truth of the age, contributing much valuable experience of profoundly practical significance to the storehouse of Marxist-Leninist theory and showing itself to be worthy of the title resolute corps of the international communist movement."

Many other communist party delegates also highly evaluated the line and revolutionary methods of our party. As Giancarlo Pajjeta said: "Italian communists...admire and study the uniqueness of your research, of the special characteristics of your strategy...as a result of which over the past several years...in the face of dangers which seemed as though they could destroy you, you...achieved something which many persons thought was unachievable."

Many delegates had high praise for the lessons which the 4th congress reviewed. These were the lessons in brandishing the banner of national independence and socialism, in using combined strength and in independence and autonomy. Through these lessons, the delegates saw "the clear-sighted and resolute leadership of the Vietnam Lao Dong Party"(Hungarian delegate); "the strong and consistent political line"(Angolan delegate); "the great creativity of Vietnamese revolutionaries in the application of Marxism-Leninism"(Mexican delegate); "the resolute Marxist-Leninist stand and the spirit of protecting proletarian internationalism" of the Vietnam Lao Dong Party which proved that "the Vietnam Lao Dong Party is a strong Marxist-Leninist component of the international communist and workers' movement" (Czechoslovakian delegate), etc.

The correct leadership of the party cannot be separated from the immortal contribution made by the great Uncle Ho. During these days of joy over our great victory, we still feel his presence. From the rostrum of the 4th congress, international delegates movingly mentioned the name of Uncle Ho, a name that will always glow with the name of Vietnam as a great torch in the hearts of the peoples of the world. Kayson Phomvihane expressed "boundless gratitude to Ho Chi Minh, the person who performed the tremendous service of bringing Marxism-Leninism to the Lao revolution, a person who concerned himself throughout his life with building a special Lao-Viet relationship," a person whom, he said, is rarely found in international relations. Gaston Plissonnier mentioned "the close friendship that has always bound the



French Communist Party and the Vietnam Lao Dong Party; the symbol of this special relationship is Ho Chi Minh, one of the founders of the French Communist Party in 1920. The communists and workers of France have a fond momento of President Ho." Sergio del Valle, delegate from the Cuban Communist Party, talked about "the immortal President Ho Chi Minh, the extraordinary leader of the Vietnamese who wrote one of the greatest revolutionary epics in history, the great hero not only of the Vietnamese, but of all the nations in the world struggling against imperialism for the victory of the revolution and socialism." Delegates from the Italian Communist Party and the Spanish Communist Party mentioned the teachings and the bright example to be found in the life of President Ho and consider "these teachings to be of value to Italians as well," to be "extremely valuable to the communists and all progressive people in Spain." Volodia Teitelboim Volosky of the Chilean Communist Party "sees the great truth embodied in the precept 'there is nothing more precious than independence and freedom' and the example 'although the body is imprisoned, the spirit is not' which have helped the countless fighters suffering the fascist prisons overcome challenges and hardships." And, to Gilberto Rincon Gallardo, delegate from the Mexican Communist Party, "the total victory of the Vietnamese made the image of President Ho even greater, it increased our feeling that Uncle Ho is our uncle..." Eivor Marklund, delegate from the Swedish left-wing Communist Party, said: "We always recall one shining example when talking about proletarian internationalism, that example is the great Ho Chi Minh, a person whom we always remember and respect. The very large contributions Ho Chi Minh made in strengthening the broad anti-imperialist front and to the solidarity of the international communist and workers' movement will never fade."

Our revered Uncle Ho will live forever in the hearts of the people of the world.

#### Bright Prospects, A Brilliant Future

With the 4th congress of our party, the history of the Vietnamese revolution entered a new era. The congress opened bright prospects for the nation of Vietnam and charted the course for building a prosperous and strong Vietnam which possesses a modern industry and agriculture and an advanced culture and science, thereby helping strengthen the common revolutionary movement in the world. For this reason, the congress has excited our friends on the five continents. And, whereas the people of the world looked to Vietnam for many years and anxiously awaited each piece of news from Vietnam, "the heart of mankind," today, the people of the world are even more interested in each stage of development of our people.

The report of the Party Central Committee presented by Le Duan at the congress left the international delegates with very deep impressions. Many delegates praised it as "a summary of true historic value"; "a Marxist-Leninist analysis of the past and the present, a bold outline of the tremendous tasks of the future." Stanislaw Kania, delegate from the Polish Socialist Workers' Party, said that "the evaluations, conclusions and program for building socialism

in Vietnam presented in the report are the creative application of the principles of Marxism-Leninism to the conditions of the country; at the same time, they are practical contributions to the theory and practice of socialism." Gilberto Rincon Gallargo, delegate from the Mexican Communist Party, said: "The report contains very valuable contributions to the struggle of communists."

All of the delegates of the fraternal parties and revolutionary organizations who attended the congress expressed confidence in the ability of our people to carry out the new tasks set forth by the congress which will transform the Socialist Republic of Vietnam into a trustworthy and strong bastion of peace, independence, democracy and socialism in Southeast Asia and increase the strength and prestige of socialism throughout the world. At the same time, the experiences of Vietnam in socialist construction will be very useful to many countries of the world. "A people who expressed boundless energy, loyalty and heroism in the struggle for freedom and reunification will possess firm confidence and even greater energy and will manifest these virtues in the performance of the tasks of rebuilding the country and building socialism"; "under the talented leadership of the Vietnam Communist Party, the Vietnamese, displaying the same determination and enthusiasm they displayed when bearing arms, will most certainly complete the tasks of rebuilding the country to be 'grander and more beautiful.'"

The following is truly an expression filled with international feeling and obligation: "Today, having stood together in the hours of the difficult fight, it is even more necessary that we stand shoulder to shoulder at the dawning hours of socialist construction"; "uniting with Vietnam is still an obligation of all nations."

Our people sincerely appreciate the deep international feelings expressed by the delegations from the fraternal parties and revolutionary organizations at the 4th Congress of the Party. These feelings will give our people additional strength as they move forward to successfully complete their national task and successfully fulfill their international obligation.

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MATERIALS: THE NATIONAL CONGRESSES OF DELEGATES OF OUR PARTY

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 1, Jan 77 pp 72-76

[Text] Since it was founded, our party has held four national congresses of delegates. Below is a brief summary of the congresses of the party.

#### The 1st National Congress of Delegates

The 1st National Congress of Delegates of the Party was held in Macao, China, from 27 to 31 March 1935. The congress was convened by the overseas leadership committee of the Indochinese Communist Party established in Macao, China in early 1934 and headed by Le Hong Phong.

Before convening the congress, the overseas leadership committee of the party issued a directive instructing the domestic party organizations to organize the discussion within party chapters of the two principle documents:

--The resolution of the plenum of the overseas leadership committee of the Indochinese Communist Party and the delegates of the domestic party organizations (held between 14 and 26 June 1934).

--The activity program of the Indochinese Communist Party (set forth in June 1932 and passed by the Communist International).

Attending the 1st National Congress of Delegates of the Party were 15 delegates, 12 of whom were official delegates.

The congress heard reports reviewing the world situation, the Indochinese situation and the situation of our party from 1932 to 1934 and discussed the political task of the party.

The political resolution of the congress established three primary immediate tasks for the entire party: strengthening and developing the party; winning over and assembling the masses; resisting the imperialist war.

The congress passed resolutions on mobilizing workers, mobilizing farmers, mobilizing youths, mobilizing women and mobilizing soldiers and resolutions on work among the ethnic minorities, the anti-imperialist alliance, the self-defense units, the Indochinese red relief campaign, etc.

The congress also passed the Statutes (ammended) of the Indochinese Communist Party, the Statutes of the Mass Organizations, the Manifesto of the congress, a letter to the executive committee of the Communist International and letters to the central committees of several fraternal parties.

The congress elected a Party Central Committee comprised of Ha Huy Tap, Phung Chi Kien, Hoang Dinh Giong, etc.

The important significance of the first congress of the party was that following a period in which the basic units of the party were destroyed as a result of the cruel suppression of the enemy, the congress unified the organizational system of the party, unified the revolutionary movement under the leadership of the Party Central Committee, gave party members and the masses renewed confidence and charted the course forward for the revolutionary movement.

#### The 2nd National Congress of Delegates

The 2nd National Congress of Delegates of the Party was held from 11 to 19 February 1951 in Vinh Quang Township, Chiem Hoa District, Tuyen Quang Province (now Ha Tuyen Province). Attending the congress were 191 delegates, 158 of whom were official delegates, representing more than 740,000 party members. Foreign delegations attending this congress included a delegation from the Chinese Communist Party, a delegation from the Thai Communist Party, and so forth.

The congress opened on the morning of 11 February 1951. Following the opening speech delivered by Ton Duc Thang, the congress heard and discussed: the Political Report delivered by President Ho; the report "On the Vietnamese Revolution" delivered by Truong Chinh; the report on the organization and statutes of the Vietnam Lao Dong Party delivered by Le Van Luong. In addition, the congress heard the following supplemental reports: "Consolidating the Bloc of Broad Unity" by Hoang Quoc Viet; "Several Important Problems of the People's Democratic Government of Vietnam" by Pham Van Dong; "Building the People's Army by Vo Nguyen Giap; "Economic and Financial Activities" by Nguyen Luong Bang; "Building the Vietnamese People's Literature and Art" by Tho Huu, etc.

The congress also heard a number of reports by the mass organizations and speeches on the economy, the military, politics, the culture, the front and civilian proselyting, etc.

The congress unanimously ratified the Political Report delivered by President Ho and the Report on the Vietnamese Revolution by Truong Chinh. These were important documents which supplemented, developed and improved the theory on the people's democratic national revolution in a colonial, semi-feudal country such as our's, led by our party.

The congress decided to engage the party in overt activities under the name the Vietnam Lao Dong Party and ratified the Platform and Statutes of the Party

as well as the Manifesto of the Party. (Following the August Revolution and in the face of our country's complex political situation at that time when the revolutionary government was still young and had to contend with many insidious enemies, our party reoriented its activities and temporarily returned to clandestine activities).

The congress elected Ho Chi Minh party chairman. The congress elected a Central Committee comprised of 29 comrades. The Political Bureau elected by the Central Committee was comprised of seven official members: Ho Chi Minh, Truong Chinh, Le Duan, Pham Van Dong, Vo Nguyen Giap, Nguyen Chi Thanh, and Hoang Quoc Viet and one alternate member, Le Van Luong. Truong Chinh was re-elected general secretary of the Party Central Committee.

The 2nd National Congress of Delegates of the Party marked a huge stride forward in the growth of our party. For the first time since it was founded, the party convened a congress comprised of democratically elected delegates from all party organizations. The correct and creative line set forth by the congress was the foundation for uniting the entire party and all of the people, accelerating the war of resistance against the French colonialists and the U.S. interventionists and winning the earth-shattering victory of Dien Bien Phu, restoring peace throughout Indochina and totally liberating northern Vietnam.

#### The 3rd National Congress of Delegates

The 3rd National Congress of Delegates of the Party was held in Hanoi between 5 and 10 September 1960. Following 30 years of arduous and brave struggle, this was the first time our party held its congress in the capital of the beloved fatherland. The congress was attended by 576 delegates (525 of whom were official delegates) representing more than 500,000 party members throughout the country. Many delegations from fraternal parties attended the congress. President Ho opened the congress. He noted: "The congress is the congress of socialist construction in northern Vietnam and the struggle for peace and national reunification." On behalf of the Party Central Committee, Le Duan presented the Political Report to the congress. He deeply analyzed the major changes in the world and domestic situations since the 2nd National Congress of Delegates of the Party and presented the new guidelines and tasks of the revolution in both northern and southern Vietnam. The Political Report also presented the important lessons and experiences learned and gained in our country's revolution. The Political Report pointed out that since peace was restored, the Vietnamese revolution had entered a new stage: northern Vietnam had entered the period of transition to socialism and southern Vietnam was continuing to carry out the people's national democratic revolution; in the new stage, the Vietnamese revolution had two strategic tasks: accelerating the socialist revolution in northern Vietnam and struggling to liberate southern Vietnam and reunify the country. The report also noted that carrying out socialist construction in northern Vietnam was the task of most decisive significance in the development of the entire revolutionary undertaking of our country and the effort of our people to reunify the country. The Political Report set forth

the line on the socialist revolution in northern Vietnam and the line on the struggle to liberate southern Vietnam.

The congress heard the following reports: "The Report on the Revision of the Party Statutes" presented by Le Duc Tho and "The Report on the Guidelines and Tasks of the 1st National Economic Development 5-Year (1961-1965) Plan" by Nguyen Duy Trinh; the congress also heard the following speeches: "The Ideological Work of the Party" by Truong Chinh; "Several Matters Pertaining to the People's Democratic State" by Pham Van Dong; "The Strengthening of the National Defense System and the Buildup of the People's Armed Forces" by Vo Nguyen Giap; "Socialist Industrialization" by Le Thanh Nghi, etc.

The congress unanimously passed the Resolution on the Task and Line of the Party in the New Stage and the guidelines and tasks of the first National Economic Development 5-Year (1961-1965) Plan, the Party Statutes and the Appeal of the Congress.

The congress elected a Central Committee comprised of 47 official members and 31 alternate members. Ho Chi Minh was re-elected chairman of the Party Central Committee; Le Duan was elected 1st secretary of the Party Central Committee. The Central Committee elected a Political Bureau comprised of 11 official members: Ho Chi Minh, Le Duan, Truong Chinh, Pham Van Dong, Pham Hung, Le Duc Tho, Vo Nguyen Giap(1), Nguyen Chi Thanh, Nguyen Duy Trinh, Le Thanh Nghi, and Hoang Van Hoan and two alternate members, Tran Quoc Hoan and Van Tien Dung; at the same time, it elected a seven member Secretariat.

As a result of the correct line of the 3rd National Congress of Delegates of the Party and the clearsighted leadership of the Party Central Committee, our people won great victory in the war of resistance against the United States for national salvation and in socialist construction in the North.

#### The 4th National Congress of Delegates

The 4th National Congress of Delegates of the Party was held in the capital Hanoi from 14 to 20 December 1976 amidst the brilliant victories recently won by the Vietnamese revolution under the leadership of our party: our people had won total victory over the U.S. imperialist aggressors, our fatherland was totally independent and reunified, the Socialist Republic of Vietnam had been born, the historic tasks of the people's national democratic revolution had been completed and socialist construction had recorded major achievements in northern Vietnam. This was the first time our party held its congress under circumstances in which not the shadow of an aggressor remained in the country and the fatherland was reunified from Cao Lang to Minh Hai.

Attending the 4th National Congress of Delegates of the Party were 1,008 comrades elected by the congresses of delegates of the 38 provincial and municipal party organizations and the 10 party organizations directly subordinate to the central level representing more than 1.5 million party members throughout the country. The congress had the honor of welcoming 29

delegations from the fraternal parties and national liberation movements. Ton Duc Thang opened the congress. He noted: "The 4th National Congress of Delegates of the Party will determine the revolutionary line for the new stage, determine the guidelines and tasks of the second 5-year (1976-1980) plan, revise the Party Statutes and elect the new Central Committee. These are very important jobs."

Le Duan, the 1st secretary of the Party Central Committee, presented the Political Report. The report reviewed the various stages of the long and glorious revolutionary struggle waged by our people under the leadership of the party, praised the ardent patriotism and unparalleled revolutionary heroism of the compatriots, soldiers, cadres and party members throughout the country, discussed the great service performed by President Ho and deeply analyzed the significance and the causes of victory. The Political Report presented the general line of the socialist revolution and the line on building the socialist economy in the new stage within our country. Then, the Political Report discussed the following matters: the guidelines and tasks of the 5-year (1976-1980) plan for developing and transforming the economy and culture and carrying out scientific and technological development; accelerating the ideological and cultural revolution and building and developing the new culture; strengthening the socialist state, developing the role of the mass organizations and performing good mass activities; the international situation and the international task and foreign policy of our party; increasing the leadership role and fighting strength of the party.

The congress also heard reports by the Party Central Committee on "The Guidelines, Tasks and Principle Objectives of the 5-Year (1976-1980) State Plan: presented by Pham Van Dong; "The Review of Party Building and the Revision of the Party Statutes" presented by Le Duc Tho. The congress also heard speeches by the following comrades: Truong Chinh, Pham Hung, Vo Nguyen Giap, Nguyen Duy Trinh, Le Thanh Nghi, Tran Quoc Hoan, Van Tien Dung and many other comrades. All of the speeches expressed complete agreement with the Political Report and the other reports of the Party Central Committee.

The congress passed the following resolutions: the resolution changing the name of the Vietnam Lao Dong Party to the Vietnam Communist Party; the resolution endorsing the Political Report of the Party Central Committee; the resolution on the report of the Central Committee concerning the Guidelines, Tasks and Principle Objectives of the Second 5-Year (1976-1980) State Plan; the resolution on the report of the Central Committee reviewing party building and the revision of the Party Statutes; the resolution on the statutes (ammended); the general resolution of the congress.

The congress elected a new Central Committee comprised of 101 official members and 32 alternate members. The Party Central Committee unanimously appointed Le Duan general secretary of the party and elected a Party Central Committee Political Bureau comprised of 14 official members: Le Duan, Truong Chinh, Pham Van Dong, Pham Hung, Le Duc Tho, Vo Nguyen Giap, Nguyen Duy Trinh, Le Thanh Nghi, Tran Quoc Hoan, Van Tien Dung, Le Van Luong, Nguyen Van Cuc, Vo Chi Cong and Chu Huy Man and three alternate members, To Huu, Vo Van Kiet and Do Muoi; at the same time, it elected a nine member Secretariat.

In the speech closing the congress, Le Duan stated: "The 4th congress is the congress of the total victory of the cause of national liberation and reunification of the fatherland, the congress advancing our entire country to socialism.

The 4th congress is the torch lighting the way for our entire party and all our people to successfully build socialism and win victory over poverty and backwardness, thereby leading our country into the new era of national history, leading our people to a life of comfort and happiness and gradually reaching the pinnacles of civilization."

#### FOOTNOTES

1. As published. In the listing of the Political Bureau elected at the 3rd National VWP Congress, published in the 11 September 1960 issue of NHAN DAN, p 1, Vo Nguyen Giap appears ahead of Le Duc Tho.

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END