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Tap Chi Cong San

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OUR PARTY IS 50 YEARS OLD

OWO41423 Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese 1430 GMT 1 Feb 80 OW

[Editorial in Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN (Communist Review) in Vietnamese No 2, Feb 80 pp 1-10--previously published in FBIS Asia and Pacific DAILY REPORT, Vol IV, No 031, 13 Feb 80, pp K-13-K20]

[Text] On 3 February 1980 our glorious party, the VCP, will be 50 years old (3 February 1930-3 February 1980).

Our party, the vanguard team and militant staff of the Vietnamese working class, was founded and trained by President Ho. Our party's history over the past 50 years is the history of our country's extremely valiant struggle and the result of the combination of Marxism-Leninism with the workers movement and patriotic movement in Vietnam during the period of proletarian revolution. Our party promptly absorbed the truth of the era, holding high the two banners of national independence and socialism and leading our people to conduct the most profound, thorough and resolute revolution in our era.

In defiance of innumerable hardships and perils, and overcoming all sacrifices and losses, our party resolutely held high its leadership banner, guiding our people from one victory to another. From the 1930-1931 Nghe Tinh Soviet high tide to the high tide of the 1936-1939 democratic front and the 1939-1945 national salvation movement, our party led our people in successfully conducting the August general uprising, smashing the ruling yoke of colonialists and feudalists, regaining administrative power for the people, founding the DRV--the first people's democratic state in South-east Asia--and ushering in an era of the most glorious uprising in our nation's history.

Our party led our people in successfully conducting the resistance against the French colonialist aggressors, definitively ending the colonialist domination in our country and opening the process of collapse of the imperialists' colonial system.

Our party led our people in completely defeating the aggressive war of the U.S. imperialists--the international gendarme and imperialist ringleader--regaining independence, reunifying the entire country and advancing the fatherland to socialism. With the successful anti-U.S. resistance, our people put a definitive end to imperialism in our country, heralding the inevitable bankruptcy of neocolonialism in the world, overturning the U.S. imperialists' global strategy and taking a big step in weakening the entire imperialist system.

The victory of our people's anti-U.S. national salvation resistance was the defeat of not only the chieftain of imperialist aggressors but also the reactionary Chinese ruling clique which is colluding with the U.S. imperialists in impeding and undermining our people's revolutionary cause.

Along with leading our people to complete the democratic national revolution in the entire country, our party led them to achieve important successes in the socialist revolution in the north, thus making the north a base area of the revolution and a steady rear base of the whole country and insuring the success in liberating the south and reunifying the country.

After regaining national independence and achieving national reunification, our party led our people to successively defeat two wars of aggression waged by the Chinese expansionists to firmly defend the socialist fatherland. Our party has also led our people to achieve great successes in the socialist transformation and socialist construction in both zones of the country, guiding the entire people to advance gradually and steadily toward socialism.

Our party has not only fulfilled all duties to the nation but has also led our people in fulfilling their noble international obligation. With their pure internationalist sentiments, our party and people have wholeheartedly assisted the revolutionary work of the fraternal peoples of Laos and Kampuchea. Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea have now become independent and free states which are closely united and assisting one another in advancing to socialism. This is a solid bastion insuring all the three Indochinese countries' victory over all aggressors and safeguarding their independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity.

The successes of the Vietnamese revolution over the past 50 years, especially the epochal successes of the August revolution, anti-French resistance and anti-U.S. struggle, have brought our country into the ranks of vanguard nations in the fight for independence, freedom and the highest ideals of mankind, contributing to advancing the three revolutionary currents in the world.

Tempered and tried in the storms of revolution over the past 50 years, our party has become a genuine Marxist-Leninist party which has never been divided or affected by factionalism or opportunism, but it has remained always united, absolutely loyal to the interests of our class and nation and to international obligations and worthy of being a stalwart team of the international communist movement.

The great successes of Vietnam's revolution over the past 50 years are the result of our party's correct, sovereign and independent line and a victory of Marxism-Leninism in our country.

In the entire process of its leadership over the revolution, our party has constantly held fast to Marxist-Leninist theories and remained absolutely loyal to Marxism-Leninism. Our party's leadership line in every stage is the product of a creative application of Marxism-Leninism to the specific conditions of our country.

Our party has resolutely opposed all manifestations of opportunism in all its forms. In particular, our party has firmly opposed the concepts of Maoism and Maoists, concepts which are alien to Marxism-Leninism. With its experiences in struggle, our party has contributed to enriching the treasure of Marxist, Leninist theories.

It may be said that in no other revolutionary stage of our party's history has the need to enhance the abilities and qualities of our party cadres and members more strongly felt than at present. All party committee echelons and organizations must further educate party cadres and members and create favorable conditions to help them improve their knowledge of Marxist-Leninist ideology, firmly grasp all lines and policies of the party and state, and improve their cultural, scientific, technical and professional knowledge. This knowledge is primarily in economic and state management--a domain in which we still face many shortcomings and weaknesses.

Reality over the past years has proved that in the socialist construction stage many of our comrades have shown weaknesses. Reality has also made us further aware that while our party controls the administration, we must always attach great importance to educating party cadres and members so as to further enhance their revolutionary ethics. Over the past years, many of our party cadres and members have continued to be good communists. However, some of them have shown a decline in revolutionary spirit, ethics and qualities, and some others have even degenerated.

It is particularly necessary to build, at all party committee echelons, a body of qualified core cadres who have good qualities and leadership skills. We also need a contingent of managerial, scientific and technical cadres who are absolutely loyal to the revolution, who are good at management and who have professional skills.

A very important requirement at present is that we seek, through education, to improve the qualities of party cadres and members and enhance their awareness of communist ideals. This is a feature of prime importance for Communist Party members--one that distinguishes them from outsiders. Because of the class nature of our party and because of its historic mission and role, it is necessary to enhance the awareness of communist ideals among our party cadres and members.

Our party is a vanguard unit, an organized militant staff, the highest organization of the Vietnamese working class. Its historic missions include leading our people in building socialism and communism in our country and making positive contributions to the struggle for communism's success throughout the world.

Only after half a century of arduous struggle filled with sacrifices has our party been able to win back our country's independence, achieve national reunification and earn the genuine right to collective mastery for our people. In the present revolutionary stage our party directly leads our people in building socialism. At the same time we must cope with a new dangerous enemy--the Chinese big-nation expansionists and hegemonists--who, in collusion with the imperialists, primarily the U.S. imperialists, and other reactionary forces, are feverishly carrying out their activities to undermine our country's revolution and attempt to conquer our country. Therefore, in the present stage, our party cadres and members must further enhance their awareness of communist ideals.

To manifest their awareness of communist ideals, they must resolutely carry out all lines and policies of the party and state, uphold their determination to fight against aggression and foil the enemy's acts of sabotage, love their comrades and the people, display a sense of organization and discipline, set examples in productive labor, fighting, performance of tasks and other activities, and prove themselves to be true new socialist men and shining examples for the masses. To manifest their awareness of communist ideals, party members must also resolutely defend the truth and all lines and policies of the party, and strive to overcome negative manifestations within the party as well as in our people's economic and social life.

The great successes of Vietnam's revolution over the past 50 years are the result of the Vietnamese people's fighting strength and extraordinary will to fight. Our people are endowed with a warm patriotism, a tradition of unsubmitive struggle against foreign invasion and a spirit of diligent and creative labor. They have been trusting and following the party since its emergence. Under the party's correct leadership over the past 50 years, our people have fully developed their revolutionary heroism and great creativeness and have written the most glorious pages of our nation's history.

The successes of Vietnam's revolution are also the result of the militant solidarity between our country and the fraternal socialist countries, between our party and the fraternal parties and between our people and the world's revolutionary, democratic and progressive forces.

The brilliant successes of Vietnam's revolution over the past 50 years will remain always linked to the fame and glorious work of the great president Ho Chi Minh, the founder and trainer of our party, a talented leader of Vietnam's revolution and an outstanding militant of the international communist movement. President Ho was the first Vietnamese communist to find the correct way to save the country in accordance with the Marxist-Leninist viewpoint. In the early days of the revolution, he laid the solid foundation for the theory of Vietnam's revolution. He made great efforts to build our party and concentrated on making it a united and unified bloc while paying attention to indoctrinating our cadres, party members and people. He trained and fostered a contingent of elite cadres who are now outstandingly leading our country's revolutionary work. Pledge to fully implement his sacred testament.

Since we take pride in the glorious, heroic struggle of our party and our people, we must in the new stage continue to outstandingly fulfill all the tasks entrusted to us. We now enjoy a fundamentally advantageous condition in building socialism and defending our fatherland: The militant solidarity and cooperation between our country and the Soviet Union, Laos, Kampuchea and other fraternal socialist countries are stronger than ever before. However, we also face new difficulties and challenges.

The party's leadership is the main factor in all the successes of our revolution. To successfully fulfill its historic missions in the new stage, our party must increase its strength, enhance its leadership skills and foster its fighting spirit. To strengthen our party, we must devote ourselves to building it and making it stable, strong and clean politically, ideologically and organizationally. A pressing requirement of our party at present is that we must further improve the quality of party cadres and members. The party's strength is derived from the strength of party cadres and members. It was clearly specified in the party Central Committee's political report at the Fourth National Party Congress that the party's leadership skills and fighting spirit are determined entirely by the quality of party cadres and members. Only by raising the quality of party cadres and members can we enhance the leadership of party organizations and echelons, bolster the party members' role as exemplary vanguards, firmly maintain the party's relations with the masses, insure that all lines and policies of the party and state are thoroughly grasped by party organizations and the masses and thus score great successes. To improve the quality of party cadres and members means to further educate them to help them meet the five requirements of party membership as specified in the Fourth National Party Congress resolution. Generally speaking, improving party cadres and members qualitatively means enhancing their abilities and qualities so that they will all be able to fulfill every task entrusted to them and will be worthy of being at once good party leaders and faithful servants of the people as President Ho repeatedly urged.

This year, for the first time in its history, our party is issuing party membership cards. This is an event of momentous significance for our party and honor for all party members. All party committee echelons and organizations must be fully aware of their related responsibilities. They must, on the one hand, intensify the education of party cadres and members and, on the other, see to it that party membership cards are issued to truly qualified party members only. All party members must further train and make overall efforts so as to be worthy of that honor.

The qualitative improvement of party cadres and members is closely linked to the qualitative improvement of party organizations, particularly of grassroots party organizations.

The party's leadership and fighting spirit are manifested primarily in the leadership and fighting spirit of grassroots party organizations. Only if party organizations are strong can we expect to meet the task of enhancing the quality of party cadres and members. President Ho once said: The party is strong because the party chapters are good; the party chapters are good because their members are good (Ho Chi Minh: "On Party Building," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1970, p 149).

When he was still alive, Uncle Ho always concerned himself with building clean, strong and stable party chapters. Our party has, on several occasions, affirmed that the consolidation of grassroots party organizations is a particularly important party building task. Over the past years, party committee echelons have made great efforts in developing and consolidating grassroots party organizations. However, so far, there still remain many weak party chapters and grassroots party organizations which have failed to properly carry out their leadership.

Our party is a revolutionary party. Each party chapter is a fortress of the party at the grassroots level. Each party member is a vanguard combatant of the working class. We cannot prolong the situation in which there still remain weak grassroots party organizations and inadequate party members. In addition, at present, in many grassroots units--primarily in the newly liberated areas of the south--party organizations still do not exist. Therefore, party committee echelons must make further efforts to develop and consolidate grassroots party organizations and strive to achieve this objective: By the end of 1980, all grassroots party organizations should have clean, stable and strong party chapters. They must also firmly grasp the requirements of consolidating the grassroots party organizations as specified in the party Central Committee secretariat's directives. First of all, they must regularly perform well the following tasks: intensifying party development activities, meeting the requirement of developing the party both qualitatively and quantitatively, continuing to expel degenerated and disqualified party members from the party, and resolutely struggling to overcome negative manifestations within the party organizations.

Our party's strength results from its unity. Ideologically, this unity is manifested primarily in its members. Unanimous agreement on the party's line. Over the past several decades, throughout the various phases of our country's revolution and in the face of serious challenges, our party's cadres and members have always agreed on our party's line and have made enormous efforts to carry it out. This is a very valuable tradition of our party, an important factor that led to glorious successes in our country's revolution.

In view of the new difficulties and challenges in socialist construction and national defense, we communists must continue to uphold our party's tradition of unity and display its monolithic character, we must be of one will and must have absolute confidence in the leadership of our party Central Committee headed by esteemed comrade Le Duan. We must always remember well this teaching of President Ho: "Unity is an extremely valuable tradition of our party and our people. Our comrades from the central to the party chapter level must maintain well the party's unity as they do the apples of their eyes." (President Ho's testament)

While our party controls the administration, its strength is not derived solely from its cadres and members but is also influenced by the masses' implementation of their right to collective mastery and by the state's management skills and efficiency. Therefore, along with building our party and making it stable, strong and clean politically, ideologically and organizationally, we must concern ourselves with developing the laboring people's right to collective mastery, with consolidating state agencies, and with enhancing the skills and management efficiency of the state apparatus in line with this motto: The party is entrusted with the leadership, the people are the masters, and the state takes care of management.

Developing the masses' right to collective mastery is a matter concerning our party's line, a matter which is of utmost importance in our party's close relations with the masses in the new stage. Our major shortcoming at present is the failure to properly develop the masses' right to collective mastery and to launch many seething, large-scale mass revolutionary movements. All party, administrative and mass organizations must try their best to overcome this shortcoming. We must criticize and struggle against bureaucracy and the practice of staying aloof from the masses--a danger for the party in power as Lenin once said. We must, in particular, deal harshly with those who abuse their power to oppress the masses.

The state is the major organization that manifests the laboring people's right to collective mastery. It is a powerful instrument of proletarian dictatorship in carrying out the party's line and policies, developing the economy and culture, improving the people's living conditions, maintaining public order and security and consolidating national defense. The state's leadership skills are manifested primarily in its ability to develop adequately the managerial function of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat. We must be more resolute in introducing capable, virtuous cadres--primarily young ones--into leading party and state organs at various echelons and must use well both old and new cadres.

The current pressing requirements in improving the state's managerial skills include those for better economic and social management, better application of the party's line and viewpoints in all state policies and laws, and prompt solutions to problems cropping up in social life so as to step up overall production--primarily agricultural production and production of consumer and export goods--insure a decent life for our people, strengthen national defense and maintain social security, insure combat readiness in national defense and effectively overcome all negative manifestations--particularly theft, bribes and oppression of the masses--within the state machinery and in society.

The 50th VCP founding anniversary is an important political event, a grand festive day for our entire party and people. All echelons and sectors must launch a large-scale drive on political education among our entire party, army and people on our party's 50-year history of a staunch, gloriously successful struggle, on its fighting spirit, its sacrifices for the fatherland and communist ideals, as well as on our entire people's tasks in the present stage of our country's revolution. All party chapters and organizations must launch a political activities drive to further develop our party's tradition of glorious struggle and to enhance their members' grasp of our party's historic mission in the new stage and their determination to further improve their overall capabilities and qualities, to heighten their awareness of communist ideals and to fulfill outstandingly all forthcoming tasks.

All party chapters and grassroots party organizations must review their 1979 party building activities and formulate plans for further improving their party building tasks for 1980 and 1981 so that all party organizations will become strong, stable and pure politically, ideologically and organizationally. Besides the 50th VCP founding anniversary that we are going to celebrate soon in 1980, we will also celebrate this year the 110th birthday of the great Lenin, the 90th birthday of venerable and beloved President Ho, and the 35th founding anniversary of the DRV, now the SRV. The year 1980 is the last year of the second 1976-1980 5-year state plan. All party committee echelons must launch a vigorous, active movement to emulate the carrying out of productive labor, thriftily building socialism, standing combat-ready to defend the fatherland and discharging internationalist obligations well. We must motivate our entire party, army and people to do their best to score outstanding achievements while carrying out the 1980 state plan and to perform other activities so that our party's tradition of glorious struggle will be further enhanced, especially in a year that has as many important events as this one does.

CSO: 4209

UNDER THE PARTY BANNER, RAISE THE COUNTRY TO THE LEVEL OF THE ERA

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[Speech by Le Duan at the meeting held in Hanoi on 2 February 1980 to celebrate the 50th anniversary of the founding of the Vietnam Communist Party-published in Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN (Communist Review) in Vietnamese No 2, Feb 80 pp 11-49. VNA version was previously published in FBIS Asia and Pacific DAILY REPORT, Vol IV, No 025, 5 Feb 80, pp K5-K32]

[Text] Following is the full text of the speech made by Le Duan, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Vietnam, at the meeting held in Hanoi on February 2, 1980 to celebrate the 50th anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party of Vietnam (February 3, 1930-80):

Dear comrades and friends,
Dear comrade members of the USSR Supreme Soviet delegation,
Dear guests,

Today, people throughout our country are enthusiastically celebrating a great festival, the day when the Communist Party of Vietnam was founded, half a century to this day.

Fighting for fifty years under the party's banner, our people, generation after generation, heroically surged forward to confront their enemies, from the leaflets calling for struggle to the momentous uprisings and the wars for national liberation and defense which reverberated around the world, they have written the most brilliant pages in the glorious history of our motherland, and taken our nation into a new era, the era of a totally independent and unified Vietnam steadily advancing to socialism.

This great success is a victory of Vietnamese revolutionary heroism and of Marxism-Leninism--an invincible revolutionary science of our epoch--which our party has applied with ever deeper insight to the conditions of our country.

In the 1920's, following the failure of the Can Vuong (Patriotic Scholars--tr. [translator]) movement, our people's struggle for national salvation faced a deep political crisis, and called for the leadership of a thoroughly revolutionary party with a correct line. Neither the small weak national bourgeoisie nor the wavering petty bourgeoisie could meet this urgent demand of history. At this juncture, the Vietnamese working class, which was spawned by the French colonialists' policy of intensified colonial exploitation before the emergence of the national bourgeoisie, stepped into the political arena with a powerful movement at many mines, factories, and plantations right throughout north, central and south Vietnam, demanding civil and democratic rights and opposing imperialism. The working class movement for higher pay, fewer work-hours and an end to beating, the peasants' seething struggle against taxes, corvees, high land rent and heavy usury rates, and the revolutionary activities of patriotic intellectuals at the time, converged into a national and democratic groundswell with a new revolutionary trend, looking and waiting for a new light, a new banner.

During this period, world capitalism had become an entirely reactionary force, and the road of bourgeois revolution had become out-moded. In contrast, the great victory of the Russian October Revolution--the first proletarian revolution in the world--like the radiant sun, shone on all continents, illuminating the path of struggle for the working class in various countries and oppressed nations.

Comrade Nguyen Ai Quoc, the great Vietnamese patriot, promptly enlightened by the October Revolution, correctly extracted the essence of Marxism-Leninism, and found that the path of proletarian revolution was the genuine path for national salvation. He asserted: "Only socialism, and communism, can liberate oppressed nations and labouring people in the world from slavery." (Ho Chi Minh: "For Independence, Freedom and Socialism," Truth Publishing House, Hanoi, 1970, p 229).

He founded the Young Revolutionaries' Association, sowing the red seeds of Marxism-Leninism among the working class and patriotic movements in Vietnam, and laying the ideological, political and organizational groundwork for the founding of the vanguard party of the working class.

On February 3, 1930, the Communist Party of Vietnam came into being, marking a decisive turning point in the revolutionary movement and the political life of our country. The Vietnamese working class, through its vanguard party, came forward to shoulder the historic mission of leading the liberation of the nation and society from all oppression and exploitation. Under the party's banner, the Vietnamese people, traditionally endowed with patriotism, a spirit of self-reliance and craving for independence and freedom, had embraced the most thoroughly revolutionary ideology, and the highest scientific thought of mankind.

Right after its founding, in the political programme of 1930 drafted by its first general-secretary, Comrade Tran Phu, our party put forward a programme of national democratic revolution led by the working class, advancing directly to socialist revolution without going through the state of capitalist development, overthrowing imperialism along with feudalism, using the workers and peasants as the main force of the revolution, and the basis for an anti-imperialist united front, using revolutionary violence and appropriate revolutionary methods to seize power. Thus, right from the outset, the revolution in our country advanced along the path of Marxism-Leninism, closely associating national liberation with the emancipation of the working class and other labouring people and closely associating national independence with socialism, the Vietnamese revolution became part of the world proletarian revolution.

Always mindful of this strategic line, the party became daily more steeled and tempered in a do-or-die struggle against the enemy's utterly brutal colonialist domination. It strengthened its roots among the various strata of the population, developed its organizational and leadership skills and gave rise to three revolutionary upsurges--in 1930-1931, 1936-1939 and 1939-1945--which led to the triumph of the August revolution of 1945.

The revolutionary groundswell of 1930-1931, which culminated in the soviet-type uprising of Nghe Tinh, was the first upheaval of the worker and peasant masses after the birth of the party. It awakened the entire Vietnamese people and urged them to take the path of communism in order to regain independence for the homeland and a free and happy life for themselves. It concretely affirmed the leading role of the working class, and the party's undisputed leadership of the Vietnamese revolution. It manifested the alliance between the working class and peasantry, and demonstrated the great revolutionary potential of those classes in our country.

The revolutionary upsurge of 1936-1939 was one advocated by the Indochinese democratic front which closely associated the revolution in our country with the world people's movement against fascism and imperialist war. This was a period of extremely broad, deep and seething political mobilization and education, in which our party success-

fully used very diversified forms of organization and methods of activity combining legal and semi-legal activities with underground and illegal activities, combining mass struggles with struggle inside the enemy's parliament, drawing millions of people of all walks of life from town to country into the battle-front against colonialist reaction and its lackeys, preparing the forces and paving the ground for a revolutionary high tide in the following years.

The revolutionary upsurge of 1939-1945 was a general mobilization of the entire population of the country, in response to the Viet Minh's call for unity to save the country, to rise up and drive out the Japanese fascists and French colonialists. While building bases in the mountain areas, building the armed forces, organizing and training the entire people for an uprising, waging a local guerrilla war and partial uprising in the country side, and building the political forces of the masses and to develop the political struggle in both the rural and urban areas, with a very energetic, sensitive and flexible leadership, the party, seizing every opportunity, unleashed a nationwide and simultaneous uprising, dealt decisive blows at the enemy's nerve centers in Hanoi, Hue, Saigon and other cities, and provincial capitals, abolished their whole administrative system in the countryside, and seized power throughout the country.

The victorious August revolution of 1945 opened a great turning point in our nation's history. A "change of life" never before known by the Vietnamese. This was a typical people's national democratic revolution led by the working class, the first of its kind to succeed in a colonial and semi-feudal country. That splendid success resulted from the correct revolutionary line, the sagacious strategic and tactical leadership, and the unprecedented maturity of our party in the science and art of leading uprisings to seize power. The rich experiences of the August revolution were valuable lessons for the following wars of resistance against French and U.S. imperialism.

Shortly after the birth of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the French colonialists staged a comeback and initiated hostilities in South Vietnam. The foreign aggressors, joining hands with internal enemies, launched attacks in an attempt to nip our revolutionary administration in the bud while it was being encircled by imperialism and other international reactionary forces. At this extremely difficult conjuncture, our party, headed by President Ho Chi Minh, led our people in fighting resolutely to defend our independence and freedom. The tactics were to divide the enemies, striking them separately, foiling their schemes one after another, and racing against time to prepare for a nationwide, all-out protracted war of resistance, relying mainly on our own forces, to firmly defend the gains of the August revolution.

Responding to President Ho's call-"We would rather make every sacrifice than lose our country, and be enslaved"-and carrying out the slogan "Each street block a front, each village, a fortress," the entire Vietnamese people rose up to save their country, from a strong offensive position, with the unflagging offensive elan of the August revolution and with the iron determination to "regain our independence and freedom, even if we had to burn the whole Truong Son range (the Indochinese cordillera--tr.) (President Ho Chi Minh's recommendation to cadres before the general insurrection of August 1945).

Following nine years of extremely hard and heroic fighting, in which the more they fought the stronger they became, our army and people defeated the professional army of the French colonialists assisted by U.S. imperialism, bringing a glorious end to the sacred war of resistance of our people with the great victory of the strategic offensive of 1953-1954 and the resounding Dien Bien Phu battle. This victory opened the road to take North Vietnam to socialism, terminating the rule of old colonialism in our country, and ushering in the period of its collapse on the Indochinese Peninsula and throughout the world.

Hardly had our people emerged from the great war of resistance against the French colonialists when they had to wage another fight, longer and more ruthless, directly confronting U.S. imperialism, the ringleader of imperialism, the international gendarme who used the biggest military forces it could muster and new war strategies and tactics in an attempt to crush our revolution, trying to defeat national independence and socialism in Vietnam in a bid to deter and oppose the revolutionary forces of the world.

In the face of this critical situation which developed within an extremely complicated international context, our party proved itself to be a clear-sighted, steady, independent, and sovereign leader, loyal to proletarian internationalism. It charted the line of simultaneously carrying out the people's national democratic revolution in South Vietnam and the socialist revolution in the North, closely combining the revolution in the two zones into a coordinated fight embracing the great forefront and the great rear base, striving to foster and develop all factors for victory, and creating powerful fighting forces throughout the country. At the same time, the party closely associated our people's war of resistance with the world people's revolutionary struggle, elicited ever broader international solidarity and support, combining the strength of our nation with that of our epoch, creating a wonderful aggregate strength great enough to defeat the escalation of the war expansion by U.S. imperialism, forcing the enemy to de-escalate the war step by step, and finally defeating its greatest war efforts.

In the light of the party's line, imbued with President Ho's teaching that "nothing is more precious than independence and freedom", our people devoted to the struggle all the revolutionary gains of the nation and contributed all they had as the dearest and most precious assets of each family, each citizen of Vietnam, to the sacred cause of saving and defending the country. Five U.S. presidents, more than 20 years of aggression, four war strategies in South Vietnam and two wars of destruction on North Vietnam, almost 8 million tons of bombs coupled with all maneuvers for intimidation and deceit could not in the least shake the staunch persevering, ironclad will of our people, and U.S. imperialism had to reconcile itself to complete defeat.

With the great victory of the general offensive and uprising of spring 1975 which climaxed in the historic Ho Chi Minh campaign, our people accomplished their sacred mission by finally concluding the imperialist domination of our country, making our homeland permanently independent and unified, and advancing on the road to socialism, at the same time fulfilling their noble international obligations to the fraternal peoples of Laos and Kampuchea, making a worthy contribution to the world revolutions. This victory compelled U.S. imperialism to change its reactionary global strategy, heralding the inevitable global bankruptcy of neo-colonialism.

The fourth congress of our party summed up our people's national democratic revolution and determined the line for socialist revolution throughout the whole country. The congress marked a new stage of development in the Vietnamese revolution, stimulated our people to work for national reconstruction and transformation and development of the economy, with the aim of taking our homeland rapidly, vigorously and steadily to socialism.

The Vietnamese people's total victory in 1975 was not only a heavy defeat of the U.S. imperialist aggressors, but also a bitter setback for the reactionaries in the Beijing leadership, a gang of renegades who had taken advantage of the Vietnam war for their political bargain with the U.S., and had prepared to extend their expansionist and hegemonist policy throughout Indochina and Southeast Asia. For this reason, while our entire party and people were attending to peaceful construction, reactionary rulers in China, openly carrying out a hostile policy toward Vietnam, started a war by proxy, with the use of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary gang, along the southwestern border of Vietnam, then brazenly launched a war of aggression on the northern border of our country.

Our army and people, vigilant of the enemy's vicious schemes, made a smart riposte, winning glorious victories in both criminal wars of the Beijing reactionaries and their lackeys, and firmly maintaining the sovereignty and territorial integrity of our homeland. At the same time, they helped the Kampuchean people topple the blood-thirsty fascist regime of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary butchers opening a new stage in the special relations of solidarity between Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea.

By signing treaties of friendship and co-operation with the Soviet Union and other fraternal countries, and by joining the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, we effectively strengthened the relations of solidarity and co-operation between Vietnam and the world socialist community. We smashed the enemy's schemes to slander and isolate our country, and further raised the international prestige of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam.

These successes created a new favorable situation for the revolution in our country and in Laos and Kampuchea, and increased the capacity to defend socialism and maintain peace and national independence in Southeast Asia.

The past thirty years of ruthless war have ravaged our country and seriously disrupted our society, in which small-scale production is still predominant. Before these difficulties could be overcome, big losses caused by the aggressive war of the Chinese expansionists and a spate of natural disasters piled up new problems. Despite these dangerous trials, under the party's leadership, our people, full of revolutionary energy, recorded important achievements in healing the wounds of war, overcame the consequences of natural disasters, restored and developed production, proceeded with the economic and social transformation in the south, strengthened and perfected the socialist relations of production in the north, further developed the material and technical foundations of the national economy, further promoted education and culture, and firmly maintained political security and social order.

These achievements on the economic front, however, were only the initial steps. Our achievements were limited by shortcomings and weaknesses in the management of the economy and the state apparatus, shortcomings and weaknesses which we were slow in redressing. Nonetheless, we have the right to be proud of our socialist construction. Socialism was the "most decisive" force behind all the successes of our people during the 20-year anti-U.S. war of resistance for national salvation.

On this land, which was struck by more bombs and shells than any other country in the world, a nation, in which three successive generations have taken up arms to fight the invaders and have paid for independence and freedom with untold sacrifices, recently had to wage a war in self-defense and constantly has to cope with new threats of war by the enemies.

Our people have to tighten their belts to build the initial bases of socialism, train a large contingent of scientific and technical cadres and workers, at the same time see to it that each citizen has adequate food, clothing and other necessities of life, that most of our young people attend the second (junior high) or third (senior high) levels of education, that children are brought up and educated, and sick people receive proper medical care. Shortly after being liberated, the southern half of our country set about eliminating the social evils and sufferings of the old regime, and is now developing a new and better system of human relations. This comes as a consequence of the bloody sacrifices and painstaking efforts of our entire people, an invaluable asset and a noble source of inspiration enabling us to continue advancing to build a bright future.

Dear comrades and friends,

The past half-century has been a stage of extremely seething and moving revolutionary struggle full of hardships and sacrifices. Our people have made extraordinary efforts,

fought without let-up, overcome innumerable difficulties and dangers, defeated big, powerful and brutal enemies, regained and firmly defended their homeland, built the first bases of socialism, and helped promote the great revolutionary cause of the world people. Having achieved these momentous victories, our people deserve to stand in the ranks of the advanced nations in our era.

This is a result of the leadership of the Communist Party of Vietnam, a genuine Marxist-Leninist party founded and fostered by President Ho Chi Minh, absolutely loyal to the interests of the working class and the nation and to the just cause of the world revolutionary movement and the peoples favouring independence and freedom. Thanks to a steady, clear-sighted and experienced nucleus and a contingent of cadres maturing in protracted struggles, our party has firmly grasped the scientific and revolutionary essence of Marxism-Leninism, taking it as a guide in creatively solving many problems related to the laws governing revolution in a backward agricultural, semi-feudal and colonial country so as to help enrich our revolutionary theoretical treasure with its new experiences.

This has been produced by the heroic Vietnamese nation, with a "thousand-year-old culture", whose history of national defence is marked by a great succession of wonderful feats of arms against brutal aggression by northern feudal dynasties, ardent patriotism and the sense of community of long drawn-out struggles to survive and develop, constitutes the basis for our people to readily assimilate the most advanced ideology of mankind, to accept and grasp this truth of our times: independence and freedom must be closely bound to democracy and socialism.

This is thanks to the new system born following the August revolution, a system led by the working class--the most advanced class in society. This is a rising class, embodying the will and power of the labouring people, who have become the masters of their own national destiny and life. The new system has given rise to and multiplied the abilities of the whole nation and of each Vietnamese, mobilized and organized all the potentials of the country, and elicited international assistance, creating the great and invincible strength of our people in their struggle and construction.

This has been possible thanks to the special militant solidarity between Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea, the international support and assistance of the Soviet Union and other fraternal socialist countries, of communist parties, the working class and other labouring people throughout the world, of all nations struggling for peace, national independence, democracy and social progress.

The basic lesson on the victories of our party and people over the past half-century is to uphold the banners of national independence and socialism, considering these as the basis of all revolutionary strategies and tactics. Firmly grasping this basic line, the party has successfully struggled against bourgeois reformism and petty-bourgeois adventurism, gotten rid of the disastrous influence of the Trotskyists, promptly overcome all waverings and tendencies to compromise, checked all "leftist" and rightist opportunistic political tendencies and firmly maintained the unity of purpose of the entire party and people. It has mobilized and organized all nationalist and democratic forces, in the first place, by establishing the worker-peasant alliance as the basis for organizing the revolutionary army, and building the national united front and the state administration. These are important factors in the success of the revolution.

In the national democratic revolution, socialism is not yet the direct goal. However, the direct advance to socialism bypassing the stage of capitalist development has been adopted as a definite clearcut policy, to put the whole anti-imperialist and anti-feudal struggle into orbit of the proletarian revolution, from which we take the initiative in consciously determining the relationship between nationalism and democracy, in accordance with the specific characteristics of each stage and in the light of the revolutionary prospects.

In the anti-French resistance, land reform was carried out while fighting against foreign aggression, and fighting was combined with economic construction and cultural development and the building of the democratic system along the socialist lines. In the struggle against U.S. aggression, national independence and socialism were intertwined, that is to say, the people's national democratic revolution in the south and the socialist revolution in the north proceeded simultaneously, supporting and spurring each other toward the common goal of liberating the whole country, completely reunifying it and advancing to socialism. Nowadays, national independence and socialism are converging: The nation and socialism are one. Only socialism can firmly ensure independence for the nation and happiness for the people and give full play to the abilities and wisdom of the nation. On the other hand, socialist construction can succeed only when it conforms with universal laws and at the same time fully reflects the economic, social and historic conditions of the nation.

In upholding the banners of national independence and socialism, our party is effectively implementing Lenin's famous slogan: "Workers of all countries and oppressed peoples, unite!"

The victory of the Vietnamese revolution over the past half-century has been that of the correct military line of our party in uprisings, in the two national liberation wars and the two defensive wars over the past more than 30 years. This line reflects the general political line and revolutionary methods worked out by the party. Their essence is to wage a nation-wide and total war "for the people and by the people," to mobilize and organize the entire people to fight against aggression and to engage in national defence, to combine the political forces of the masses with the armed forces, and combine the political forces of the masses with the armed forces, and combine the various fronts of struggle, the various kinds of armed forces and the various strategic areas, the various forms, modes and scales of fighting, combine fighting forces and positions and opportunities, to create a tremendous aggregate fighting strength, and to ensure victory in using small forces to fight bigger ones, and using high quality forces to overcome the enemy's numerical superiority.

This is a vivid and wonderful picture of the Vietnamese people's war in this new era. The concept of offensive strategy is the consistent strategic concept behind our revolutionary as well as our military line. In their wars of liberation and national defence, our army and people always fought the enemy from a position of holding the initiative of offensive action, holding the ground and striking the enemy, striking the enemy and holding ground, striking without let-up, at the same time defeating the enemy step by step, and advancing to win complete victory. The party's outstanding success in leading our revolutionary wars resulted from the creative application of Marxist-Leninist military science to the conditions of our country. It was made possible by the inheritance and development to a new level of the previous experiences of the Vietnamese revolution and of our ancestors' military talents in the nation's tradition of fighting against foreign aggression.

Over the past 50 years of its existence, our party has always been a genuine internationalist party. Right from the time of its founding, the party integrated the Vietnamese revolutionary cause into the common revolutionary cause of the three peoples of the Indochinese Peninsula. Motivated by pure internationalism, the three peoples have constantly fostered and developed their tradition of solidarity and their special relations of cooperation, of sharing weal and woe in the fight against the common enemies, and of giving one another every support and assistance, from sharing our meagre food supplies to making bloody sacrifices generation after generation. All through the past decades, this friendship has stood like an iron fortress, against which all the schemes of the aggressors have crumbled. Today, the militant alliance between Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea, which is being further strengthened, is a firm guarantee for further victories for each people in the future.

Our party has closely associated the revolutionary cause of the working class and people of Vietnam with the building and defence of socialism in the Soviet Union and other fraternal countries, with the broad revolutionary movement of the working class and peoples of other countries struggling for national independence, democracy and socialism, considering it as an inevitable historic course, a factor for the victory of our revolution. We have made an active contribution to the world's revolutionary cause, and in return have received highly valuable support from our comrades-in-arms. The glorious victory of the Vietnamese revolution over the past half-century has been inseparable from the whole-hearted support, and many-sided, unstinted and effective assistance of the great Soviet Union. The communists and the whole people of Vietnam remain forever deeply grateful to the party, the government and the people of the Soviet Union. We are sincerely grateful to the other socialist countries, to the workers' and communist parties, those countries supporting national independence, the national liberation movements and other progressive forces throughout the world for giving strong support and substantial assistance to our people. The Vietnamese people, from generation to generation, always bear in mind that noble international solidarity.

Dear comrades and friends, after thirty years of war, our people have only one desire: to rebuild the country, restore and develop the economy, improve their living standards, and broaden the relations of peace and cooperation with our neighbours and other countries. But, the Beijing rulers' hostile policy and acts of aggression have confronted our country and people with an extremely critical situation. The Chinese leadership, under the guise of Marxism-Leninism and socialism, has deployed a very reactionary international strategy aimed at allying with imperialism and other devious forces, opposing and undermining socialism, national independence and peace, pursuing policies of expansion and hegemony, first in Southeast Asia, then, proceeding to bring the world under its sway. It is concentrating its attacks on the Soviet Union--the mainstay of world peace and revolution--which it considers as a force obstructing its bid for world hegemony. It considers Vietnam--a socialist country with a clear policy of independence, sovereignty and international solidarity, and an important factor for peace and national independence in Southeast Asia--as the greatest obstacle to its scheme of expansionism and hegemony in this region. No wonder that, right after our people's anti-U.S. gun-shots had ceased, they appeared under their true colours as counter-revolutionaries by openly colluding with imperialist forces, especially U.S. imperialism, blatantly sabotaging our people's construction, slandering, encircling, isolating, weakening and invading our country, and splitting up the militant solidarity between our country and Laos and Kampuchea, in an attempt to conquer the whole Indo-chinese Peninsula.

The Chinese reactionary clique has become a direct enemy of our people and a dangerous saboteur of the world people's revolutionary cause. The struggle against imperialism, the arch enemy of the revolution, is inseparable from the struggle against China's policy of great-nation expansion and hegemony. Likewise, preserving the purity of Marxism-Leninism involves countering the reactionary theories of the Beijing ruling circles.

In spite of its heavy setback, the Chinese reactionary clique still refuses to abandon its aggressive schemes and hostile machinations against our people. At present, our country is in a situation of peace and possible war. The historic mission of our entire people and army is to resolutely defeat the aggressive schemes of Chinese expansionism and hegemonism, and defend our independence and territorial integrity, contribute to reinforcing socialism and the movement for national independence and to defending world peace.

The main goals of the Vietnamese revolution at this stage are: to promote revolutionary heroism, the tradition of militant solidarity, self-reliance and self-support, to speed up social transformation and socialist construction, to stabilize and improve living conditions, to expand economic and defence potentials, to stand ready to fight in defense of the country and carry out our internationalist duties. We should develop the special relationship between our country and fraternal Laos and Kampuchea, co-operate in all fields with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, and closely unite with the other revolutionary forces and progressive mankind as a whole, and resolutely struggle against U.S.-led imperialism and Beijing's policy of expansion and hegemony.

To successfully build socialism is a profound aspiration of our nation, a source of happiness for our people, the source of our invincible strength in defending our homeland, and a worthy contribution to the world revolutionary movement.

To advance directly from small-scale production to socialism is a new historical phenomenon. This process becomes inevitable when socialism becomes an unceasingly developing world system, when capitalism is in the process of disintegration and the scientific and technological revolution constantly develops to unleash unprecedented productive forces. Socialism is evolving as a creative process flowing from the highly conscious initiative of the labouring people under the leadership of the party, in accordance with objective laws governing the development of the economy and society.

To grasp these objective laws, we must sum up socialist construction in our country, seriously learn from the experiences of the Soviet Union and other fraternal countries, and fully understand the laws of development from small-scale production to capitalism, the laws governing the transitional period from capitalism to socialism, and the laws of the development of a socialist society. Advancing directly from small-scale production to socialism is a very difficult course, and the new system does not inherit much from the old society in relation to the productive forces, science and technology, cadres and workers, and the discipline and style of labour. On the contrary, it is necessary to create from nothing all the factors of socialism. The most difficult thing is to build big engineering industry. This cause is especially difficult in our country, for we have to attend to not only the two basic and urgent tasks of maintaining and raising the living standards and building the material and technical foundations of socialism, but also another no less basic and urgent task: consolidating national defence in strengthening our defence potential, and standing constantly prepared to defend the nation's independence.

The fundamental issues of socialist construction were elaborated in the line of the fourth party congress: "To firmly uphold proletarian dictatorship, promote the working people's right to collective mastery, simultaneously carry out three revolutions: the revolution in the relations of production, the scientific and technical revolution, and the ideological and cultural revolution, with the scientific and technical revolution as the lynchpin; step up socialist industrialization which is the central task of the period of transition to socialism, build the system of socialist collective mastery, build large-scale socialist production, create a new culture, foster a new type socialist people, abolish the regime of exploitation of man by man, do away with poverty and backwardness; unceasingly heighten vigilance, constantly consolidate national defence, maintain political security and social order...

The revolutionary reality over the past years has shown that the line charted by the party congress is absolutely correct. This line is an integral and comprehensive entity which brings out two specially important problems: building the working people's collective mastery of society, and carrying out socialist industrialization. Collective mastery is the all-embracing aim of socialist construction and the basic motive force for industrialization and taking the whole society forward in applying Lenin's well-known formula: "Communism is Soviet power plus nationwide electrification." Our party's view is that in our country today, "Socialism means collective mastery plus socialist industrialization."

The resolution of the fourth party congress analysed the notion of collective mastery as including mastery of society, nature, one's self; political, economic, cultural and social mastery, mastery within each basic unit, in each locality and throughout the country; it involves effecting the collective mastery of the community and promoting to the fullest extent the genuine freedom of each individual within a framework of social harmony. Building collective mastery means setting up a system of political, economic, cultural and social relations in which the working people emerge as the authentic master, and organized collective, exerting their right to mastery mainly through the state, under the party's leadership.

These relations which include structures, organizations and operational mechanisms, developed in accordance with objective laws, with the will of the community and of each individual. These relations are institutionalized in state laws which ensure a constant heightening of the awareness and capacity of mastery and of the rights and obligations of every organization and every individual, determine the rights and duties of all organizations and all individuals, realize the unity between the interests of society, of the collective and of individuals, make full use of all abilities so as to meet in an increasingly adequate manner the material and cultural needs of the working people. Systemizing these relationships involves proceeding from a low to a high level, through the action of the three revolutions. It is necessary to overcome conservative attitudes which refuse to recognize the necessity and possibility of building collective mastery in the first stage of the transitional period, and at the same time it is necessary to prevent hastiness, compulsion and formalism.

First of all, it is necessary to immediately establish the working people's right to political mastery to make our state really become a state "of the people, from the people and for the people." It is necessary to strictly observe the citizens' rights, the right to individual freedom according to party policies and state law, to help everybody experience a real change in social life so as to feel more attached to the new system. In the early stage of the period of transition to socialism, collective mastery involves both new relations of production and new productive forces. Since big engineering industry is still non-existent, our abundant productive forces, especially re-organized and redistributed socialized labour, combined with forest, land, seas and all other productive potentials to form rational economic structures, can help increase social labour productivity, substantially boost material production and fulfill at the same time the three above-mentioned basic and urgent tasks.

With regard to culture, to build collective mastery is to provide everybody with a rich cultural life, to turn every cultural value into the common property of the people and provide the conditions for them to directly create cultural values, directly build a new culture with a socialist content and national character, and progressively turn our country into a highly cultured country.

While actively developing collective mastery throughout the country, we must centre our efforts on establishing collective mastery at the regional establishments and especially at factories, co-operatives and districts. At present, typical examples of collective mastery appear in some branches and localities. Each example may involve positive and negative feature, but may effect collective mastery only in some respects. We must tune the creativity of the masses to promote what is desirable and eliminate the undesirable. This will create exemplary co-operatives, factories and districts eliciting a well-developed collective mastery from which practical experiences can be drawn to inspire the widespread propagation of collective mastery.

In building a new economy, we should firmly grasp the following principles: "To step up socialist industrialization, build the material and technical foundations of socialism, and take our economy from small-scale production to large-scale socialist production; to give priority to the rational development of heavy industry on the basis of developing agriculture and light industry, develop industry and agriculture throughout the whole country into an industrial-agricultural economic structure; build the central economy while developing the regional economies, combine the central economy with the regional economies into a unified national economic structure; combine the development of productive forces with establishment and perfection of new relations of production; combine economic activity with national defence; strengthen the relations of co-operation and mutual assistance with fraternal socialist countries on the basis of socialist internationalism, while simultaneously developing our economic relations with other countries on the basis of firmly maintaining our independence and sovereignty and of mutual benefit..."

Fully aware of the important role of agriculture toward the immediate life as well as toward socialist industrialization, we plan to concentrate our efforts, for a period of time, on vigorously developing agriculture to ensure an adequate supply of food, supply raw materials to industry, and to develop exports. Likewise, we fully realize that without industry, especially heavy industry, not only will socialism be unattainable but agriculture itself cannot develop. Therefore, we must, right from the start, rationally integrate industry and agriculture at the nation wide scale, in each region and at each grassroots unit.

With regard to agriculture, the fundamental path for building a new industry and developing agricultural production is to use appropriate forms and scales of activity to many labour and natural resources (land, forests and seas), "the first two sources of all wealth"--since in the initial stage, there is no more valuable asset than organized collective labour, nor is there any more fruitful combination than that of labour with natural resources to advance agriculture to large-scale production, to help increase labour productivity, crop yields and livestock proliferation, promote intensive farming, expand crop lands, apply advanced scientific and technical methods, proportionately develop crop and cattle farming, and develop production branches and sideline occupations in each cooperative and district. Having only "three sao per head" (one sao equalling 360 square metres--tr), it is imperative for us to clear more virgin land for agriculture as well as to combine agriculture and forestry.

At the same time, intensive farming--now, as well as in the long term, on cultivated lands as well as newly opened areas--must be a fundamental orientation. The latter requires very careful technical guidance with scientifically devised plans, regulations and standards, and a correct solution to the problems of "water, fertilizers, labour, and seeds" suited to the soil, climatic and weather conditions of each region and each field. To ensure a serious and conscious execution of technical stipulations, great efforts must be made to step up propaganda and educational work while developing appropriate organizations, rational retribution policies, and a correct managerial system.

As for industry, we must fully implement the resolution of the party Central Committee's sixth plenum concerning the development of consumer and local industries with a view to meeting the people's needs and creating favourable conditions for large-scale building of heavy industry, alongside boosting agriculture. With regard to heavy industry, as pointed out in the resolution of the fourth party congress, it must be built in a balanced manner, step by step, on the basis of applying modern science and technology, to meet, first of all, the needs of agriculture and light industry. We must concentrate on quickly building heavy industrial enterprises directly catering for agriculture and light industry, such as engineering, electricity, coal, fertilizers and building materials, and at the same time draw up plans for progressively building key establishments for major engineering, metallurgy, oil and gas, and chemicals. On the basis of the general orientation for the development of heavy industry at each stage, we must correctly assess and select structures, scales and programs of construction so as to obtain the maximum benefits from heavy industry and achieve the highest economic efficiency.

To build a balanced and relatively comprehensive industrial-agricultural structure is a long process which, in some domains, requires 15-20 years, in some others, 5-10 years, while some sectors must be balanced each year. Shortcomings in the recent past arose from the fact that the above principles have not been fully observed and their implementation is beset by many shortcomings. Thus, we failed to meet the demands of agriculture which our industry could strive to satisfy. A number of industrial projects could have been completed more quickly with beneficial effects if we knew how to concentrate our efforts and overcome wastefulness in designing and construction. Also, food production has developed too slowly, and the zoning of crop-specialized regions was slow. As a result, the needs of industrial development and exports have not been satisfied. These problems must be solved in future economic plans.

The whole economy of our country must grow up by simultaneously building centrally-run sectors and regional sectors, in an organically related system, with well-defined responsibilities and in close coordination with each other. The centrally-run sectors play the leading role and directly control branches and establishments of importance for the whole country. We must promptly develop economic and technical branches--the mainstays of modern large-scale production--so as to speed up specialization, cooperation and coordination of production, rapidly apply science and technology to production, mechanize manual work, and increase social labour productivity. We must strive to develop the regional economies, establish provincial industrial-agricultural economic structures and agroindustrial economic structures at district level, so as to speed up the division of labour and the exploitation of natural resources to enhance production, distribute material wealth, organize social life in line with the process of progressing from small-scale to large-scale socialist production, especially in the initial stages. Each locality must ensure a balance between production and consumption, but this must be achieved not through small-scale production local self-sufficiency but under a central program and plan. Each locality must focus its efforts on developing its strength and should seek, through arrangements with the central authorities and other localities, solutions to problems of production and local people's needs, while fulfilling its duty to the central establishments.

In economic development, we must on the one hand quickly establish a reasonable degree of centralization, and on the other, broaden democracy and thus maximize the responsibilities and creativeness of the localities. At the central establishments, we must correct the bureaucratic centralization of management, while paying more attention to economic issues of national significance. With regard to the localities, we must thoroughly oppose factionalism and regionalism, and the failure to seriously carry out orders and plan targets set by higher echelons, criticize the tendency to rely on higher echelons, conservative attitudes, and the lack of initiative to solve problems in the economy and daily life in the localities.

Centrally-run as well as regional economies consist of economic cells of grassroots establishments: factories, cooperatives... where working people directly produce material wealth, carrying out the three revolutions, and implement all lines and policies. All activities of the various branches and echelons must finally be expressed at grassroots levels. The health or otherwise of production and business in grassroots establishments not only depends on their own management, but also reflects the organizational and managerial activities of higher echelons. To grasp the principles of scientific organization and management of socialist economic establishments, thoroughly and accurately inventory labour, equipment, machinery and materials, fully exploit all productive capacities, increase labour productivity, reduce prices, and help each establishment to accumulate capital for enlarged reproduction are extremely important and practical requirements for building both the central and regional economies.

As immediate measures to overcome obstacles and overlappings between the centre and localities, the state must quickly and simultaneously instruct the central, branch and local authorities on their respective areas of competence and responsibility in developing production and attending to the people's needs. The state must clearly classify the responsibilities of the different levels of management in various respects: production establishments, labour, natural resources, materials, finance, purchasing, prices... while training and fostering cadres on the spot. We must reinforce the local and grassroots managerial apparatus with cadres from central branches, especially in the south, to enable it to implement the centre's policies and plans and better solve economic and technical problems and improve life in localities and grassroots establishments. To transform and build the national economy is a process of building new relations of production coupled with the development of productive forces. To this end, we must flexibly apply forms of transformation likely to stimulate production, firmly abolish whatever inhibits production, combine the transformation of relations of production with the re-organization of production, and improve technical equipment and management.

To consolidate and perfect the new relations of production, we must consolidate the system of ownership and transform the managerial and distribution system while trying to build the material and technical basis. We must promote production, raise labour productivity, increase economic efficiency and working people's incomes, and help them adjust to the new economic system. On the other hand, to develop the productive forces, we must expand capital construction and use advanced science and technology, while constantly improving management and distribution to fully develop the working people's mastery, stimulate them to step up production, make good use of machinery, materials, and funds, and turn out a much greater quantity of goods at the lowest possible cost.

The process of advancing from small-scale to large-scale socialist production requires the creation of a multi-sector economic structure to fully utilize all productive capacities: labour, technology and management. However, we should realize that all economic sectors must serve the interest of socialist construction and that the socialist sector (including the state-run and collective sectors) must be the fundamental economic one, the main instrument of production. Endeavouring to build, consolidate and extend the socialist sectors is the prime task of our state from the centre to the localities. Under no circumstances must we allow the individual and private sectors to erode and harm the socialist sectors.

With regard to the state-run sector, we must reinforce the cadres and improve management in each establishment. We must create favourable conditions for the state-run sector to boost production and business, and make it effectively play the leading role in the economy. To develop the state-run sector, we must pay much attention to productivity, quality, and economic efficiency.

In building cooperatives we must strictly observe the principle of voluntariness and going from lower to higher levels, make necessary preparations, especially as regards cadres, to achieve the main objectives of collectivization, namely, boosting production, and increasing production branches and sideline occupations, the variety of goods, labour productivity, and the quality of products. The managerial system of co-operatives must ensure effective control by co-op members, especially in distribution, and ensure a close connection between the individual and collective interests. The state's policy is to encourage and help cooperatives to make rapid progress in production and management and demonstrate the superiority of the socialist economy over private enterprise.

With regard to joint state-private enterprises we should apply the policy of joint venture and sharing interests to make good use of technical and managerial abilities and the funds of private owners and skilled workers. Joint state-private organization is applied to fairly big factories having a significant influence on social life. As far as medium and small enterprises are concerned, if continued individual business is beneficial to society, we will not impose a joint state-private form of organization on them. The state must use appropriate managerial methods to gear these enterprises to the state plan, thus helping to create more wealth while protecting their legitimate interests.

After socialist transformation has in the main been completed, our national economy will still include a private sector which will remain for a long time. This includes handicraft workers in cities, side occupations in rural areas, and service workers and small traders necessary for the distribution of goods. The state must manage and help them develop suitably to ensure their livelihood and contribute to social requirements. Economic sectors are inseparable. They must be organically integrated in the organization of production according to the requirements of the branches and in the local economy.

To establish large-scale socialist production in a fairly short period of time, we must endeavour to broaden foreign trade, particularly with the Soviet Union and other members of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance. This is part of our strategic economic line, an extremely important support for the building of new economic structures, and an effective measure for quickly building industry and vigorously developing agriculture.

We must build a comprehensive foreign trade sector. This requires that we investigate the main markets and produce appropriate goods, boldly use the forms of joint state-private business and collectives, use foreign materials in production and expand and diversify trade with foreign countries. We must utilize imports to accelerate production and strive to fulfill our international commitments. We must organize production of high quality export goods on a large scale. We must formulate policies encouraging exports, and set up specialized companies dealing in goods of a high value with reliable markets. Imports must be examined thoroughly in terms of economic efficiency and we will not import goods that can be produced in the country. To import machines and equipment is to import advanced science, technology and managerial methods of modern, large-scale production, thus contributing to creating our own forces and our managerial and work methods.

The scientific and technological revolution will create opportunities for applying scientific discoveries and advanced technological innovations even despite the absence of a major engineering industry. We must master science and technology to solve very important problems in economic construction and the management of the economy and society, make basic surveys, study laws of social evolution and design economic, technical and social projects in support of state policies and plans.

We must improve the quality of management and work methods, find scientific and technical solutions to accelerate production, choose advanced examples, and perfect the system of technical plans and regulations, and economic and technical standards and norms.

To this end, we must have correct organization, policy and methods to effectively use the contingent of intellectuals--a valuable asset of the country--especially the technical cadres who currently number almost half a million. We must improve scientific organizations (of both natural and social sciences) to make them fruitful research centres of the party and state, and make the necessary readjustments to ensure that cadres are assigned to the most appropriate jobs. Special attention must be paid to fostering managerial cadres and training scientific and technical cadres and skilled workers in a harmonious manner while maintaining reasonable proportions between categories of cadres and workers in line with immediate demands and in preparation for long-term plans. We must continue to improve the management of technology in grass-roots establishments, branches and echelons and help the masses master science and technology while launching mass movements to vigorously promote scientific and technical progress.

The process of building an economic-industrial-agricultural structure is the process of building a powerful people's national defence, of combining economic progress with national defence, socialist construction with the defence of the socialist country, labour duties with military obligations, and production with both defense preparations and actual fighting.

Productive labour and economic construction are very important duties of the people's armed forces. Army officers and soldiers must always be prepared to fight while sparing no efforts to produce more food and other goods. It is an important policy of both the party and state to tightly control all aspects of military expenditure.

A decisive factor in accelerating economic transformation and construction is the improvement of the current managerial system and the building of an appropriate one. The managerial system must be one which will ensure the building of a new economic structure, create a new economic balance, increase labour productivity, achieve high levels of quality and efficiency in production and business with a view to satisfying the people's material and cultural demands and building the material and technical basis of socialism. The essence and source of strength of this managerial system must be the full development of the working people's collective mastery and application of advanced science and technology. With regard to management, we must adopt various measures to ensure that all policies are based on sound economic and technical principles, and, at the same time, widely popularised among the people and firmly executed by means of rational organisations and with the backing of state laws.

Our economic balance is mainly the balance of industry-agriculture, and of labour with land, forest, sea and equipment, machinery and materials. From this basis, we will widen other balanced aspects such as the balance between research and application of science and technology to production, between the training of cadres and workers and economic development, between prices and wages and incomes of the people of various strata, between budget and currency, and between home distribution and international co-operation.

To achieve a firm and all-round economic balance, we must undergo many stages of production. However, in each year, each five-year period, we must have certain balances compatible with the economic requirements and abilities of each stage. Coupled with major national economic balances, and on concrete economic viewpoints, we must ensure a balance and harmony between various factors.

To obtain high rice yields per hectare, we must have certain conditions about water, fertilizers, labour, and seeds. To carry out capital construction, we must have enough materials, equipment, and capacity of designing and building. Economic-technical balances must be achieved on the three basic scales: national, regional, and grassroots. By so doing, we can cover all economic activities while realizing balance in each concrete work so as to provide enough work for every person, make full use of our soil, and fruitfully utilize the capacity of machines and equipment.

Labour productivity in our system is a unified entity comprising the labour productivity of each individual, each base, each locality, each branch and the country as a whole, in which the labour productivity of big industries is the most fundamental because they stimulate all the other branches to constantly increase their productivity. At the early stage of the transitional period, the increase of labour productivity in agriculture must be considered as a very important link. At the same time, attention must be paid to increasing labour productivity in capital construction, communications and transport, two areas which utilise a substantial work force and absorb large investments and in which serious waste occurs.

The measures required for increasing labour productivity and correctly determining the right economic orientation constitute a uniform system, comprising a rational production organisation, ensuring conditions for stable and continuous production, improved work tools, the application of science and technology, the development of the economic levers, heightened discipline and a regime of responsibility, improved skills and higher living standards for working people.

The important task of the managerial work is to organise well social production and the circulation of goods. We must adequately organize economic and technical branches, regional economic structures, and the grassroots bases, making the system consistent with the character, task and functions of each part of the economy. We must eliminate overlappings, confusion, scattering, and narrow "close circuits" in production organisations, and bypass unnecessary intermediary links in the organisation of circulation. These are urgent needs for our state, to create the bases and conditions for putting management into orbit.

Planning: Being the main instrument of management, planning must accurately express the orientation and goals of economic development. It must mobilize all productive potential, especially the latent labour force of society. We must by means of appropriate undertakings and balanced systems correctly and thoroughly apply the basic three-level system of planning: central, regional, and grassroots. Each branch, each locality, proceeding from the common tasks and objectives of the whole economy, must bear the main responsibility for determining the orientation for development, building and implementing the plans, with the aim of ensuring enlarged reproduction in its own branch and locality. Each grassroots unit must effectively enjoy the right to control its finances, take the initiative in planning production and business with the aim of developing all existing capabilities, and obtaining the best results in achieving the targets of the state plan. Each branch must work out plans from the grassroots level. Each locality must work out its plan from the grassroots and district levels. The targets of the plan must reflect the spirit of forging ahead to solve national economic problems, and must have a realistic character suited to the material conditions and the managerial ability of the state apparatus at each stage.

The government council, as well as each branch, and each locality, depending on its area of responsibility must urgently study the timely improvement and promulgation of policies on production (labour, land, raw materials, energy, science and technology, division of labour and collectivization), on the economic levers (prices, purchasing, wages, finances, currency) so as to ensure the correct implementation of the party's line, and meet its demands and the demands of the situation.

We must combat conservatism, which prevents cadres from seeing all the mistakes and shortcomings of the policies now in force, overcome the lack of awareness of new factors which often arise in our national economy which is going through deep revolutionary changes from small-scale production to large-scale socialist production. On the other hand, we must study in the most serious and objective manner before adopting them.

In planning and policy making, we must correctly apply the unity between use and value, combine planning with the wide use of market forces, encourage increases in production and labor productivity, carry out more effectively the principle of payment according to labor coupled with the gradual widening of public welfare, and ensure unity between the three interests--social, collective and individual. We must correctly attune the relations between accumulation and consumption, work out rational policies concerning consumption, strictly observe the regime of thrift, especially in construction and production, considering this as a very important and urgent measure to use all possible means to accumulate capital for enlarged reproduction.

Being the housewife of society and the logistic base of production, the trade service must extend its undertakings and its expertise in buying and selling, so as to boost production and regulate in a balanced manner the circulation of goods in the whole country as well as in each locality. We must combine economic with educational and administrative measures in order to promote state purchasing, secure more and more goods for the state, control the social market, effectively manage prices, punish speculators, smugglers and other people who disrupt the market, with the aim of giving real value to wages and meeting the people's consumer needs.

To concentrate efforts on building and perfecting the leading and managing apparatus is a key link ensuring the successful implementation of all policies. We must develop a scientific approach, taking the content and characteristics of economic and technical activities as the basis for building the leading and managerial apparatus in an appropriate manner. We must have a firm revolutionary character, set up an apparatus appropriately designed to meet our requirements and further organisational development. We must study and revise the present organisation of labor, and keep a proper balance between the labor force and the volume of work to be done, with the aim of saving labor and increasing productivity.

To succeed in building and managing the economy, we must launch a seething revolutionary movement of the masses to become the collective masters of society, develop a spirit of emulation aimed at attaining the concrete targets in each branch, each echelon, and each basis.

Building the new system and the new economy must go alongside the development of the new culture, and the fostering of a new type of people. The new people are the collective masters, a laboring people, motivated by socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism. The new people are people having correct ideas and fine sentiments, having the knowledge and ability to be masters of society, knowing how to harmonize their collective and individual lives, considering the building of a free and happy life for everybody as their noble ideal as a great joy for them. We must mobilise all cultural forces and means to accurately reflect the wonderful historic achievements of our people over the past half-century. We must stimulate and develop the brilliant and persuasive examples emerging in increasing numbers in production and defence and in the efforts to build a new life. Likewise we must strongly condemn, resist and eradicate negative and backward aspects of the cultural life of society.

We must continue to intensify our efforts in education, successfully continue with educational reform, and strive to improve the quality of education, so as to satisfactorily and educate the younger generations, creating the initial bases for the new Vietnam--a comprehensively developed society under the collective mastery of working people. [In a Hanoi Domestic Service broadcast of Le Duan's speech, in Vietnamese at 0130 GMT on 2 February, the preceding sentence is heard as follows: We must continue to intensify our efforts in education, successfully continue with educational reform, and strive to improve the quality of education, so as to satisfactorily care for and educate the younger generations, creating the initial base for the new Vietnam.]

We must vigorously develop public health work, physical culture and sport, so as to protect and improve the people's health, and meet the demands of production and defence, raise the capacity for preventing and curing diseases down to the grassroots levels, provide the people with sufficient common medicines, broaden the physical training and sports movement in all urban and rural areas, at all production bases and schools. We have achieved a great deal in these areas, because we know how to combine efforts of the state with the people's contributions. By further developing the masses' role as masters of society, and more fully realizing existing potentials, we will very successfully promote public welfare, and help improve and embellish our people's life.

Imbued with the party's line, correctly implementing the resolutions of the party Central Committee, most recently the resolution on the sixth plenum, we will surely be able to improve our organisation and management, perfect our state apparatus, overcome our immediate difficulties, and promote economic progress and socialist construction.

"2"

Dear comrades and friends, the profound revolutionary changes in our country over the past half-century are inseparable from the historic events in the homeland of the great Lenin and have occurred within the framework of fundamental changes in the international arena.

The momentous victory of the Russian October Socialist Revolution opened a new epoch, that of transition from capitalism to socialism on a worldwide scale, the era of national liberation, and of emancipation of society and humanity. Imperialism is floundering in an all-round general crisis and is beginning to disintegrate. After defeating the imperialist intervention, the Soviet Union--the first socialist state in the world--successfully built socialism and constantly matured in all fields, making its increasing influence felt, and spurring the progress of modern history.

The Soviet Union's resounding victory in destroying fascism in the Second World War was a victory of the rising socialist system, crushing the biggest, strongest and most reactionary force of the old social system. That great victory brought about a new leap forward in the revolution. Socialism expanded beyond the boundaries of a single country, became a world system, and mankind entered into the second half of the 20th century with the offensive strategy of the three revolutionary currents. The general crisis of capitalism deepened.

U.S. imperialism emerged as the ringleader of imperialism, played the role of international gendarme confronting the revolutionary storms that rose up everywhere. Despite repeated setbacks, they truculently swaggered into Vietnam, invading this country and the Indochinese Peninsula as a whole, where national independence and socialism were intertwined, where a revolutionary tidal wave surged forward following the Second World War, strongly stimulating the liberation struggles of oppressed nations.

Our people's heroic war of resistance against U.S. imperialist aggression was a ruthless test of might between the revolutionary and counter-revolutionary forces of the world. Vietnam's victory was the victory of a new strength, the strength of national independence and socialism--which no aggressive force can crush. Together with the rapid all-round growth of the Soviet Union and the socialist system, of the national independence and workers' movements of the world, Vietnam's victory tilted the power balance, and opened a new stage in the international situation. The strength and offensive posture of the three revolutionary torrents are multiplying, creating advantageous conditions for many peoples to win independence, and many countries to advance to socialism. Imperialism, especially U.S. imperialism, and other reactionary forces, further weakened and neo-colonialism is facing complete bankruptcy.

In its predicament, U.S. imperialism has found a force ready to collude with it in opposing revolution: the clique of Chinese reactionaries with its persistently reactionary nature. U.S. imperialism is readjusting its global strategy, striving to rally its forces, beefing up the U.S.-Western Europe-Japan alliance, carrying out a divisive policy coupled with war threats and provocations in a bid to counter-attack the revolutionary and progressive forces, and safeguard its remaining positions.

[The Hanoi Domestic Service version deletes the preceding sentence]

The betrayal of the revolutionary cause of the Chinese people as well as other peoples by the Beijing rulers is the greatest, most harmful treason in the history of the world revolutionary movement. The glorious liberation which many generations of Chinese have won at the cost of bloody sacrifices, has been abused for individual and factional purposes, and for pursuing idiotic adventures. Many outstanding fighters of the Chinese revolution have been barbarously massacred. The direct goal of this betrayal is to collude with imperialism, especially the U.S., to realize great-nation expansionism and hegemonism.

The collusion between the Beijing reactionary ruling clique and imperialism in opposition to the Soviet Union, Vietnam, other socialist countries and the world revolutionary and peace movements, is an outstanding feature of the present international situation. However, this is a shaky mastering of forces now floundering in an acute crisis. This collusion is fraught with contradictions, with many separate antagonistic ambitions, in which the partners try to take advantage of one another in a bid for hegemony. Imperialism and Chinese expansionism cannot reverse the development of revolution and peace. They are doomed to complete failure. Since the mid-70's momentous changes have occurred throughout the world. The gloomy picture of imperialism and Chinese expansionism stand in sharp contrast to the present favorable condition and excellent prospects of the world forces of revolution and progress.

The socialist system has constantly matured in all respects. With an industry and national defence among the most modern, and a science and technology among the most advanced, in the world, the Soviet Union has obviously become stronger than ever, and has put an end to the superiority of the United States of America. The complete victory of socialist construction in a series of countries, together with the birth of many countries which have gained national independence and are advancing to socialism, is a splendid historic gain of this century, which is speeding up the victory of scientific socialism throughout the world. The aggregate strength of socialism is definitely surpassing that of imperialism and international reaction. The socialist system is strongly developing its decisive influence on the trends of development of human society, and is a firm support for the struggle of peoples for peace, national independence, democracy and social progress.

The national independence movement has entered into a new stage. Old colonialism has in the main disintegrated, while neo colonialism has moved quite definitely towards its own collapse. Enslaved nations have risen up, regaining their right to live in freedom, and are completely driving the aggressors from their territories. Countries that have gained national independence have rallied in the nonaligned movement and are coordinating their struggles against imperialism, abolishing colonialism in its various forms and achieving their political and economic independence. The Havana summit conference last year was a demonstration of the force and will of half of mankind who love independence and freedom.

Another feature of our epoch is that many nationalist countries, such as Angola, Ethiopia, Mozambique, South Yemen, Afghanistan...after gaining their independence, have chosen to advance towards socialism. This vivid reality once again eloquently substantiates the truth of our times--that national independence is closely associated with socialism. Relying on the support and assistance of socialist countries, nationalist countries are creating for themselves advantageous conditions for ensuring a plentiful and happy life for their peoples. This is a path consistent with the evolution of history.

In the central area of capitalism, the movement of the working class and other labouring people is developing more strongly than ever. The class struggle against exploitation by monopoly capital and the heavy burden of economic crisis, against the ruling establishments, arms race, for peace, democracy, and for their vital everyday interests, is rallying broad sections of both manual and white collar workers. It is hammering at international capitalism right in its strongholds, and opening up new prospects for the revolution; the political position of many communist parties has been consolidated and strengthened. A polarisation is taking place between revolution and reform. Social-democracy, together with other reformist tendencies, has gone steadily bankrupt in the face of the sharp crisis of capitalism and increasingly deep social conflicts.

While the revolutionary forces are growing rapidly, U.S. and other imperialist powers are weakening in all respects inside and outside their countries. The scientific-technological revolution, which accelerated the development of the production forces in the '50s and '60s, is now helping to drive capitalism to a new and irremediable structural crisis--a crisis of "surplus" production coupled with serious inflation and unemployment, a crisis of energy and raw materials supply coupled with a crisis in marketing and currency--further sharpening the existing economic and social contradictions. In a number of imperialist countries, the administration is facing continual crises, and long standing fascist regimes have been toppled. Never before has imperialism found itself in such a stalemate.

With its never-changing reactionary nature U.S. imperialism is readjusting its global strategy, striving to rally forces, reinforcing the U.S.-Western Europe-Japan alliance, increasing its collusion with the Beijing rulers, carrying out a divisive policy coupled with threats and war provocations, in an attempt to counterattack revolutionary and progressive forces, and maintain its remaining positions. However, the main feature of the present world situation is the powerful strategic offensive position of the three revolutionary currents which have been integrated and are developing along the same lines, repulsing and toppling imperialism in stages and are surging toward the same goal: peace, independence, democracy and socialism.

With the imperialists and international reactionaries engaged in the arms race, poisoning the international atmosphere, the defence of world peace is an urgent task for all nations and a common goal of the struggle of all revolutionary and progressive forces. The world-wide revolutionary struggle heightens the prospects for preserving and consolidating peace, which in turn creates conditions for the development of the revolution.

Perseveringly and consistently pursuing a peaceful foreign policy, the Soviet Union and other socialist countries have tirelessly striven for a reduction in armaments, the limitation of offensive strategic weapons and for peaceful co-existence and detente. The signing of the Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (SALT 2) is an important victory for peace. The Soviet Union's unilateral reduction in the deployment of its armed forces in accordance with the initiative put forward by Comrade Brezhnev in Berlin last October, along with the constructive proposals of the member countries of the Warsaw Treaty, was warmly welcomed and supported by world public opinion. All the activities of the war-mongering imperialist forces and the Beijing ruling circles such as stimulating the arms race, strengthening military alliances and causing tensions, will be defeated. The prospects for maintaining world peace are greater and more realistic now than ever.

Dear comrades and friends, the fundamental principled policy of our party and state is to unite and cooperate in all fields with the Soviet Union and the socialist community. We have been correctly implementing the treaties and agreements signed with the Soviet Union and other fraternal countries and fulfilling our obligations as a member of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance.

As over the past half-century, from now on we will pursue a policy of solidarity with Laos and Kampuchea, constantly up-grading the special alliance between the three fraternal countries on the Indochinese Peninsula. All attempts to interfere in the internal affairs of Kampuchea, to support the remnant troops of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary gang and other reactionary forces with the aim of sabotaging the revolutionary gains and the independence of the Kampuchean people are doomed to complete failure. The situation in Kampuchea is irreversible.

We vigorously protest against the U.S. imperialists and international reactionaries for creating tension in the Middle East and South Asia, arming reactionary elements to oppose the independence and freedom of the nations of these regions. [In the Domestic Service broadcast "South Asia" was rendered "Central Asia" and "counterrevolutionaries" used instead of "reactionaries" in the preceding sentence.] We strongly support the revolutionary cause of the Afghan people under the leadership of the People's Democratic Party headed by Comrade Babrak Karmal. The noble support of the Soviet Union for the Afghan people in defending their revolutionary gains and (opposing) foreign interference completely conforms to the aspirations of the revolutionary peoples, to international law and is in the interests of peace. Whether to wholeheartedly support a nation or to let it be butchered by the imperialists and reactionaries is a touchstone for revolutionaries [word indistinct]. We are firm advocates of a policy of friendship and good neighbour relations with the Southeast Asian countries, contributing to making this region one of peace, independence, neutrality and prosperity and we resolutely expose the imperialists and international reactionaries schemes of sowing discord and hatred between the countries of this region. We welcome India's foreign policy of peace and friendship and stand for the strengthening of solidarity with the Republic of India. We support the struggles for national independence and social progress of all Asian, African and Latin American countries and will continue to do our utmost to strengthen the movement of the nonaligned countries.

Our people always treasure the long standing friendship with the people of China, and are forever grateful to the Chinese people for their support and assistance to us in our struggle for our liberation cause. In the interest of our two nations, we wish to resolve all the problems in the relationship between our two countries by peaceful negotiations. However, the Beijing rulers are carrying out their aggressive schemes, feverishly preparing new military adventures. They must bear full responsibility for the ensuing grave consequences.

With a clear understanding of the objectives of our era, the socialist countries, uniting with the world's revolutionary and progressive forces, will certainly defeat all schemes of imperialism and international reactionaries. Progressive mankind is entering a new decade, with increasing strength and ever brighter prospects, and will be increasingly successful in the struggle for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

Dear comrades and friends, through half a century of struggle, our party has been thoroughly forged and has become an experienced vanguard of the Vietnamese working class and nation, one of the powerful and staunch columns of the international communist movement. The party has ever more firmly grasped the revolutionary and scientific nature of Marxism-Leninism and devised a correct and creative line, ensuring a clear-sighted and courageous political leadership, particularly at decisive turning points and in complicated circumstances. This is the prime factor for all successes of the Vietnamese revolution.

Since its founding, with the slogan "proletarianise", the party has been closely linked with the working class, and, together with it linked with other labouring people, especially with the peasants, building a firm worker-peasant alliance. The inexhaustible strength of the party arises from its close ties with the masses. Being a new political party of the working class our party (always) unites with action. It has a contingent of well-trained key cadres and a large contingent of party members with good revolutionary qualities. That is a valuable tradition of our party.

Uncompromisingly loyal to proletarian internationalism, our people have always considered the Vietnamese revolution as a part of the world revolution, and have always fulfilled their international duties and won the respect and love of comrades and friends in all continents. Raising high the noble revolutionary banner of the working class and bringing into full play the glorious tradition of the nation, the party has overcome all difficulties and trials, valiantly defeated all tasks entrusted by history and the nation. Today in the socialist revolution, in developing the collective mastery of society, in building the economy, culture and nurturing a new people, the party has to correctly solve a series of problems relating to political and organisational work on party building and agitation among the population. The party must fully understand the laws governing the direct development of socialism from small-scale production. It must firmly grasp the reality of the country to build, develop and concretise the line of socialist revolution. The party's line is a synthesis of the general and concrete line of each domain and each branch, thoroughly understood and correctly expressed in the undertakings, policies, orientations and tasks of the state plan. The party must not only strive to elaborate its general line but also urgently solve problems relating to the undertakings, policies and organisation of each area of work, each branch and each locality.

The political and ideological work of party building involves injecting into party organisations and all party cadres and members a deep awareness of the party's line and developing in them the ability to concretise that line in correct plans and measures. With that aim the party must educate cadres and members in Marxist-Leninist theory and in the party's line and policies.

We must severely criticize and overcome incorrect standpoints contrary to the party's line; we must oppose the influence of bourgeois ideology, the vestiges of feudal ideology, and above all, we must emphasize the struggle against the ideology, psychology and habits of small-scale production. We must constantly reinforce the standpoint on the working class and communist ideology to make each party cadre and member a vanguard combatant in the socialist revolution, particularly in economic transformation and construction, and we must scrupulously implement state and party policies. The present situation requires that our party quickly upgrade its organising ability to translate its policies into revolutionary actions of the whole population, into a vivid social reality. To this end, we must first of all create a rational organising structure.

Before it held power, our party lived among the masses, directly educating, motivating and organizing the masses to struggle to overthrow the ruling classes. After liberation, the working people, under the leadership of the party, organised themselves into the state. Now, the party must, through the state, fulfil its responsibility as leader, considering the state as instrument for implementing all revolutionary tasks. Today, party building must be closely bound up with the building of state and mass organisations, creating an organisational system of collective mastery of society. In this system each organisation has its own function, its own suitable working methods. All organisations must closely relate to one another, harmoniously combine with each other in their major undertakings as well as in specific areas of work, thus contributing to the composite strength of the whole system. The party must be responsible for the building of the state, ensuring that the state expresses the leadership of the party and the people's collective mastery of society in organisation, policy-making work and the practical activities of all public offices, cadres and public employees. It must improve the organising structure and operational mechanisms of the state apparatus, from the government council down to the branches and low levels, to meet the requirements of proceeding to large-scale socialist production, in order to heighten efficiency of economic and social management. We must eliminate superfluous organisations and personnel which hinder or delay progress, while building new organisations when the development of the economy and technology requires it. High responsibility, strict discipline, well-knit organisation, and high professional skills, are imperative "musts" for the whole state apparatus and each cadre and employee.

The new constitution which our entire people have discussed and which will be adopted by the National Assembly, has affirmed the great achievements of decades of revolutionary endeavour and has institutionalised the socialist collective mastery of society. This is an important basis for developing the working people's power, reinforcing the state apparatus and overcoming bureaucratic excesses and slackness in organisation.

While attending to the organisation of the state, the party must consolidate and develop the role of mass organisations, which link the party with the masses, mobilise and educate all strata of people and effectively cooperate with the state in economic and social management. The party must foster creativeness and independence in the work of mass organisations--the trade unions, the youth unions, the peasants' associations, the women's unions, the Fatherland Front and so on--create conditions for them to fulfil their roles and respect the opinions of mass organisations, considering them as the opinions of the masses. We must resist bureaucratisation and the tendency to resort to administrative measures in the activities of mass organisations and make them real schools of socialism and communism, embodying the people's aspirations and places for collecting their opinions, and whose members must devotedly organise the material and cultural life of the masses.

The party must correctly determine its organisational structure in the entire fabric of the state and society. For each field--politics, military activity, economics, science, technology and culture--for each central, local and grass-roots level, each state collective and individual body, the party must devise and apply a concrete leading method suited to its character, pattern of activity, and working context. An extremely important task is to strive to build a strong party organisation, and in particular to reinforce the party's executive committees at all levels in order to make them strong enough to lead every aspect of work in each branch and locality, to better tackle the problems of the economy, technology and living conditions. All party organisations from the centre to the grass-roots must readjust their work style to suit the task of leading the socialist revolution. We must combat arbitrariness in styles of work and the failure to observe rational procedures and strict order. We must oppose arbitrary and despotic decision-making and ensure that undertakings, policies, plans and programmes are really the product of the collective wisdom of cadres and experts on economics, management, in science and technology. We must rely on organisations and use them rather than allow our work to depend on the individual. In particular, we must bring out the responsibility of each organisation and each individual, enforce strict discipline and oppose carelessness and superficiality, and the failure to abide by state plans and laws. We must excel in the work of verification, discovery and timely redressing of mistakes and deviations, summing up and developing frontrank models and positive factors.

The party's fighting capacity is expressed mainly through its grass roots organizations. The building and consolidation of the party consists mainly in building and organizing grassroots organizations along with developing and promoting the labouring people's collective mastery. Strong, good party cells make a strong, good party. Party cells must have correct methods and must work efficiently in order to fulfil their tasks in leading, controlling and training members and in selecting and training cadres. Good organizations have been formed in all services and in all localities, which are providing efficient leadership in production and defence and which respect the people's collective mastery. There are, however, a good many average or weak organizations. So, experiences of model organizations must be summed up and assistance must be given to weak organizations to analyze their shortcomings and seek practical, concrete measures to help each of them advance.

"Ours is a party in power. Each party member, each cadre must be deeply imbued with revolutionary morality, and show industry, thrift, integrity, uprightness, total dedication to the public interest and complete selflessness. Our party should preserve absolute purity and prove worthy of its role as the leader and very loyal servant of the people" (President Ho Chi Minh's testament--ed). The party is accountable for the fate of the country and for the people's everyday life. All party organizations and all party members must keep in close touch with the people to know what they want and to care for them in their daily lives. People who are needy, who are sick, or who are denied education must be the permanent concern of the party leadership at all levels and party members, who must day and night think of ways to arrive at satisfactory solutions. Party members must struggle against all violation of the masses' collective mastery. A member of a party in power who does not respect and protect the masses' mastery has, in practice, repudiated his or her membership and runs counter to communist ideals. Each party member must forge himself or herself into a new person, incessantly increase his or her knowledge and lead a clean life to live up to President Ho Chi Minh's expectations. Party members in leading posts, far from considering themselves privileged, must be all the more exemplary.

The party has recruited and trained a vast contingent of party members from mass revolutionary movements. The great majority of them are absolutely loyal to the cause of the party and entirely dedicated to the country and the people, and have thus won the trust and love of the masses. Party members have been present where the struggle is fiercest, where things are most difficult, on the hardest jobs. Many of them, leading the march and setting examples, have led and attracted the masses into movements for production and fighting, for the construction and defence of the country. Such comrades really deserve the honour of party membership; they have contributed to the party's glorious tradition. Yet, the party is a living organism. As such, certain sections of its membership, through struggle and the test of revolutionary practice, especially at crucial times, are likely to degenerate and so must be rejected, which is only natural in party life. A number of our party members at present are not qualified. They have joined the party with wrong motives, seeking high posts, pursuing personal interests and ambitions. Others began as good members, even with a good record of achievements; but due to slack self-training, they have degenerated, are guilty of misappropriation, bribery, maltreatment of the masses, and other grave offences. Such people, although making up only a small part of the party membership, have damaged the name of the party and harmed the relationship between the party and the people. The party, through mass movements, must detect and expel such elements without delay to keep itself thoroughly pure.

We are issuing membership cards on the occasion of the party's 50th anniversary. This must be done successfully and with strictness, as it is a measure to verify membership qualifications, to step up the education of party members in revolutionary morality, and further strengthen party organization.

The key to higher efficiency in leadership, organization and executive work by the party and state is the building of a strong contingent of cadres who fully grasp and correctly apply the party line, who are highly creative and have a great revolutionary zeal, who know their capabilities, who can organize and motivate the masses, and who can fulfil their tasks with the best results, this requires correct thinking in personnel work. Assessment of cadres must be principally based on their actual moral and professional qualifications and on actual work needs. Appointments must be made promptly, with the right person in the right place and with an eye for overall harmony, interchangeability and self-completion. Review must be made periodically (of both elected and appointed personnel) to make promotions, demotions and replacements a normal activity. Narrow-mindedness, bias and chauvinism must be combatted, morally and professionally qualified cadres must be spotted and appointed in time and without reserve, and assistance must be given them in their work. Bad, degenerate cadres must be firmly rejected; people who do not observe the party line in internal and external matters must be replaced; unqualified cadres who cannot do their jobs must be transferred. The immediate goal is to perfect the contingent of key cadres in leadership and management in the services, localities and units vital to production and everyday life and to national defence and security. The central apparatus and those of the provinces and cities must reduce their personnel in order to strengthen district and grassroots organizations.

Personnel planning to meet both immediate and long-term demands is an urgent task. Reserves must be selected, trained and put on probation so that they can mature properly. Each cadre must select and foster his successor. Each senior cadre must have a part to play in training the new crop of cadres. Leading organs must rely on party cells and the masses in the management, assessment, selection and promotion of personnel. There must be appropriate forms and regulations to ensure active mass participation in

building the party, and in supervising and controlling all activities of party cadres and members. In accordance with the new requirements of the revolution, personnel training must be the primary concern of the party leadership at all levels. Cadres, at whatever levels and in whatever posts, must try to study and must consider this as part of the party character and state discipline. They must study and train through cell activities, through practice and at school, in order to enhance their expertise in practice, theory, politics, and economic and scientific management. Incumbent managerial cadres must be fostered while systematic training must be provided for new ones with good leadership managerial potentials, to be chosen through the practice of production and work.

Currently faced with heavy revolutionary responsibilities, we must strengthen the solidarity and unity of purpose of the entire party, the nucleus of the solidarity of the entire people, the source of strength that guarantees victories for the revolution. Building and preserving the solidarity and unity of purpose of the party is the primary task of every party member. Ideological unity based on a correct political line must be combined with organisational unity resulting from a strict implementation of the party's line and democratic centralism. Every party cadre and member must heighten his or her sense of organisation and discipline and consider the strict implementation of the party resolutions and the state laws to be the highest expression of the party's character and a condition of party membership. It is necessary to firmly maintain collective leadership of party committees at various levels and observe democratic procedures at various party organisations, regarding this as a firm guarantee for our party against mistakes. It is necessary to consider self-criticism and criticism as a law of development of the party, especially criticism from the grassroots level upwards. We must practise self-criticism and criticism as a regular procedure of every party organisation and every party member in order to constantly improve the work and quality of party organisations and members and enhance the solidarity and unity of mind and the attachment of those sharing the same ideal.

The new stage of the Vietnamese revolution makes it necessary for our party to acquire new knowledge, new capacity for leadership and a new level of organisation. Our party must be further strengthened politically, ideologically and organisationally, firmly grasp the concept of proletarian dictatorship, promote the working people's right to collective mastery, successfully carry out the three revolutions, and mobilise the entire party, the entire people and the entire army to resolutely work to foil all aggressive schemes and acts of imperialism and Beijing's expansionism and hegemonism. For the time being, we must concentrate our efforts on guiding the following major work: to boost production, ensure the purchase of goods, stabilize living conditions, increase exports, fulfill the 1980 state plan, and proceed with drawing up the 1981-85 five-year plan; to improve economic organisation and managements, enhance the efficiency of the state machinery, prevent and eliminate negative phenomena, mobilize the masses into an emulation movement to work for goals to celebrate the three major anniversaries, reinforce national defence, ensure combat readiness, maintain political security and social order; to develop foreign relations; to strive to build the party primarily by consolidating local party cells and party committees; to properly organise the issue of party membership cards, improve the quality of party members, and carry out regular training of cadres.

Dear comrades and friends, in celebrating the 50th anniversary of the party today, we are very deeply moved to turn our thoughts to President Ho Chi Minh, the respected and beloved leader of our party and our nation. We are boundlessly grateful to him for his great services in leading our people in opening up the most glorious epoch in our national history, the brilliant epoch of Ho Chi Minh, his ideology and military life for independence, freedom and socialism remains forever a pride of our people and a banner beckoning our people forward.

We turn our thoughts to Comrades Tran Phu, Ngo Gia Tu, Le Hong Phong, Nguyen Van Cu, Phan Dang Luu, Vo Van Tan, Hoang Van Thu, and Nguyen Thi Minh Khai, the former generation of revolutionary combatants who fell, the leaders who made great contributions to evolving the current line of the party, and the staunch communists who set up immortal examples of revolutionary virtues for the generations of today and tomorrow. Our party and our people will forever bear in mind the services of the outstanding sons and daughters of the nation, those who, for the people and the party fought dauntlessly and died heroic deaths, thus building with their own blood the glorious monument of beloved Vietnam.

Under the party's banner, the working class in our country is the vanguard class leading the revolution. It has always been in the van of the struggle for independence, freedom and socialism. The peasantry in our country has, together with the working class, shouldered heavy burdens and made great contributions to the cause of national liberation, and to the building and defence of our socialist homeland. The intellectuals in our country, early absorbing mankind's wisdom, have sided with the workers and peasants, and the entire people, in overthrowing the domination of the imperialists and their henchmen, and building a new society. Our armed forces are the heroic armed forces of the nation, an invincible people's revolutionary army, which has firmly defended every sacred inch of our homeland and the peaceful labour of the people. Our youth, inheriting the glorious tradition of the young revolutionary comrades' association, are a shock force always present at the most difficult points of national construction and defence. Our women, good at both state and domestic affairs, and living up to the tradition of the Trung and Trieu sisters, have given birth to and brought up heroic generations who have succeeded each other in contributing historic exploits. Our old folk, perpetuating the Dien Hong tradition, have enthusiastically participated in national affairs, encouraged their children and grandchildren, and shared their experiences with the younger generation. Our young pioneers, good offspring of the nation, acting upon the examples of Kim Dong and Le Van Tam, have eagerly continued the march of their fathers and grandfathers, adding glory to the future of the nation. Our fraternal people of various national minorities, loyal to the fatherland and the revolution, have always united in the great family of the Vietnamese nation and made worthy contributions to the construction and defence of socialist Vietnam. People of various religions and overseas Vietnamese, always preserving their patriotism and the spirit of national unity, have striven for the independence and freedom of the homeland and actively contributed to building the country's bright future. Under the party's banner our people, thoroughly understanding the essence of Marxism-Leninism, have produced wonderful exploits, keeping our country in line with the times.

Recalling the hard and glorious years of struggle, we have boundless pride in our party, the party of Vietnam's heroism and wisdom; we are proud of President Ho Chi Minh, an exemplary communist, the great teacher of the Vietnamese revolution; we are proud of our people, a staunch, indomitable, valiant and intelligent people who has meritoriously inherited the glorious forty-century tradition of the nation.

In a position of victors and masters, let our entire people unite as one and endeavor to overcome difficulties and successfully build socialism, thwart all plots of the aggressors, firmly defend our sacred homeland, fulfil our international obligations, and worthily contribute to the revolutionary struggle of the peoples of the world.

All people throughout the country, workers, peasants, soldiers, intellectuals, youth, women, fraternal national minorities, religious believers and overseas Vietnamese, let us contribute all our revolutionary zeal, wisdom and talent to the sacred cause of building and defending the country!

For the sake of our nation and socialism, let our entire party, entire people and entire army enthusiastically march forward!

Long live the heroic people of Vietnam!

Long live invincible Marxism-Leninism!

Great President Ho Chi Minh lives forever in our cause!

CSO: 4209

THE VIETNAM COMMUNIST PARTY: ORGANIZER OF ALL VICTORIES OF THE
VIETNAMESE PEOPLE'S ARMED FORCES

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [COMMUNIST REVIEW] in Vietnamese No 2, Feb 80
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[Article by Senior General Van Tien Dung--passages in slantlines published
in italics]

[Text] Our entire army and people are celebrating the 50th founding anniversary of the glorious VCP with boundless enthusiasm. Our party is the vanguard and the staff of the working class, the laboring people and the entire Vietnamese nation, and is a staunch unit of the international communist and workers movement. It is the organizer of all victories of the revolution, armed insurrections and revolutionary wars in our country. It also is the organizer of all victories of our people's armed forces.

During the long nights of slavery and colonialist and feudalism domination, generation after generation of the independence and freedom-yearning Vietnamese people rose up in struggle but failed at the outset to find a correct road to liberation.

Following the thunders of the great Russian October Revolution, the light of Marxism-Leninism flared. Comrade Nguyen Ai Quoc--that is, immensely venerated and beloved President Ho Chi Minh--received this light and brought it to our people, thus illuminating the road to salvation for the Vietnamese nation. The /VCP/ was born, marking a great, historic turning point in the revolution of our country.

Over the half-century that has elapsed since that day, our party has always held fast to its /correct line of revolution, has held aloft the two banners of national independence and socialism/, and has creatively applied this basic strategic line in various stages of the revolution. The party has revived and developed ever more strongly the patriotic traditions and the indomitable will of the nation. On this basis, the party /has successfully mobilized all forces of the nation and of our time/, thereby creating the greatest aggregate strength ever with which to successively

defeat all aggressive enemies, to completely liberate the Vietnamese homeland and to gradually build the socialist regime in our beloved country.

Proceeding from the political forces of the large mass of people, mainly the workers and peasants, and under the conditions of an agriculturally backward country dominated by colonialists and feudalists, the party gradually /organized the Vietnamese people's armed forces, directly led and educated the troops/, fostered their working class nature, and built and incessantly developed the nearly non-existent and small armed forces into sizeable ones. Our party has /successfully and creatively resolved many problems concerning the methods of revolution, the forms of struggle and the military art/. It has led our entire army and people in successfully conducting highly developed armed insurrections and wars for liberation and national defense, scoring glorious victories and adding proud chapters to the Vietnamese nation's modern history.

Under the absolute, direct and all-round leadership of the party, relying on the patriotic people, an inexhaustible source of strength, and on the superior new social system, and enjoying the wholehearted assistance of their international friends, our people's armed forces have always proven themselves worthy of being an absolutely loyal revolutionary army of the nation and the party. Together with the entire people, this army has successively vanquished many cruel invading forces, from the Japanese fascists and French colonialists to the U.S. imperialists and the Chinese expansionists at present, outstandingly fulfilling their national duty and their lofty international obligation. Today, our army has become a revolutionary people's armed force stronger than ever before. This is one of the basic factors insuring the socialist Vietnamese fatherland's eternal independence and freedom. /The VCP leadership is precisely the main factor which decides the success of our country's revolution and all the growth and victories of our people's armed forces/.

Our party, when just founded, in its revolutionary program had already set forth various strategic slogans of /independent nation and land for tillers who are advancing toward socialism,/ fulfilling the vital demands of the entire Vietnamese nation and large numbers of laboring peasants. As a result, at the very outset the party was able to gather the nation's greatest forces--the peasantry and working class--and form a regular army of the Vietnamese revolution, stirring up a seething nationwide revolutionary high tide in 1930-1931 which peaked with the /Soviet Nghe-Tinh Movement./

/Self-defense units/ emerged from among various organizations of the masses, workers and peasants in cities and rural areas. They were the first bases of our people's revolutionary armed forces. At that time, the mission of these self-defense units was to help the masses struggle under several forms: demonstrations and work and market strikes...and to even support the masses to rise up, take over the administration and punish tyrants and criminals.

Our party formed very basic initial concepts of the organization and activities of the self-defense units. From these concepts the party /gradually developed the line of building the people's armed forces/ for revolutionary struggle in our country. President Ho Chi Minh was the first to propose the "organization of a worker-peasant army" in the February 1930 /Political Program Outline/. Subsequently, in its October 1930 /Political Program/, our party proposed the "arming of workers and peasants," the founding of a worker-peasant army," the "organization of workers' and peasants' self-defense units"... In a number of documents, the Party Central Committee also resolved several other problems, such as the affirmation of the proletarian nature of the self-defense units, the insuring of the party's absolute leadership vis-a-vis these units, their organizational forms and operational methods... The party rectified erroneous concepts and acts of cadres, party members and the masses regarding the organization and operation of self-defense units in the revolutionary struggle at that time.

The achievements recorded by the self-defense units during the first general rehearsal of the Vietnamese revolution under party leadership also reflected the first success of our party in applying Marxist-Leninist ideologies governing revolutionary violence, the arming of the working and farming masses and the building of the Red army of workers and peasants to the specific conditions of our country.

World War II broke out, heralding a new stage of revolutionary struggle in our country, which was started off by three successive uprisings in Bac Son, Nam Ky and Do Luong. Our party promptly adopted /a new approach toward the formulation of revolutionary strategies/ to meet the new situation, with emphasis put on the immediate task of national liberation. At the same time, the party also changed the form of struggle, gradually advancing from political struggle to armed struggle while always closely combining these two forms of struggle, and actively made /preparations for launching an armed uprising to seize power/, namely rapidly expanding the mass political forces, building the armed forces, training military cadres, accelerating troop proselyting work, setting up a number of combat zones, launching guerrilla warfare activities in some areas...

Through the various mass organizations of the Viet Minh Front which had grown strong in both urban and rural areas, the party called on the people "to take up weapons and chase away the common enemy." It developed self-defense units, national salvation guerrilla cells, full-time guerrilla units, regular military units..., /thus rapidly expanding the revolutionary armed forces/. The national salvation army, the Nam Ky guerrilla force, the Vietnam propaganda and liberation army, the Ba To guerrilla force... were founded one after another during this period. Thus, the self-defense units of the Soviet Nghe-Tinh Movement and the armed forces that emerged from the political forces of the masses during the 1939-1945 period under party leadership were the predecessors of /the Vietnam people's army today.

The August 1945 Revolution was a great success. It was the success of a concerted uprising of the entire Vietnamese people from the North to South who, relying chiefly on /the political strength of the masses/ and closely coordinating with /their own revolutionary armed forces/, smashed the leading organs of the Japanese fascists and their lackey puppets in the Hanoi capital, cities and provincial capitals; toppled their ruling system in the countryside; and regained administrative power throughout the country. The Democratic Republic of Vietnam was founded. The revolutionary armed forces became the army of the state. Along with the army, there were guerrilla militia and self-defense militia organizations in the various localities. The August 1945 general uprising was a success for the line of launching an all-people uprising and arming the entire people. This line called for /the building of revolutionary armed organizations from within the political forces of the masses in accordance with the characteristics of a general armed uprising/ to support the uprising staged by the masses to seize administrative power, to threaten and paralyze the administration and army of the enemy and to fight and smash its resistance whenever and wherever necessary.

During the anti-French resistance, the party led our people to successfully conduct an "all-people, all-out, protracted and chiefly self-fought" war. This time, unlike during the 1945 armed uprising, our party vigorously developed the armed forces into the nucleus of the all-people war. The party /successfully built the people's armed forces to meet the requirements of a people's war and a war of liberation/ to defeat the war of aggression waged by the French colonialists with their professional army.

The party clearly pointed out the political goals of the war and the fighting objectives of the army--/for the independence and freedom of the fatherland, for land to peasants and for the advancement toward socialism/. It set forth correct guidelines and policies to unite the entire people and motivate them to join the resistance. It armed the entire people while enhancing their strength, carried on the resistance while building the country, systematically created a new social system--especially by reducing land rents and carrying out agrarian reform even during the resistance period in order to constantly increase the strength of the resistance--and expanded the armed forces.

The party creatively resolved many problems concerning the organization and equipment of troops as well as tactical and technical problems to meet the specific conditions of the anti-French resistance. It always paid attention to politically educating and ideologically leading the army. Its line for building the people's army forces was further solidified and gradually developed and perfected.

Our people's armed forces rapidly reached maturity. They were constantly reinforced both quantitatively and qualitatively and were unceasingly forged in accordance with the nature of the working class. Therefore, they established fine traditions and the people lovingly gave them the noble name

"Uncle Ho's troops." Originally made up of small and poorly equipped units, our army advanced toward organizing main force corps consisting chiefly of infantry units and a number of other armed branches. It fought in close coordination with the various units of the local forces, guerrilla militia forces and self-defense militia forces on all battlefields from North to South. Our armed forces and people fought valiantly to defend the capital of Hanoi and the various municipalities, cities and towns and to protect the liberated areas and the bases of the resistance. Our armed forces and people also actively brought the war to the backyard of the enemy, combined armed struggle with political struggle in both rural and urban areas, transformed areas under temporary enemy control into guerrilla areas and bases and systematically liberated many important areas. Our armed forces shifted from guerrilla warfare to conventional warfare(1) and closely combined both forms of warfare. They gradually launched military campaigns on an ever larger scale, leading to the 1953-1954 winter-spring war, the climax of which was the historic Dien Bien Phu campaign. Our armed forces and people victoriously ended the first sacred resistance of the nation's modern history, liberating half of the country, advancing the North toward socialism and creating the basic conditions for continuing the struggle for the liberation of the South.

The anti-U.S. resistance with its extensive developments and characteristics made apparent /our party's new creativity in leading the revolutionary struggle, conducting the revolutionary war and building up the revolutionary armed forces./ This time our people had to cope with an archimperialist having the most powerful economic and military potential in the capitalist world. We resisted and successfully defeated the counter-offensive of the imperialists, the biggest since World War II, against the world revolution. The U.S. aggressors mustered an important part of their modern armed services such as the Army, the Air Force, the Navy and the Marine Corps and used almost all of the ultramodern weapons of the U.S. defense industry to destroy both the northern and southern parts of Vietnam. They organized a lackey puppet army of more than 1 million troops and persuaded the armies of a number of its satellite countries to take part in its extremely brutal war of aggression. Nevertheless, our army and people, who had developed to the fullest the invincible combined strength of the Vietnamese people's warfare in the new stage, successfully thwarted all the military and political schemes and tricks of the U.S. imperialists and their lackey clique. The anti-U.S. resistance really became the greatest epic in our country's history of national defense.

After the total liberation of the North, our party charted an exceptionally correct and creative revolutionary line, namely /simultaneously carrying out the two strategic missions of the revolution--the socialist revolution in the North and the national democratic revolution in the South./ The party motivated and directed our army and people in both parts of the country to conduct and develop to the fullest a people's war in order to defeat the war of aggression waged by the U.S. imperialists, defend the North, liberate the South and achieve national unification, and then advance the whole country toward socialism.

Relying on the superiority of the socialist regime in the North and on the strength of the entire population, the party formulated many clear-sighted foreign and domestic policies which advocated stepping up the resistance and the socialist revolution in the North while building up a national democratic regime in the South. We also enjoyed the great and effective assistance from the Soviet Union and other fraternal socialist nations. With these advantages, our party /vigorously developed the armed forces to meet the requirements of the people's war on a national scale as well as in each region./ The liberation war defeated more than 1 million U.S. puppet and satellite troops in the South while the war for defense of socialism triumphed over the U.S. war of destruction in the North.

Our people's armed forces made extraordinary strides in a short period of time. The air defense force and the navy with new combat branches and with more modern weapons joined with the regional force, self-defense militia and the entire people in using all technical means available to conduct a "ground to air" people's war unprecedented in history. We defeated the U.S. Air Force and Navy equipped with ultramodern weapons, including B-52 super-stratofortresses. The above people's war culminated in the "aerial Dien Bien Phu battle" of December 1972. Many infantry corps and a number of technical branches which were mostly set up in the great rear area and which matured quickly on the great frontline, joined with the regional armed forces and the people of various provinces in the South to conduct military attacks in close coordination with mass uprisings in both the rural and urban areas. Our compatriots and combatants launched many large-scale offensives and counter-offensives, repeatedly causing bankruptcy to the many aggressive strategies of the U.S. imperialists until the 1975 spring general offensive and uprising which culminated in the historic Ho Chi Minh campaign. Our army and people successfully concluded the greatest resistance of the nation, completely liberating the South and paving the way for the entire country to advance toward socialism.

Upon entering the new stage, the 4th Party Congress formulated the general line for the socialist revolution and the line for building a socialist economic system; at the same time, it set forth the fundamentals of the military line in order to build our country into a prosperous and strong socialist country with a firm and powerful all-people's national defense system capable of defending the fatherland. The resolutions adopted by the Party Central Committee, the Political Bureau and the Central Military Party Committee to meet the specific national situation in each period gradually resolved the issues brought forth in the congress and developed in an increasingly satisfactory manner the revolutionary line in general and the military line in particular in order to lead, muster and organize the entire people and army in an effort to fulfill all the tasks of national construction and defense and to discharge national duties and international obligations.

The party has followed /the line of holding high and combining the two banners of independence and socialism/ in strict accordance with the new

situation in which the whole country has achieved independence and reunification and is advancing toward socialism, and in which the fatherland and socialism are one. This is a basic factor of the most decisive nature for the success of our nation in the new era. The party has also clearly pointed out to the people and the armed forces /the new strategic objectives of the revolution, the new combat targets of our army and people, the goals and tasks of the revolution in our country and the goals and tasks of our armed forces/. The party has also clearly set forth /the orientations for increasing our nation's defense potentials in the new stage/, namely developing the strength of the entire country on the road toward socialism, consolidating the combat alliance with the peoples of Laos and Kampuchea, closely uniting with the Soviet Union and other fraternal socialist countries and seeking sympathy and support from revolutionary and progressive people of the world.

In light of the party's correct line, our entire people and army have striven to build the country in all respects, consolidated the all-people national defense and vigorously developed the people's armed forces. Our armed forces and people have gained /repeated victories in the two wars for the defense of the socialist fatherland/ on our southwestern and northern borders. This resounding fact unequivocally testifies to the marvelous strategic leadership of our party as well as to the powerful strength of our army and people in this stage of national construction and defense.

Guided by the party's line of establishing and constantly strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat and executing and constantly enhancing the working people's right to collective mastery, we consider the comprehensive and widespread /establishment of the system of socialist collective mastery/ as the motive force of the dictatorship of the proletariat and at the same time, the source of the invincible strength of the all-people national defense and the people's war for national defense and the source of strength of the people's armed forces. We also consider /simultaneously carrying out the three revolutions, stepping up national socialist industrialization and building a new regime, a new economy, a new culture and a new type of socialist men/ as the basis of the party's combined strategy in the war for national defense and of the building of our powerful people's armed forces to defend the fatherland.

We must firmly grasp the party's fundamental viewpoints with regard to the /line for all-people national defense and the people's war for national defense/ as follows: "National construction must go hand in glove with national defense and the economy must be correctly combined with national defense"; "make strenuous efforts to build a firm and strong all-people national defense system, strengthen the people's armed forces and develop the national defense industry to insure the nation's readiness to defeat all the offensives of the aggressors"; "closely combine labor obligations with military obligations so that we can step up economic construction while steadily consolidating national defense";...

Proceeding from the above, our party has pointed out that the building of the people's armed forces must be closely combined with the building of socialism and the consolidation of national defense in accordance with the line for the socialist revolution as set forth by the 4th Party Congress. At the same time, this must be done in conjunction with the carrying out of the three revolutions throughout the country as well as in each locality. It is true that the army must fully understand and carry out these three revolutions in order to constantly increase its fighting strength. The entire people and armed forces must always satisfactorily fulfill the task set forth by the party, that of /building a prosperous and strong country while standing ready to fight for the defense of the socialist fatherland/.

Due to the long-term scheme of the Beijing expansionists to weaken and annex Vietnam in their expansion to Southeast Asia, peace in our country may be broken by war any time. We must heighten vigilance, stand ready for combat and actively build the country. /We must grow stronger under all circumstances/, work selflessly, rapidly improve our economic and national defense potentials, increase the nation's defense capability and stand ready to defeat any enemy war of aggression, whatever its scale, in order to fulfill our sacred national duties and lofty international obligations.

Elaborating on and further developing the issues concerning our party's line for building the people's armed forces, comrade Le Duan, general secretary of the Party Central Committee, in his speech at a ceremony marking the 35th founding anniversary of the VPA (22 December 1979), gave the following instructions: "/We must continue to build our armed forces into a powerful revolutionary people's army--an army which has an ever higher level of standardization and modernization and which is ready to fight to resolutely defend the fatherland while engaging in productive labor to contribute to economic and national construction/." "The people's army must truly be /a large school/ having great appeal to the young generation and capable of training the youths into new men skilled in both combat and production." "The popular and revolutionary characteristics of our army must be reflected in its combat objectives, organizational structure, leadership system and even in the execution of strategies and tactics."

Based on these orientations, the entire army must strive to build the armed forces and /improve their overall strength/ in the political, ideological and organizational fields, with attention given to both the human factor and technical equipment and to the quality and capability of cadres and combatants. We must race with the time and always try to bypass the enemy in all respects so that victory will surely be ours if the enemy again recklessly wages a war of aggression against our country.

/Satisfactorily resolving organizational issues is an extremely important task/. We must firmly grasp /the law governing the organization of the armed forces/ in the people's war in our country and creatively apply this

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law to build the armed forces in our present undertaking to defend the fatherland. On the basis of militarizing and arming the entire people, we must build a powerful regular and modern /people's army/ and strong and ubiquitous /armed forces of the masses/, develop /both main force and local units/ and /the self-defense militia forces/, and effect close coordination between /main force troops/ and /local troops/ as well as between them and the people in support of the firm defense posture of the all-people national defense system and the people's war for the defense of the fatherland.

Building the army while arming the masses and combining main force troops with local troops constitutes a rule that originates from the long history of our nation's war for national defense and war for liberation. It is also the result of the creative application of Marx's and Engels' thoughts on "the arming of the working class" and "the arming of the entire people" coupled with Lenin's thought on "the building of the Red army of workers and peasants" to the specific conditions of the war for liberation and the war for national defense over the past decades in our country under party leadership.

Today our people are making efforts to accelerate the socialist revolution, build the material and technical bases of socialism, and step by step form a socialist large-scale production system throughout the country as well as in each locality. We are simultaneously building the central and local economies, combining the central economy with the local one, combining economy with national defense and establishing an industrial-agricultural economic structure in the provinces and municipalities and an agro-industrial structure in the districts. Therefore, we can and must /vigorously develop in all respects both main force and local troops to reflect the strength of our entire country as well as of each locality/ in order to meet the requirement for firmly defending the cause of building socialism in each locality and throughout the country. We must and have the conditions to /provide the various categories of troops with more weapons and modern equipment/, develop the modern technical armed services and branches of the regular army at the general staff and military region levels, and increase the numerical strength and modernize the equipment of the local forces, border defense forces and self-defense militia forces.

Only by organizing main force troops and local troops in a proportionate and standardized manner and by forming both mobile forces and local forces from the central down to the grassroots level can we simultaneously step up a war fought with regular army corps and the local people's war and combine them closely together. By so organizing forces, we will be able to achieve mastery, gain an offensive position and develop to a high degree the combined strength of the people's war, as well as the strength of the entire people, armed forces and all central, local and grassroots units. In this way we can always fight the enemy from a strong position and in a timely manner, and always claim strategic initiatives right from the start as well as throughout the course of development of a people's war for national defense.

Proceeding from our firm understanding of the rule governing the general organization of the armed forces, we must satisfactorily resolve /specific organizational problems to actually improve the quality of troops/. As we all know, organization is a science, and how to organize military forces to defeat the enemy is an even more complex science. We must always resolve in a correct and creative manner the combining of men with weapons, men with men, leadership with command, organs with units and cadres with combatants in accordance with certain organizational forms and certain operational methods. These organizational forms and operational methods must always be revised to suit changes in weapons, equipment and fighting methods and to deal with different enemies under specific battlefield conditions. By so doing, we will be able to create high quality and great fighting strength for each unit, each locality and the entire army in accordance with the tasks of each unit and locality and the functions of each category of troops.

In an organization, quality can only be achieved with the presence of a certain quantity; and similarly, a unit must be fully manned as specified in the TOE before it can fully develop its tactics. Therefore, we must /pay attention to quantity, insuring that all units are sufficiently manned in accordance with the TOE/. A good commander must know how to resolve and must definitely resolve this problem on the basis of the available numerical strength; he must reserve manpower for those units which directly engage in combat, operate on the forefront or carry out productive labor; he must reduce unnecessary assignments and cut down the staffing of rear service units and organs to the minimum; and he must also know how to combine combat with building and training--training our forces while fighting and constantly reinforcing them with new combat elements...

Our science of military organization /also requires that cadres know how to use the smallest quantity to create the highest quality/--that is, they should achieve great results with the use of small forces, "spending one to gain two." In this way we will be able to build a numerically small but effective army consisting of crack units skilled in combat, and to use our high quality to defeat the numerically bigger army of our new aggressor enemy.

Concerning organization, we must insure that in peace time, /our troops stand highly ready for combat while effectively engaging in productive labor/ in accordance with the tasks of each unit and the functions of each troop category; and that when the war breaks out, they fight victoriously and defeat the war of aggression of any enemy under all circumstances while still continuing productive labor in an appropriate manner as their tasks and conditions permit.

To bring about organization, we must resolve the key issue of /troop management/-- namely, the management of combat readiness, activities, study and assignments, the management of productive labor and economic

construction, the management of men, and the management of material and technical bases, especially modern combat means and modern production equipment. We must satisfactorily carry out the collective leadership system in the party committee echelons while carrying out the system of command as regulated by the Party Central Committee, enhance the leadership of party organizations, improve the effect of command and management undertaken by leaders at various levels; and develop the right to collective mastery of cadres and combatants. It is necessary to accelerate /standardization/; proceed with promulgating and organizing scrupulous implementation of army rules, statutes, systems and regulations; /uphold the self-imposed and strict iron discipline/ of the people's army; overcome all the manifestations of liberalism, irresponsibility and relaxation; and establish a standardized and scientific work method characterized by accuracy, speed and propriety.

An important requirement for developing the strength of the organization and improving the quality of troops is to build a /strong contingent of cadres/ based on the line of the working class in the work related to cadres and in accordance with the political line and the military line, viewpoints and concepts of the party as well as with the organizational tasks of the armed forces in the new situation. The contingent of party cadres in our army must be truly symbolic of the revolutionary line laid down by the 4th Party Congress and of our standardized and modern people's army in this period of building and defending the socialist fatherland. Party cadres in our army must be fully capable and possess uniform qualifications enabling them to fulfill all the tasks assigned. Along with forging their revolutionary quality and fighting will, cadres must study hard to improve their capability in all respects. To satisfactorily carry out the system of command, commanding cadres must be trained and train themselves comprehensively in both military and political subjects, in the organization, command and management of troops, in the management of material and technical bases, and in the development of the fighting strength of their units. It is necessary to step up the building of the army school system along the line of standardization and modernization in accordance with the general statutes adopted by the state. The contingent of cadres must have an integrated organizational structure consisting of commanding cadres, political cadres, rear service cadres, technical and professional cadres, theoretical cadres, scientific research and teaching cadres, and standing and reserve cadres. The greatest contribution that the contingent of cadres can make today consists of its constant control of units, its mastery of the ever changing weapons and technical equipment, and its mastery of science and military art--in short, its capability to defeat the enemy. This highly reflects the capability of party cadres in the army to master society, master nature and master themselves.

For any army to operate efficiently and fight victoriously, it must be /fully supplied with material and technical means and provided with logistical support/. This is a factor determining the fighting quality of

the armed forces. At present, the rapid growth of our army with regard to both quantity and quality as well as to its modern weapons and equipment in a situation in which our economy is still beset with many difficulties, places very high demands on technical and logistical support. Our entire army, with a revolutionary offensive spirit, must make extraordinary efforts to study modern science, technology, economics and the organization of management, and must adopt active and creative organizational measures to meet these demands.

Relying on the people, taking advantage of the results of the three revolutions in every locality and throughout the country, developing the potentials derived from the cooperation and assistance offered by the fraternal socialist countries and working in close coordination with the various sectors of the state, we can successfully fulfill the task of supporting combat activities and combat readiness, construction and productive labor of the armed forces, and can gradually improve the living conditions of troops.

It is necessary to further develop forces and constantly consolidate the rear service network and to arrange rear areas in accordance with the general plan for national defense. We must develop the strong position of the people's war logistical network; combine the rear service of the regular army with the local rear service network; and organize the stockpiling of materials needed for combat on various lines in accordance with the general strategy.

In technical insurance, we must intensify management to satisfactorily maintain and prolong the life of all the available modern equipment. It is necessary to increase the number of technical cadres and personnel service in all categories of troops, especially the modern armed services and branches.

In caring for the living conditions of troops, we must establish a regular pattern to be followed under normal circumstances as well as during combat. Under any circumstance and condition, it is necessary to maintain and improve the troops' physical fitness so that they can fight persistently, untiringly and continuously. Research must be conducted to develop appropriate mess service, billeting facilities, and medical services to meet the requirements for combat and combat readiness of a modern, regular army and to reflect a civilized lifestyle of new socialist men. Attention must be given to satisfactorily carrying out management in all operations and at all levels so as to insure that material and technical bases are used rationally, with high results and in a highly thrifty manner, and that they are not subject to waste, losses or damage. It is necessary to combine the building of logistical bases and material and technical bases with the consolidation of the organizational system to insure that all activities will be conducted in accordance with the basic orientations for building the army.

In order to bring the fighting strength and combat expertise of our army up to the requirement for national defense, our party has /systematically raised and successfully resolved many new problems of military science and the military arts in the people's war for national defense/. The party's military line and Vietnamese military science in the national defense undertaking are the line and science of "a war for the people and by the people" in which we thoroughly understand the offensive strategy and create the greatest combined strength of the all-people, all-out modern war for national defense on the basis of the system of socialist collective mastery. We combine the local people's war with the war fought by regular army corps; combine the various counter-offensives, offensive and defense tactics; firmly claim mastery and launch vigorous offensives; master the country, the battlefields and the localities to destroy the enemy; destroy the enemy to master the country, the battlefields and the localities; fight vigorously while developing our forces; deal strong blows and carry on the war in a protracted manner; grow ever stronger and win ever bigger victories in the course of fighting; and fight for the defense of the fatherland while engaging in production to build the economy and socialist construction.

All our troops as well as each type of forces, each unit, each armed service and branch, and each cadre and combatant should proceed from the party's military viewpoints and concept, and consider the specific situation of our and the enemy's battlefield terrain to devise highly effective combat tactics. We can fight by coordinating various armed branches and services, or by each armed branch or service acting independently on various large, medium and small scales in attacking the enemy's front and rear and even in attacking its vulnerable and strong points. We must deal painful and dangerous blows to the enemy by using small yet effective forces in order to change the situation on the battlefield, quickly defeating the enemy, winning ever bigger victories and firmly defending the fatherland.

In studying and establishing military science to defend the country and develop the Marxist-Leninist military science in our country, we have derived many well known lessons from the liberation and national defense wars of past decades and the fruitful experiences from our ancestors' patriotic wars thousands of years ago. We should learn from the advanced experiences of the Soviet army and other socialist countries' armies, and study well the latest scientific and technological military innovations of various countries.

Relying on the results of our study of military science and arts to devise new combat tactics for national defense warfare, we should /step up troop training, closely combining technical and tactical training with political education./ All categories of troops, armed branches and services, and units must possess thorough tactical and technical knowledge and a stalwart combat spirit, and be ready to sacrifice for the country and socialism. Special attention must be paid to qualitatively increasing the training task. Troop training must be basically, systematically

and comprehensively conducted to cope with the requirements of combat duties, the situations and missions of each unit, and the conditions of each battlefield. Exercises must be organized periodically to train unit commanders and agencies at various echelons and definite results must be obtained after completing each training program to specifically show the unit progress. Attention must also be paid to training units, agencies, cadres, combatants and technical personnel, considering cadre training as a central task while emphasizing the training of new recruits and troops of various armed services. Cadres of all ranks down to primary units must be constantly trained and forged so that they can improve the levels of their combat command capability and knowledge about weapons and equipment on hand and improve the standards of their troop management and training abilities. The training scope for units must emphasize both tactical and technical training, considering technical training as a basic task and tactical training as a principal task.

We can only insure /high combat readiness/ for each unit and the entire army by satisfactorily resolving the aforementioned problems concerning organization, cadres, the fulfillment of material, technical and logistical conditions, scientific research into the military arts and the improvement of training quality.

/Remaining combat ready' to defeat all of the enemy acts of aggressive war is a sacred national order and the most important political mission of our army./ It reflects the political character and operational capability of our army and the combat ability of each cadre and each combatant. We must constantly strengthen our defensive positions on the frontline as well as throughout the country. Compliance with all regulations on combat readiness must be strictly enforced. We must be ready in terms of forces and battle plans and also in terms of operations by regular army corps and the local people's warfare in order to defend our land, seas and airspace, and resolutely smash all the new military adventures by the Beijing expansionists in collusion with imperialism which encroach on our territory, should ever they occur.

The guidelines for developing the army and increasing the quality of our armed forces must insure that our troops can satisfactorily fulfill their duties of maintaining combat readiness to defend the fatherland and of engaging in productive labor to build the economy. /Productive labor and economic construction/ constitute the most important political duty and the fundamental and long-range mission of our army and manifest the fine nature of the people's army and reflect the urgent and long-range requirements of national construction in the new stage.

On the basis of constantly enhancing the quality of the armed forces and of satisfactorily fulfilling the combat and combat preparedness duties depending on the specific situation in each locality and at a given time, it is necessary to launch among troops, including units on the frontline, an intensive movement to produce grain, food and some consumer goods in

order to contribute to gradually improving the troops' living conditions. Effort must be exerted to fulfill by all means the assigned state plan norms for the production of grain, food and industrial goods, capital construction, maritime products and air transport... We must know how to develop the troops' capacity of economic construction. The problem is that we must formulate specific programs and plans, and closely coordinate with various sectors and localities so as to adopt appropriate operating procedures, insuring a close combination of the economy with national defense, turning out more material wealth and contributing to resolving the common problems of the entire country. Relying on their existing material bases, units stationed in various localities, especially in the thinly populated areas of mountainous regions, along the coast and on islands, must by all means organize production, contribute to the building of new economic zones and local economies, and resolve their own problems.

The economic construction task obviously requires that cadres and combatants not only be competent militarily but also have some economic knowledge.

Enhancing the quality and combat strength of our army along the party line of developing the people's armed forces must be accomplished on the basis of /striving to make our army very firm and strong politically./ This is a factor to insure our armed forces' absolute loyalty to the country, socialism and Marxism-Leninism, and to manifest the working class nature of blood-sealed attachment to the laboring people, our close solidarity with international friends and our determination to fight and defeat all enemies and to outstandingly fulfill all duties.

To educate and make troops firmly grasp the line of upholding the party's present two banners is mainly to raise aloft /the stand and ideology of the working class,/ and promote the revolutionary character and fine traditions of our armed forces in the new stage. The class stand is always something concrete and not abstract and general. At a time when the country has been independent and unified and is advancing toward socialism and when the working class has become the national leader, the fatherland and socialism are one. Therefore, in training troops and enhancing their working class stand we must always closely associate the nation with class and national independence with socialism and the party with the country and people. We must attentively educate and make troops love the country, socialism, the communist ideal and the people, and consider it a very strong moral motive to urge cadres and combatants to fight and readily sacrifice and to victoriously fulfill all duties.

We must firmly grasp /the principles of politically developing the army/ as set forth by the party, striving to /purge and strengthen the army's party organizations and increase the effectiveness of our party development and political tasks,/ and the people's armed forces. We must thoroughly understand the party's absolute, direct and comprehensive leadership over the army, make the army and people of one will and insure singleness of mind among troops. Our army is always the sharp and reliable tool of force for

proletarian dictatorship and the socialist collective mastery system of the laboring people. We must develop our valuable national traditions on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, always remain a heroic and invincible army of the Vietnamese nation and be at the same time a stalwart army of proletarian internationalism.

Under the leadership of the glorious party and great Uncle Ho for some decades of building, fighting, developing and winning, our people's armed forces have become a heroic revolutionary army never before seen in our national history.

Our army has all the characters of /a new style revolutionary army of the working class/, always firmly adopts the stand of the working class--a class representing historical evolution--and firmly grasps the advanced theories of Marxism-Leninism and revolutionary science of the era.

Our army has always developed the stalwart and indomitable anti-aggression traditions of the Vietnamese nation, a heroic nation with a 4,000 year history of struggle for national construction and defense.

Together with all the people, our troops firmly hold to the dictatorship of the proletariat, develop the laboring people's right to socialist collective mastery, simultaneously carry out the three revolutions and build a new regime, a new economy, a new culture and new socialist men.

Our army has always closely combined the duties of national defense with socialist construction, creating an integrated strength to strongly develop itself and the rear, thus contributing to making the country powerful and prosperous.

Together with all the people throughout the country, our troops remain closely united with the armies and peoples of fraternal socialist countries and with world revolutionary forces, and struggle to achieve the objectives of the revolution in our country and of the era which are peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

The Vietnamese people and army are determined to fulfill their important historic mission of the era as assigned by the nation to build and defend their homeland.

Relying on the unprecedentedly large force of national defense, we now have new and very fundamentally favorable conditions to continually make the people's armed forces ever more heroic and powerful. We must accelerate even more strongly the campaign to /"enhance the fine nature and combat strength"/ of the people's armed forces in order to achieve many more results and resolutely remain worthy of President Ho Chi Minh's teaching that: "...We can surmount all difficulties and defeat all enemies."

Under the party leadership, the heroic Vietnamese people and their heroic armed forces will certainly surmount all obstacles, overcome all difficulties and defeat all enemies to protect their revolutionary gains and advance their fatherland to new peaks of prosperity and victory.

FOOTNOTES

1. It must be noted that our "guerrilla war" is different from Mao Zedong's "guerrilla war"; the term "guerrilla war" we often used during the anti-French and anti-U.S. struggles is nowadays known as "local people's war."

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THE 50 YEARS OF THE NATIONALITIES POLICY OF THE PARTY

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [COMMUNIST REVIEW] in Vietnamese No 2, Feb 80
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[Article by Hoang Van Kieu]

[Text] Our Vietnam is a unified nation consisting of many nationalities. Besides the ethnic Vietnamese, who constitute the ethnic majority, there are more than 50 fraternal, ethnic minorities who have joined efforts to build and defend the country throughout the long course of its history.

On the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and the actual situation of our country, our party asserted: "Correctly resolving the nationalities question is one of the tasks of a strategic nature of the Vietnamese revolution." (1) And adopted its nationalities policy at an early date: "Uniting all nationalities on the basis of the principles of equality and mutual help in order to win independence, freedom and happiness for all." (2) In the 50 years of revolutionary struggle, the line of our party on the nationalities question has led to brilliant victories.

Our party has united all nationalities within the great family of Vietnam and created an invincible strength that has defeated every enemy, won independence and freedom for the nation, reunified the country, begun advancing the entire country to socialism and firmly protected the socialist fatherland.

In Vietnam, the ethnic majority as well as the ethnic minorities possess ardent patriotism and a tradition of unity and closeness to one another throughout the several thousand years of our history. However, class enemies and national enemies have always pursued a policy of dividing one nationality from the others, especially the ethnic majority from the ethnic minorities, in order to facilitate their rule and in a vain attempt to break the strength of unity in struggle of the various nationalities against them. However, as a result of adopting a correct policy and correct work methods, our party has awakened the spirit of patriotism and the traditional unity of the various nationalities, assembling all nationalities around itself.

"The members of the ethnic majority as well as the members of the Tho, Muong, Man, Jarai, Ede, Sedang, Bahnar and all other ethnic minorities are children of Vietnam, are blood brothers. We live and die together, share joy and sorrow, help one another in good times and bad... The rivers might run dry and the mountains might crumble, but our unity will never weaken."(3)

This earnest appeal by President Ho deeply penetrated the hearts and minds of the compatriots of all nationalities from the North to the South, from the mountains to the lowlands and launched revolutionary movements unprecedented in our history, movements that led the revolutionary undertaking of the party and our nation to victory after victory. There were the successful August Revolution and the victorious war of resistance against the French followed by the great victory of the resistance against the United States, which totally liberated the country and reunified the fatherland, ushering in a new era--the era of the advance by the entire country to socialism.

Shortly after peace, independence and reunification were achieved and as the compatriots of our country's various nationalities were making every effort to heal the wounds of war, overcoming natural disasters and turning their hands to building the new life, the reactionary clique within Beijing ruling circles unleashed a war of aggression against our people from the southwest and the north. The strength of the militant solidarity of the entire nation of Vietnam once again thwarted the Kampuchean reactionaries, the lackeys of the Beijing expansionists, on the southwest border and defeated the 600,000 man Chinese expansionist army on the northern border.

Under the leadership of our party, the tradition of national unity has been cultivated and strengthened in each stage of the revolution. The sense of a united fatherland has constantly been strengthened. "The fraternal nationalities in our country have long been linked together in one nation of Vietnam, they share one territory, one economy, one culture and one historic tradition, share one undertaking, one future led by the party and Uncle Ho, share a common life in our country, share a common position in the international arena."(4)

However, we cannot be complacent, cannot be satisfied with the achievements that have been recorded. The prejudices among fraternal nationalities caused by the imperialists and feudalists cannot be eliminated in a short amount of time. At present, the imperialists, the Beijing expansionists and the other reactionary powers are looking for every way to take advantage of these weaknesses to attack us politically in a vain attempt to weaken our national solidarity. We must heighten our vigilance against every scheme and action to divide the nationalities; on the other hand, we must further strengthen the solidarity of the various nationalities in order to prevent the enemy from using them.

Our party has implemented the right of ownership, that is, equal rights among the various nationalities in all areas, primarily in the area of politics.

The success of the August Revolution and the birth of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam marked an extremely important turning point in the life of the various nationalities of our country. Once slaves subjected to many layers of oppression and exploitation, the people of the various nationalities truly became the masters of their destinies. The first Constitution of our state (1946) stated: "All power within the country belongs to all Vietnamese, without regard for race, sex, financial situation, class or religion."

The members of all nationalities are equal under the law, regardless of whether they belong to the ethnic majority or an ethnic minority, whether their level is high or low. The people of the various nationalities have established people's governments on the various levels and elected outstanding representatives to serve in these governments. Not only the masters of their localities and installations, the people of the various nationalities have also elected delegates to the National Assembly, the highest agency of power, in order to be the masters of the entire country. The people's governments on the various levels have constantly been strengthened and the number of National Assembly delegates representing ethnic minorities has increased through the various legislatures; these facts correctly reflect the role and position of the various nationalities within the Vietnamese community. The Nationalities Commission of the General Assembly--which, under the draft of the new Constitution, will become the Nationalities Council--is the power agency tasked with researching and proposing laws designed to codify the nationalities policy of the party. The laws of our state forbid every form of discrimination against and unfair treatment of any nationality. Our state is the unified state of all nationalities living together in Vietnam, living with equality of rights and obligations.

The establishment of the right of ownership politically has provided a powerful moving force that has given birth to countless innovations and talents that have stimulated the revolution in the ethnic minority areas. Over the past several decades, as a result of implementing their right of ownership politically, the people of the various nationalities have never put down their weapons, never stopped protecting the fatherland.

The exercise of ownership politically through the state is the highest form of ownership. It controls the right of ownership in the other areas. However, because the system of collective ownership, the new economy, the new culture and the new man are in the process of formation, the political right of ownership of the various nationalities has yet to be strongly upheld.

To uphold the right of ownership of the various nationalities in the field of the economy, our party has carried out the transformation and gradual development of the economy, abolishing poverty and backwardness and advancing all ethnic minorities toward socialism.

On the basis of determining that economic development is the key to implementing the nationalities policy, our party and state have adopted many policies and taken many steps to carry out democratic reforms and abolish the various forms of exploitation by village chiefs, tribal chiefs, landowners and so forth, thereby establishing the right of ownership of nationalities to their paddies and upland fields; at the same time, many policies have been adopted to stimulate and provide incentive for the development of agriculture, forestry, communications, water conservancy, industry and commerce in the ethnic minority areas. Over the past several years, our state has been assigning cropland and forest land to cooperatives to be used for business purposes, thereby expanding the right of economic ownership of the various nationalities.

The old system left behind slightly less than 2 million compatriots who were still living nomadic lives. Our party and state launched the settlement of nomads campaign that was closely linked to the building of new economic zones in the mountains. This was not simply a production campaign, but a comprehensive and thorough revolutionary campaign dealing with thinking, mode of production, customs, habits and lifestyle, consequently, it involved many complicated problems. However, the campaign did achieve a number of encouraging results.

For generations, the lack of convenient communications and transportation has posed a major difficulty to the ethnic minority areas; this difficulty has restricted the development of production and put many areas outside the common economic life of the country. Over the past several decades, the state has made rather large investments in the construction of new economic zones in the mountains and has redistributed production forces by sending persons from the lowlands to the mountains and utilizing local manpower to establish many state farms and forestry sites, build many enterprises and mines, develop communications and transportation and build a road network which, although not complete, is relatively widespread, extending to many high, remote areas, thereby serving the economy and the defense of the nation and stimulating production as well as economic and cultural exchanges between the mountains and the lowlands, between highland areas and lowland areas. State-operated commerce has developed all the way down to the installation level.

Together with the large enterprises of the central level that have been established in the various areas, many local industrial installations and artisan and handicraft installations have been developed in the ethnic minority areas in order to produce and process products in accordance with the requirements of the local economy and the everyday lives of the masses. The appearance of the mountains is undergoing many changes. The differences between the mountains and the lowlands are gradually diminishing.

In conjunction with completing the democratic reform program, our party and state introduced working farmers of the various nationalities in the North to the collective way of life. Agricultural cooperativization has

been virtually completed in the lower areas. Every province and every nationality has a number of cooperatives that are advanced cooperatives in every respect or in one respect. The ethnic minority areas in the South are developing production collectives. The collectivization movement is having a good impact upon production.

On the momentum of the development of production, the material lives of the compatriots of the various nationalities have been maintained and gradually improved, even during the years of savage warfare. In the newly liberated ethnic minority areas of the South, perennial famine and the lack of salt no longer exist. In lowland areas, where communications are easy, the lives of compatriots have been improved rather well in terms of food, clothing, shelter, transportation, health care, etc.

However, due to the common difficulties of the country as it advances from small-scale production and due to the fact that the country has been ravaged by war and must now contend with the scheme of aggression of the Chinese expansionists, our organization and management of the economy are still weak, the strengths of the ethnic minority areas have not been developed and the economy is, generally speaking, still poor, consequently, the right of ownership of the various nationalities in the area of the economy is still limited.

Our party is strongly developing education, the culture, science, public health services and the building of the new life in the ethnic minority areas.

Over the past several decades, education has taken rather long strides forward in these areas. Prior to the August Revolution, many nationalities were totally illiterate; each province had but one level I school and in all of the mountain provinces of the North, there was only one level II school, which was located in Lang Son Province and had an enrollment of roughly 150 students. Today, illiteracy has been virtually wiped out among the ethnic minorities; the network of general schools has developed all the way down to the village and hamlet levels. The number of ethnic minority students has been increasing with each passing year. Within many ethnic minorities, 15 to 20 percent of the people attend school.

Under the U.S.-puppet regime, only 65,000 ethnic minority students attended school throughout the South; during the 1978-1979 school year, the two provinces of Gia Lai-Kontum and Dac Lac had an enrollment of 70,000 ethnic minority students.

As regards vocational and college education, every province now has a network of installation schools and middle schools; the North has five colleges and one reserve college for ethnic minority children (during the 1978-1979 school year, 4,5000 ethnic minority students graduated from general schools and entered colleges); in the South, the Central Highlands College opened its doors to students of the various nationalities only 2

years after liberation. The colleges of the central level annually enroll thousands of ethnic minority students in their official or preparatory curricula and annually graduate hundreds of level III teachers, engineers, doctors and pharmacists who are members of an ethnic minority.

Our party and state have implemented many programs and policies, established many different forms of organization and implemented many specific regulations and measures, such as opening highland schools for teenagers and children, work-study schools for youths, general schools with dormitories for students who live far from school and preparatory schools or classes for students whose marks are not high enough; such as the special scholarship system, the system of special enrollments in colleges and vocational schools, etc.

To implement equality in terms of language, the laws of the state guarantee respect for the spoken and written languages of all nationalities: they are used together with the national language at general schools, used in public life, in literary and art works and in the courts. The state has also met the requirements of a number of nationalities with regard to developing new written languages or improving old alphabets.

Every fraternal nationality has its own very valuable cultural traditions. The cultures of the nationalities are very rich. It is the position of our party and state to build a unified Vietnamese culture that smoothly combines the essence of the culture of all nationalities. Our party and state have encouraged and intensified the effort to search for and collect items of traditional cultural value, widely develop cultural activities and initiate direct cultural exchange among the nationalities, thereby enabling the compatriots of the various nationalities to enjoy the fruits of the common cultural life of the entire nation of Vietnam. In the fields of poetry, music, sculpting and architecture of the various nationalities, many works are considered precious pearls within the cultural storehouse of Vietnam (the Dam San School of Voice, "Song chu xon xao," Sap dancing, Non dancing, Rong Chieng dancing, the Cham Temples, the Khmer Temples and so forth).

Generally speaking, the ethnic minority areas once were places of "sacred spirits and poison water," places where diseases were rampant. The serious abandonment of newborn children and the high mortality rate pushed a number of nationalities to the brink of annihilation.

Following the August Revolution, especially after the ethnic minority areas had been totally liberated from the occupation of the imperialists, our party and government launched and actively waged a difficult fight against diseases to protect the health of the ethnic minorities. A continuous campaign to fight and wipe out malaria, which extended over many years, was a brilliant success. The public health and hygiene network has developed widely, even to the installations. Disease prevention has been coordinated with medical treatment, modern eastern medicine has been

coordinated with the traditional methods and drugs of the ethnic minorities. Not only was free medical treatment initiated in the ethnic minority areas earlier than in the lowlands, but the state has also adopted a policy regarding highland areas of providing a monthly supply of drugs to prevent diseases to the compatriots of the various nationalities. Although not every disease has been wiped out, the fight against diseases in the ethnic minority areas has achieved results that could not be achieved in hundreds of years under the old system. The incidence of dangerous diseases has significantly declined. Child abandonment has been stopped and the mortality rate has decreased three-fold. A number of nationalities that once faced the threat of annihilation have restored themselves. The population is growing more rapidly. The light of culture and science is repulsing superstitions and backward customs and habits. The new, happy and wholesome lifestyle is being formed.

Training an increasingly strong corps of ethnic minority cadres and intellectuals is a very important factor in insuring the implementation of the party's nationalities policy.

The revolution is the undertaking of the masses. Mobilizing and organizing the masses of the ethnic minorities in carrying out the revolution requires a corps of cadres from among the masses of the various nationalities. For this reason, our party decided to build a corps of cadres for every nationality (directive 216 CT/TU).

Even during the first days of the revolution, outstanding elements of the various nationalities followed the party and fought under its banner. Educated and forged by the party and having met challenges, many persons became outstanding party members, political cadres and military cadres of the party. Since the August Revolution, the ranks of party members and cadres who are members of the ethnic minorities have constantly grown.

Following liberation, the party and government turned their hands to training the corps of ethnic minority cadres. Because they were starting with nothing, training had to proceed in a gradual, selective manner. Over the past years, the pedagogy, public health, agricultural, forestry and industrial sectors have given priority to providing formal training in order to quickly supply to the mountain provinces a corps of instructors, nurses, doctors and agricultural and forestry engineers who understand the situation and are well versed in the customs and habits of the ethnic minorities. The education, water conservancy, commerce, cultural, art and other sectors have also attached importance to training ethnic minority cadres. Deserving of attention is the fact that every ethnic minority, regardless of how small it might be, has its own corps of cadres.

In conjunction with training the corps of ethnic minority cadres, the party and government have also given attention to sending more cadres of the ethnic

majority into ethnic minority areas in order to develop upon the strengths and overcome the weaknesses of each type cadre and create the conditions for them to support, unite and closely cooperate with one another in struggling to steadily advance the revolution in the ethnic minority areas.

Facts have proven that the nationalities policy of our party has been a correct one. The revolutionary achievements recorded by the people of the various nationalities and the glorious contributions made by the ethnic minorities to the common revolutionary undertaking over the past 50 years are the combined results of the correct political line, military line and economic line of the party. They also eloquently prove the correctness of the party's nationalities policy as it has been applied in the various fields of work of the party, government and mass organizations.

To thoroughly understand the nationalities policy of the party, it is first of all necessary to thoroughly understand the viewpoint of considering the correct resolution of the nationalities question to be one of the tasks of strategic significance of the Vietnamese revolution. Le Duan said: "We must attach importance to the nationalities issue. One hundred years from now, the classes might no longer exist, but the nationalities will."(5)

Thoroughly understanding the nationalities policy also means thoroughly understanding the thinking of our party regarding how to resolve the nationalities issue. It is the thinking that the country of Vietnam is a unified country, the nation of Vietnam is a unified nation consisting of many fraternal nationalities living together on Vietnamese soil. This is an objective truth that has been confirmed in the 4,000 year history of building and defending the country. Every position and policy must have the purpose of making this unity increasingly strong; conversely, every position and measure that weakens this unity must be eliminated.

It is also the thinking of uniting the various nationalities. National unity is a very precious tradition of our nation. National unity is the special characteristic of our people. "Crepe covers the vanity, the people living in a country must love one another." The strength of national unity has thwarted every scheme of aggression of foreign countries and triumphed over serious natural disasters so that our nation of Vietnam could exist and develop as it has today. "Unity, unity, broad unity; success, success, great success," these words are a very brilliant conclusion drawn by President Ho from the history of survival of Vietnam.

The unity of the nation and the unity of nationalities must be based on the equality of nationalities. The equality of nationalities is the basic principle in the nationalities policy of the party. Our party, a genuine Marxist-Leninist party, supports the full implementation of equality among the nationalities. Building the system of collective ownership and implementing the right of collective ownership of the various nationalities in the areas of politics, the economy, culture and society also implement

equality among nationalities. This equality is the firm foundation of the unity among nationalities and our unshakeable national unity.

The nationalities policy must be concretized in the form of practical positions, policies and actions of the various levels and sectors.

The nationalities policy sets forth the viewpoints, thinking, guidelines, common tasks and objectives that we must endeavor to meet in each stage of the revolution. During the period of clandestine activities, when the party was not in political power, the nationalities policy primarily involved propagandizing, agitating and organizing the masses of the various nationalities in an increasingly highly developed struggle, both a political struggle and an armed struggle, to seize political power. After our people seized political power, the nationalities policy was broadened to include every field of life and the work of every sector and level within the dictatorship of the proletariat system. The organizations of the party, government and mass organizations have the responsibility of implementing the nationalities policy of the party, consequently, they must adopt specific positions and policies based on their function and task and on a thorough understanding of the nationalities policy. This is a measurement of whether or not the nationalities policy of the party is thoroughly understood. The nationalities policy will prove its correctness and vitality through the positions, policies and practical actions of the sectors and levels.

Once correct positions and policies have been adopted, suitable work methods must also be established.

The more than 50 nationalities in our country differ in terms of their living conditions, language, customs, morals, abilities, level of development and so forth. This reality shows that the persons for whom the positions and policies of the party and government are implemented are not the same. Therefore, one of the indispensable steps in this work is to investigate and research the special situation of the various nationalities in order to see how they are the same and how they differ from one another, see their advantages and difficulties and determine the abilities of each nationality in order to apply positions and policies accordingly. We absolutely should not automatically apply the form of organization or method of working used in one ethnic minority area in another ethnic minority area or apply forms of organization or methods of working used in the lowland areas in highland areas. We must conduct pilot projects and gain experience before applying positions and policies on a broader scale; this is how we have had to work in the lowlands, and it is even more necessary to work in this way in the ethnic minority areas. In the ethnic minority areas, there are many nationalities whose level of development differs; therefore, we must select different sites for pilot projects. This is also the way to apply the line of the party in everyday

work in the ethnic minority areas. More than a few positions and policies of the party and government have not yielded the desired results. This is because of unsuitable work methods that waste money and reduce the confidence of the masses.

Strengthening the leadership provided by the party is the factor that guarantees the victory of the nationalities policy.

The tremendous achievements of the nationalities policy over the past 50 years have been closely linked to the leadership of the party, in general, and the leadership and guidance of the various levels and sectors as well as the spirit of revolutionary struggle of all nationalities. The party has always taught our party members and cadres to firmly adhere to the working class stand when examining and resolving matters related to the various nationalities. Due to the aftereffects of the nationalities policy in history, it is impossible to avoid certain manifestations of ethnic majority superiority and narrowmindedness toward ethnic minorities, especially in the attitude of one person toward another among the various nationalities. The party requires: "Within the party as well as among the people, we must continue to criticize and correct the ethnic majority superiority, the narrowmindedness and the ethnic discrimination that still remain in society as well as tendencies that separate and divide the nationalities, which are contrary to the nationalities policy of the party." (6)

In order to strengthen the leadership of the party, very much importance must be attached to building the party base within ethnic minority areas and developing the party among the cadres and masses of the various nationalities. The corps of party members consisting of members from every nationality which has been formed and is growing with each passing day is the constant and direct link between the party and the masses of the various nationalities.

The strengthening of the party's leadership must be manifested in the following way: "The party chapters, basic party organizations, various party committee echelons, government agencies and mass organizations must thoroughly understand the nationalities policy of the party and implement it well." (7) Depending upon their function and task, the various levels and sectors must guide the implementation of the party's nationalities policy through their everyday work in the ethnic minority areas. They must help the Party Central Committee and provincial party committees research and propose general programs and policies dealing with the nationalities issue; a nationalities department of the Central Committee and nationalities committees of the various provinces must be established. Because they are only the staff agencies of the central level and the various party committee echelons, the nationalities department and the nationalities committees on the various levels cannot replace the sectors in organizing and guiding the specific implementation of the nationalities policy in a manner closely linked to the functions and tasks of the sectors.

The victory of our party's nationalities policy over the past 50 years has truly been large. The solidarity of the various nationalities in Vietnam is very deserving of pride. In the face of the new situation and the new tasks of the country, work among the various nationalities involves new requirements.

Under the light of the resolution of the 4th Party Congress concerning the nationalities policy and by developing upon the victories that have been won and correcting our shortcomings and weaknesses in the recent past, we will surely win larger victories in the implementation of the nationalities line and policy of the party.

FOOTNOTES

1. The resolution of the 4th National Congress of Delegates, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1977, p 74.
2. Party Proceedings concerning the nationalities policy, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1965, p 40.
3. "Những lời kêu gọi của Hồ Chủ tịch," [Appeals by President Ho], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1956, Volume 1, p 91.
4. Speech by Lê Duân in Gia Lai-Kontum Province on 14 April 1978, NHAN DAN Newspaper, 24 April 1978.
5. Lê Duân: "Cách mạng xã hội chủ nghĩa Việt-nam" [The Vietnamese Socialist Revolution], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1976, Volume II, p 395.
6. The Political Report of the Party Central Committee at the 4th National Congress of Delegates, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1977, p 165.
7. Ibid., p 166.

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THE PARTY'S POLITICAL WORK AMONG WORKERS

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [COMMUNIST REVIEW] in Vietnamese No 2, Feb 80
pp 72-80

[Article by Nguyen Duc Thuan]

[Text] Along with our entire party, all our people and our entire army, the working class and Trade Union of Vietnam are excitedly commemorating the 50th anniversary of the founding of the Vietnam Communist Party.

The Vietnam Communist Party is the party of the Vietnamese working class founded and forged by the revered President Ho. Over the past 50 years, under the wise leadership of our party, the Vietnamese revolution has won extremely large victories. These victories have primarily been due to the fact that our party has firmly adhered and been absolutely loyal to Marxism-Leninism and has creatively applied Marxism-Leninism to the specific conditions of our country on the basis of firmly adhering to the stand of the working class. The first factor of decisive significance in these victories was that our party, as soon as it was born as well as in the course of leading the revolution, has correctly evaluated the historic role and the thoroughly revolutionary spirit of the Vietnamese working class and constantly strengthened its leadership of the mobilization of workers.

Correctly Evaluating the Role of the Vietnamese Working Class in Leading the Revolution

Under the conditions of a country that was once a colony, once a semi-feudal country, a country that has an underdeveloped economy, a predominantly agricultural country with no significant industry in which the vast majority of the people are farmers, establishing and correctly evaluating the role of our country's working class in leading the revolution were truly not easy to do. Even in recent years, some persons among the population and even within our party have only seen the leadership role of the party, not the leadership role of our country's working class.

As a result of accepting Marxism-Leninism at an early date, President Ho and our party, even during the period of preparations for founding the party and

throughout the process of leading the revolution, always confirmed the role played by the Vietnamese working class in leading the revolution. The Political Platform (October 1930) of the party stated: "The proletariat has become a primary and very strong moving force of the revolution in Indochina, and is the class leading peasants and the laboring masses in carrying out the revolution."

Under the light of Marxism-Leninism, our party realized that the role of the working class in leading the revolution is an historic necessity. The leadership role of the working class was determined by the fact that this class represents the new, most progressive mode of production, a mode of production consistent with the objective laws of development of society. Closely linked to large-scale industrial production, the working class symbolizes the new and increasingly socialized production force, is the class in the center of the age and represents the future of mankind. Owning no instruments of production whatsoever, the working class possesses the most thoroughly revolutionary spirit possible in abolishing the capitalist system and every form of private ownership, the origin of exploitation and poverty, and is the most revolutionary of the classes in building the system of public ownership of the instruments of production. These primary characteristics define the leadership role and the thoroughly revolutionary nature of the working class, the class that not only has the mission of digging the grave of capitalism, but is also capable of building socialism and communism.

Our country's working class, in addition to the fine qualities common to the international working class, also possesses special characteristics: it was born before the national bourgeoisie; it was never influenced by bourgeois reformism; and, shortly after it came into being, it had a vanguard political party to lead it. It also entered the political arena at a time when world capitalism was mired in a general crisis and the wave of the proletarian revolution was surging following the great Russian October Revolution. It inherited the indomitable will of the nation and was close to working farmers, the most trustworthy allies of the working class. On the other hand, through its political party, it accepted Marxism-Leninism at an early date; and, under the light of Marxism-Leninism, it smoothly combined genuine patriotism with noble proletarian internationalism, combined the essence of the nation with the thoroughly revolutionary spirit of the working class, combined the strength of the nation with the strength of our times and has always brandished the banners of national independence and socialism. These characteristics have given our country's working class a fighting strength that far exceeds its small size.

As a result of firmly adhering to Marxism-Leninism and correctly determining the tremendous, decisive role of the working class in the revolution, the party has, in every period of the revolution, adopted a correct line, displayed genius in guiding the strategy of the revolution and skillfully deployed the forces of the revolution. Throughout the various periods of the revolution, the party has always asserted that the Vietnamese working

class is the leading class, is the thoroughly revolutionary force, which, together with the class of farmers, forms the main force army of the revolution. Our party has waged a continuous struggle to establish the working class nature of the party, establish the Vietnam Communist Party as the party of the Vietnamese working class, as the vanguard unit, the organized command staff and the highest organization of the Vietnamese working class. The working class leads the entirety of the revolution through its political party.

The working class is the leading class; however, it was born and has grown within a specific society and is under the influence of that society each hour of each day. Our country's working class possesses the full revolutionary nature of the international working class and has, in addition, inherited and continued the heroic, unyielding traditions of the nation in the more than 4,000 years of building and defending the country; at the same time, it has been significantly influenced by the psychology, the way of thinking and the workstyle of the small-scale producer, primarily farmers, which is the social strata from which workers came, or other strata of society with which they come into contact in daily life. Therefore, in social life, it is easy to understand why workers make mistakes and display a certain shortcoming or weakness. Therefore, our party established the task of regularly waging a struggle within the working class to overcome manifestations of weakness and build a working class that constantly grows in size and quality.

A Correct and Creative Line on Political Work Among Workers

Throughout the course of leading the revolution, our party has always concerned itself with building the Vietnamese working class. The party has adopted a correct line for political work among workers in every stage of the revolution, thereby developing the vanguard role and the thoroughly revolutionary nature of the working class.

Despite the fact that ours is a backward agricultural country whose working class is still small, the party, during the period of clandestine struggle before political power had been seized as well as in the wars of resistance against the French and the United States, has always attached importance to political work among workers and considered building the worker movement to be the "center" (the political platform), a "very urgent" task of the party (draft of the resolution of the Party Central Committee on political work among workers) and "the decisive prerequisite to successfully carrying out the task of the working class in the war of resistance against the United States for national salvation and to carrying out socialist industrialization" (Party Secretariat resolution number 167 on intensifying political work among workers and the activities of the Trade Union in the new situation).

During the period of preparations for founding the party, our party, in order to carry out political work among workers and overcome the weakness of not having enough cadres from worker backgrounds, implemented the "proletarian-

ization" program. Practically all party cadres went into enterprises, mines, factories, plantations, ports and so forth to build bases, organize the worker movement and forge themselves in the life of the working class. Many of the first chapters of the party were established among workers. Together with attaching importance to building revolutionary bases in the countryside and to political work among farmers, our party attached importance to building revolutionary bases in the cities and to political work among workers. As a result, when the opportunity for revolution arose, our party led workers and farmers and the other strata of the people in carrying out the successful August Revolution that overthrew the rule of the colonialists and feudalists and put political power into the hands of the people.

During the war of resistance against the French and especially during the war of resistance against the Americans and the puppets, our party always attached importance to political work among workers, considering workers to be the force for directly attacking the strongholds of the enemy. At the same time, our party led the development of the people's war in the countryside, in the mountainous jungles and in the cities; it implemented the guidelines "two feet," "three prongs" and "three strategic areas"; and it built political bases and armed forces within the cities, at enterprises and in areas where workers lived. As a result, throughout the wars of resistance, the movement in the countryside, the mountainous jungles and the cities developed into a resistance war movement, seized political power in individual areas and eventually won decisive and total victory for the cause of national liberation and the cause of reunifying the country.

In the socialist revolution, the party has built and constantly developed state-operated economic forces to be the forces leading the national economy. In the work of increasing the defense capabilities of the country, the working class is the decisive force in building national defense industrial installations and rear service installations for combat and increasing the technical forces and quality of the armed forces, especially the technical branches. In the cities of the South, the party has relied upon the working class to successfully carry out the transformation of private, capitalist industry and commerce, and the working class is now successfully building and developing socialist industry and commerce.

In the line on political work among the masses, in general, and political work among workers, in particular, our party, on the basis of the viewpoint that the revolution is the undertaking of the masses, has given very much attention to implementing and upholding the right of socialist collective ownership of the working people. The resolution of the 4th Party Congress stated: "The first prerequisites to advancing the socialist revolution to total victory are to establish and constantly strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat and implement and constantly uphold the right of collective ownership of the working people."

The right of collective ownership of the working class is implemented in all areas: politics, economics, the culture and society; it is implemented

throughout the country, within each sector and in each locality, most directly at the basic units, the places where workers work, study and train. To thoroughly implement and codify the line of the party, our state has promulgated laws that define the right of collective ownership of the working class. The first to be promulgated was the Trade Union Law and, more recently, the Council of Ministers promulgated the Code of Regulations on the right of socialist collective ownership of the manual workers and civil servants at the basic production and business units of the state. Soon, when the new Constitution is ratified by the National Assembly, this right will be confirmed in the most basic and highest law of the state. The realities of socialist transformation and socialist construction throughout the country as well as within each sector, locality and installation prove that if the right of collective ownership of manual workers and civil servants is implemented and upheld, every difficulty can be overcome, every task can be completed.

The right of collective ownership encompasses the obligations, responsibilities, authority and rights of the worker. It is both the objective of and the moving force behind the socialist revolution. Therefore, our party attaches importance to upholding the responsibilities of collective ownership and to providing training in how to exercise collective ownership while caring for the daily lives and protecting the legitimate interests of workers.

Building the Organization for Political Work Among Workers

Ever since it was born, our party has given very much attention to building the organization for political work among workers. The Political Platform (October 1930) set forth the following task: "The party must serve the vast majority of its class; therefore, the central responsibility of the party is to organize and expand the Red Trade Union within vital occupations and in the major cities." On this basis, in the various periods of the revolution, the mass organization of the working class, although its name was changed to be consistent with revolutionary strategy, always had the same task of performing political work among workers.

When the party was still conducting clandestine activities, the organization for political work among workers consisted of the party chapters, party cells, party members and the Trade Union. When political power was won, both the contents and the organization of political work among workers underwent fundamental changes. The state, the highest representative of the right of collective ownership of the working people, has the function of managing and regulating every job of society; at the same time, it is the largest organization for gaining the participation of the masses in the construction of socialist society and the defense of the fatherland.

The working people exercise collective ownership primarily by means of the state; at the same time, they exercise it through the mass organizations under the leadership of the party. Manual workers and civil servants exercise

collective ownership through the state and through the Trade Union under the leadership of the party. "The Trade Union is the largest mass organisation of the working class, is the school of communism, the school of economic management and state management. The Trade Union has the task of participating in the work of the state, inspecting the activities of the state and participating in enterprise management; the Trade Union must attach importance to teaching manual workers the attitude of socialist labor, raising their political, cultural, technical and professional levels, forging the thinking and style of large-scale industry, training skilled technical cadres and management cadres from among workers and organizing the productive labor emulation movement. Together with the agencies of the state, the Trade Union must concern itself with resolving practical problems regarding the organisation of life, collective welfare, working conditions, education, relaxation...to uphold the legitimate rights of manual workers and civil servants."(1)

Under the leadership of the various party committee echelons, the Trade Union is orienting each of its activities toward building and forging the corps of manual workers so that it constantly grows in size and quality; upholding the right of socialist collective ownership of manual workers and civil servants in labor, production, the practice of economy and the maintenance of combat readiness; successfully implementing the state plan, primarily by competently supporting the tasks of developing agriculture and the consumer goods industry; effectively participating in the formulation and implementation of economic plans and labor policies together with the agencies of the state to effectively support the interests and the everyday lives of manual workers and civil servants; and make every effort to build the Trade Union organization, thereby helping to build a strong, solid party and dictatorship of the proletariat state.

Due to the special characteristics of our country, namely, that it is advancing from small-scale production directly to socialism without experiencing the stage of capitalist development, it is neither simple nor easy to thoroughly understand the various viewpoints of the party concerning the role and function of the Trade Union. Therefore, many resolutions of the Party Central Committee have included statements on Trade Union work. In their daily work, both the Political Bureau and the Secretariat have shown very much concern for guiding Trade Union work. However, in our society as well as among some cadres of the party, the state and the mass organizations (including Trade Union cadres), there are mistaken viewpoints concerning the position, role and function of the Trade Union, such as wanting to restrict the activities of the Trade Union to a number of specific jobs in the organization of life and welfare services without realizing the most important role of the Trade Union, namely, its role as a school of economic management and state management, a school of socialist collective ownership of the working class, and the belief that participation in and the inspection of the activities of the state by the Trade Union places the Trade Union above the party and the state(!). There are even some who

think that the Trade Union's participation "ruins the work being performed"(1). Therefore, these persons have not, in actuality, led or created the conditions for the Trade Union to fulfill its functions and tasks well. In fact, this is because some cadres want to work merely by issuing orders or are afraid that Trade Union participation in the activities of the state will prevent them from doing as they see fit, prevent them from concealing their shortcomings with regard to how they fulfill their responsibilities. We must remember the teaching of Lenin: "Without a very close alliance with the Trade Union, without the enthusiastic support of the Trade Union, without work filled with dedication and sacrifice by the Trade Union not only in economic construction, but also in the organizing of the military, we would, of course, be unable to manage the state and implement the dictatorship of the proletariat; I am not talking about a period of two and one-half years, but unable to do this for even two and one-half months."(2) Le Duan, the general secretary of our party, also stressed: "We cannot visualize a system of collective ownership of the working people without a Trade Union that has broad authorities guaranteed by state law."(3)

Young workers are the young, healthy, enthusiastic force, the inheritors of the tradition of the working class. Female manual workers constitute a rather large percentage of manual workers. Therefore, our party attaches very much importance to developing the role of the Communist Youth Union and the Women's Union in political work among youths and women who are manual workers. Our party has always maintained that the working class is a class that is united politically and organizationally; the movement of manual workers and civil servants must be unified in terms of goals and actions in order to create the tremendous strength of the working class. The movement of each organization of youths and women must be the moving force behind the common movement of the working class and must coordinate and unify their actions with the Trade Union. Among manual workers and civil servants, the Trade Union is responsible to the party for all political work involving female manual workers and civil servants.

As the government of, by and for the people, the agencies of the state set forth and implement every economic policy and plan and every law of the state on the basis of the interests of the people, primarily the interests of workers and farmers, the foundation of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Every cadre of the government is a cadre disseminating the policies of the party and the laws of the state among the people and among manual workers and civil servants. Before performing any job, government cadres, most importantly cadres on the basic level of government, must give all manual workers and civil servants a clear understanding of the significance of and the specifics involved in the job and the responsibility of manual workers and civil servants toward it. Only in this way will they voluntarily support every decision of the government and be able to exercise their right of ownership as it pertains to participating in and inspecting the work of state agencies. The agencies of the various levels of government must, on the basis of the implementation of economic policies and the situation

surrounding the everyday lives and the private thoughts and aspirations of manual workers, civil servants and the laboring people, promptly revise and amend regulations and policies or promulgate new ones with a view toward making the positions and policies of the party consistent with the realities of society, with the requirements of everyday life. This is very important in insuring that manual workers and civil servants exercise their right of collective ownership throughout the state.

In the final analysis, the success or failure of the adoption and implementation of economic policies and state laws are primarily and directly determined by whether or not they correctly reflect the will, aspirations and interests of the working class and laboring people and whether or not they have the voluntary compliance of the masses. Our party and President Ho always reminded the leadership cadres of the party and the various state agencies to be very vigilant against and take steps to prevent the danger facing a party in political power, namely, being remote from the masses. Our party has adopted determined positions and taken appropriate steps to remove from the organizations of the party and the apparatus of the state degenerate, deviant elements, elements that have seriously violated the right of collective ownership of the people and elements that have assumed special rights and privileges, thereby seriously harming the prestige of the party and state. Therefore, cadres and party members must fully concern themselves on a daily basis with the right of collective ownership of the working people; this is the essence of our system. Otherwise, cadres and party members will, in their daily work, prefer to use orders in place of persuasion, use the power invested in them by the people to become arrogant, even intimidate the people at times and fail to respect the Trade Union, the representative of the will and the right of collective ownership of manual workers and civil servants.

Strengthening the Party's Leadership of Political Work Among Manual Workers in the New Stage

Strengthening the party's leadership of political work among workers in the present stage means further deepening the understanding which the entire party and all the people have of the vanguard revolutionary role of the working class, the basic political force and primary social base of the socialist system; making every effort to build the working class so that it constantly grows in size and quality, thereby guaranteeing and strongly upholding the right of collective ownership of the corps of manual workers and civil servants; making every effort to build and develop the forces of the state-operated economy and modern industry so that they truly play the dominant role in the entire national economy; improving and strengthening the leadership of Trade Union activities by the various party committee echelons.

Once the correct understanding of the historic role of the working class has been achieved, it is necessary to realize the decisive role played by the working class in socialist construction, primarily in building the system of large-scale industrial production. Lenin said: "...Without a highly

organized system of large-scale industry, it is impossible to talk about socialism, in general, and even more impossible to talk about socialism in an agricultural country."(4) Only with a strong system of large-scale industry is it possible to transform all the other segments of the economy, especially transform agriculture along the lines of socialism. The working class is the main force army directly building the material and technical bases of socialism, building the foundation of the socialist national economy, and is the class that plays the dominant role in the management of this economy.

Correctly understanding the role and position of the working class is of very important significance in building the working class, building the party, strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat and carrying out socialist transformation and socialist construction in our country.

At present, the corps of manual workers and civil servants of our country numbers more than 3 million persons, 1.3 million of whom are technical workers and more than 660,000 of whom are scientific and technical cadres who have a college or vocational middle school education. This does not include the hundreds of thousands of craftsmen in the artisan and handicraft trades. This is very encouraging growth by our country's working class, growth that is gradually changing the structure of our country's society and the face of our country. In the process of socialist industrialization, the working class of our country will grow rapidly, absorbing into its ranks more and more youths, children of the working people, another entire social stratum, especially in the South. This situation urgently requires education to heighten the sense of working class awareness and a struggle to wipe out the manifestations of the thinking of small-scale production and the influence of bourgeois thinking of neo-colonialism and other non-proletarian ideologies. At the same time, the working class must urgently improve its technical and occupational qualifications and mold the workstyle of large-scale industry and must transform and forge itself through the three revolutions, through the productive labor movement.

The building of the working class in the present stage must be designed to give the working class the strength to fulfill its collective ownership role. The working class is the leader of the exercise of collective ownership by the working people through its vanguard party and is the primary force building the system of socialist collective ownership in our country. The economic base of this system is the system of large-scale socialist production. Therefore, implementing and constantly upholding the right of collective ownership of the working people first demand the successful completion of socialist transformation in the South, the upgrading of small-scale production to large-scale socialist production and the building of the material-technical bases of socialism; on this basis, it is necessary to strengthen the position of socialism and the leadership role of the working class as well as the dominant role played by industry in agriculture and the national economy.

On the other hand, it is necessary to fully implement existing laws and regulations and to adopt new laws and regulations at an early date that are designed to express in the realities of economic management and state management, in social life, the right of collective ownership of the working people and the collective ownership exercised by the working class through the Trade Union, the broadest mass organization of the working class. We must insure that the working class truly masters and utilizes in the best possible manner every instrument of production; that the working class is the master of labor and utilizes, in the best and most efficient manner possible, the labor force in order to achieve high productivity and produce many surplus products for society so that no worker is without a job; that the working class is the master of distribution so that manual workers and civil servants have the right to participate in determining the distribution of the fruits of labor, thereby closely coordinating the interests of society with the interests of the enterprise and the interests of the worker; that the working class is the master of management so that manual workers and civil servants have true rights in the formulation and implementation of state plans and the improvement of economic management and state management.

Together with leading the government in implementing and upholding the collective ownership role of the working class, our party also attaches importance to strengthening its leadership of Trade Union activities. Its concern for building the working class is closely linked to its concern for building the Trade Union organization. In other words, building the Trade Union organization is a very important part and requirement of building the working class. In the immediate future, the building of the Trade Union has the purpose of insuring that the Trade Union fulfills its role and function as the school of economic management and state management, the school of socialism and communism, the school of collective ownership of the working class and insuring that the Trade Union fulfills the major functions and tasks set forth by the 4th Congress of the party.

The various party committee echelons must closely lead every activity of the Trade Union; party committee members must be put directly in charge of Trade Union work; party members must be taught to play a greater revolutionary-vanguard role in the performance of the tasks of Youth Union members and Women's Union members within the mass organizations, in general, and the Trade Union, in particular; the leadership of the Trade Union and the agencies of the state must coordinate and collaborate and the leadership of the Trade Union and the other mass organizations, such as the Youth Union and the Women's Union, must coordinate their activities. Specific state regulations must be adopted on the authority of the Trade Union with regard to participating in economic management and state management and the role of the Trade Union in inspecting and supervising the work of the state.

The various party committee echelons, primarily those on the basic level, must actively implement the resolution of the party on intensifying the

development of the party among manual workers in order to help strengthen the working class nature of the party, uphold the vanguard-exemplary role of the party member in production, strengthen the relationship between the party and the mass of manual workers and create the conditions for training more and more manual workers as cadres of the party and state.

The working class and Trade Union of Vietnam are extremely proud of their glorious party. The one-half century of extremely glorious struggle by the party has led our nation from oppression to the level of the vanguard nations of our times, led our class from slavery and poverty to being the class that leads the revolution and owns the country; led our Trade Union from a small, weak organization forced to engage in illegal activities to being a large, strong organization, a key element of the dictatorship of the proletariat system and the broad unity of the nation.

In commemorating the 50th glorious anniversary of the party, the working class and Trade Union of Vietnam promise to be forever worthy of their role and historic mission and are determined to overcome every difficulty and work with all the people and the entire army to successfully build and firmly protect the socialist Vietnamese fatherland, thereby making a positive contribution to the revolutionary undertaking of the working class and people of the world.

FOOTNOTES

1. The resolution of the 4th National Congress of Delegates, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1977, p 70.
2. Lenin: "On the Worker and Trade Union Movement," Lao Dong Publishing House, Hanoi, 1972, p 112.
3. 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 522.
4. V.I. Lenin: "Complete Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1970, Volume 32, p 529.

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RESEARCH: GAINING AN UNDERSTANDING OF THE FACTORS THAT LED TO THE FOUNDING
OF THE PARTY OF THE VIETNAMESE WORKING CLASS

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [COMMUNIST REVIEW] in Vietnamese No 2, Feb 80
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[Article by Nguyen Tai Sang]

[Text] As a social entity, the birth of our party, as is the case with the birth of any other social entity, was the result of two conditions: objective conditions and subjective conditions. These objective factors and subjective factors are very closely interrelated and they have a reciprocal impact upon one another, with subjective factors playing the decisive role.

The Objective Factors

The first factor was the influence of the Russian Revolution. We talk about the Russian Revolution (in general) as an objective factor consisting of three distinct aspects:

1. There was the influence of the 1905 Russian Revolution. As we know, in the late 19th century, the last dynasty of the Vietnamese feudal class, a weakened and fragmented dynasty, surrendered to the French colonialists and sold the country in an attempt to achieve glory. However, poisoned with the thinking of a "patriotic headquarters," a number of patriotic scholars failed to recognize this fact and continued to use this tattered banner to rally the people to arise and save the country. Even the famous patriot of that time, Phan Boi Chau, maintained that "the monarchy is the most suitable form of government."(1)

At that time, the 1905 Russian Revolution broke out, "signalling that the Russian autocracy had fallen into an untenable position"; the Russian bourgeois, democratic revolution began developing in a new direction, toward socialism. It was like a bolt of lightning shattering the night, signalling the approach of a new dawn. Although very far from our country, its light was sufficient to move the patriotic scholars of Vietnam.

Following the 1905 Russian Revolution, Phan Boi Chau changed his political viewpoint; looking at China and then at Vietnam, he reached the following conclusion: "The Man Dynasty of China and the Nguyen Dynasty of Vietnam belong to the same clan." (2) In 1927, our revered Uncle Ho wrote: "It was through the defeat in 1905 that the working class learned: first, it must have a strong organization; secondly, it must coordinate with the peasants; thirdly, mobilize soldiers; fourthly, it must not believe those who seek harmony; and, fifthly, it must know that both capitalists and the king are bandits, to drive off the king, it is necessary to drive off the capitalists as well." (3) The lessons of the 1905 Russian Revolution were deeply engraved by President Ho in the minds and hearts of the members of the Vietnam Association of Revolutionary Youths, the persons who were about to carry out the glorious mission of founding the Vietnam Communist Party.

2. The great victory of the 1917 Russian October Socialist Revolution spread the light of Marxism-Leninism to all countries of the world, including Vietnam. It guided and stimulated the Vietnamese revolution under the ever-victorious banner of Marxism-Leninism. In the first socialist country, Uncle Ho studied how to build a new style party of the proletariat based on Lenin's doctrine. Also in the country of the October Revolution, a number of outstanding revolutionary cadres of Vietnam were trained in order to prepare for the work of building the party of the Vietnamese working class; among these persons was Tran Phu, the first general secretary of our party.

3. The Russian Revolution gave birth to the great Lenin, the sun lighting the way for the colonial peoples down the road of the proletarian revolution in order to liberate themselves.

As we know, after Engels died, the 2nd International, which was under the control of opportunists such as MacDonald, Henderson and so forth, constantly propagandized for the "civilized mission" of the imperialists in the colonial countries. "Therefore, until the October Revolution, the socialist theory was considered to be nothing more than a theory for white people in the colonial countries, a new tool for deception and exploitation. Lenin ushered in a new, truly revolutionary age in the colonial countries." (4)

Lenin pointed out: "The working class must oppose every form of national oppression with the utmost determination." (5) He said: "We must also closely link the struggle of the socialist revolution to a revolutionary platform on the nationalities issue." (6) It was Lenin who drafted the "Platform on the Nationalities and Colonial Questions" (1920), in which he pointed out: "All national liberation movements in the colonies and in the oppressed nations have learned painful lessons that there is no other way to save themselves from their disaster than the victory over world imperialism by the Soviet government!" (7)

The thinking of Lenin helped Vietnamese communists realize the truth of the age at the very dawn of the revolution: the national democratic revolution and socialism are inseparable. This truth is the Red thread running through every revolutionary policy, line and method of our party during the past half century.

--Secondly, there was the assistance provided by the 3rd International, that is, the Communist International founded by Lenin. In 1927, in his book "The Revolutionary Road," Nguyen Ai Quoc pointed out: "The 3rd International established a special department to research and assist the revolution in Asia...; Article 8 of the Bylaws of the 3rd International state: 'The communist parties, especially the French Communist Party, must wholeheartedly help the colonial peoples carry out the revolution'... These statements alone are enough to know that in order for Vietnam to wage a successful revolution, it is absolutely necessary to rely upon the 3rd International." And, in actuality, the Communist International constantly helped the Vietnamese revolution accelerate the process of founding the communist party. The relationship between the first communists of Vietnam and the Communist International was a close relationship from the very outset. The Communist International attached importance to training cadres for the Vietnamese revolution in order to chart its course. Vietnamese revolutionaries, symbolized by Nguyen Ai Quoc, tried to help the Communist International clearly understand our country, our people and our sentiments, understand the needs of the colonial countries, including Vietnam, in order to help the Communist International become increasingly effective. Nguyen Ai Quoc proposed effective measures for the revolution in the eastern countries. At the 5th Congress of the Communist International (in early Autumn 1924), Nguyen Ai Quoc continued to clarify the situation in the colonial countries and set forth guidelines for resolving the colonial question.

In 1929, in a letter to the Communist International, the Congress of the Vietnam Association of Revolutionary Youths made the following request: "The Communist International should give attention to the revolutionary work of our association and should do everything possible to give Vietnam an official communist party."(8)

In late 1929, the 3rd International sent a letter to the communist groups in Indochina, which read in part: "The development of the revolutionary movement in Indochina, the hatred of the broad masses for the French imperialists, especially the constantly growing, independent workers' movement and the existence of communist groups within the region, these conditions are urgent conditions and, at the same time, require that we do everything possible to quickly establish a communist party in Indochina."(9)

--Thirdly, together with the influence of the Russian Revolution and the assistance of the Communist International, it is necessary to mention the influence and assistance of the French Communist Party and the revolutions of a number of other countries upon and for the Vietnamese revolution. Truong Chinh wrote: "The resolution of the Congress of Tours and the establishment of the French Communist Party caused President Ho to give very much thought to the matter of how to establish a revolutionary party of the working class, a Marxist-Leninist party in Vietnam."(10)

The objective factors stated above can be summarized as the factors of the age: the age of the proletarian revolution, the age in which the working class became the class in the center, the class determining the direction of the development of mankind.

The Subjective Factors

Looking back over the history of our country during the first 30 years of the 20th century, it is possible to point out three subjective factors that directly led to the founding of our party.

1. The birth and development of the working class and the workers' movement of Vietnam.

In 1858, the French colonialists began their aggression by opening fire on Da Nang and then continued to open fire on many other places in our country. The Vietnamese continuously arose in resistance against the country-robbers. Regrettably, however, all of the brave struggles waged by our people during the final half of the 19th century were submerged in a sea of blood. At that time, the Vietnamese working class had not been born, the birth of the bourgeoisie came even later and the feudal class that had ruled society since antiquity was in a shambles, had become reactionary and was willing to sell the country.

In the late 19th century, having virtually pacified the Can Vuong movement, the French colonialists began to organize their exploitation of Indochina. The Dume Plan was born. French capitalism invested more and more in Indochina:

1888-1892: 65,104,725 francs
1893-1897: 78,896,562 francs
1898-1902: 164,319,055 francs
1903-1912: 203,405,161 francs
(Bulletin Economique de L'Indochine, 1913)

This capital was concentrated in four sectors: communications, the development of raw materials, simple, local processing of raw materials and the cultivation of industrial crops.

Under the first of these development plans and before World War I (1914-1918), the Vietnamese working class was born and was structured as follows:

--Railroad workers: 500
--Mine workers: 6,000
--Workers in the simple processing industry in the cities: 7,000
--Plantation workers: 6,000

The total number of workers was 19,500 (data of the Department of History of the Vietnam General Federation of Trade Unions)

The Vietnamese working class was born not on the basis of the country advancing from the feudal system to capitalism, but born amidst the circumstances of both the country and home being dominated by foreigners; as a result, from its infancy, the working class fought the French imperialists as two different persons: as persons who had lost their country and hated the country-robbing troops of the French and as persons who were exploited and hated the exploiting classes; the national struggle and the class struggle were closely linked from the very outset.

The Vietnamese working class had the following special characteristics: it was born before the national bourgeoisie, emerged rapidly and was relatively concentrated, especially in the mines and plantations; it quickly established nationwide relationships (due to the early construction of railroads and highways), consequently, workers quickly learned the common feelings of the other persons in their class; practically all Vietnamese workers at that time performed simple, low paying jobs involving low technical skills and there were no highly skilled workers whatsoever; as soon as it was born, the working class was inspired by and accepted the influence of the Russian Revolution; it established close ties with the working class and communist party in the mother country (France); and it established close relations with the peasantry and was trusted and wholeheartedly assisted by peasants, consequently, the strength of the working class increased many times compared to its small size.

As a result of these characteristics, the Vietnamese working class possessed very valuable political qualities from the time it was born: the working class was pure and unified; the national struggle could easily be linked to the class struggle; genuine patriotism could easily be linked to proletarian internationalism; and the working class was not influenced by reformism and opportunism. These fine qualities created the strength of our country's working class and were the basis of the correctness of each practical activity of our party.

In the final years of the 19th century, as soon as the working class was born, the first stratum of Vietnamese workers entered the struggle. And, the unique aspect of these workers was that they waged both a class struggle and a national struggle: the railroad workers at Phu Lang Thuong participated in the guerrilla war being waged by the Hoang Hoa Tham partisan army against the French colonialists (1895) while coal miners at Cai Bau and Hong Gai staged strikes, filed law suits against their employers, attacked their supervisors and left their jobs and went home (1890-1895). And, like their friends in the rest of the world, when the Vietnamese working class was first born, it began to struggle in a spontaneous manner.

However, shortly thereafter, in 1909, we saw the emergence of a special form of struggle of the modern working class: the strike by the workers and personnel of the L'UCI Company in Hanoi. This was the signal of the start of a new age in the Vietnamese revolution. The colonialists them-

selves had to admit: "It has come time for us to pack our bags and leave and say goodbye to the nation of Vietnam, which has been brought back to life by these strikes."(11)

Following World War I, the French colonialists began the massive exploitation of the colonies. In Indochina, they began with the An-be Xa-ro [Vietnamese phonetics] plan. The scale of exploitation increased with each passing year:

<u>Year</u>	<u>Agriculture</u>	<u>Mining</u>	<u>Industry</u>	<u>Transportation</u>	<u>Commerce</u>	<u>Banking</u>
1924	52.1	18.7	71.7	6.1	40.9	54.5
1925	76.9	19.3	62.2	5.0	32.6	2.2
1926	276.7	94.3	112.9	5.1	60.2	84.7
1927	400.7	79.5	62.4	31.1	17.2	65.3
1928	213.5	184.4	88.4	37.1	55.0	170.0
1929	118.0	140.5	110.6	46.6	42.3	244.9

Calculated in francs(12)

With the increasingly large capital investments being made by them, the French colonialists accelerated the process of the division of Vietnamese society into classes, thereby causing the Vietnamese working class to grow rapidly and causing the antagonisms between Vietnam and the French imperialists to become increasingly sharp.

In addition, in 1920 and 1921, the Vietnamese bourgeoisie was born; although it resembled a cowardly, weak child and although the total capital owned by it did not equal 1 percent of the capital invested by the French capitalists in Vietnam (13), the businesses of the bourgeoisie did cause the Vietnamese working class to grow more in addition to the surge in growth resulting from the massive investments by French capitalists.

In 1920, the total number of Vietnamese workers was 221,200, which consisted of the following: 11,200 railroad workers, 52,000 mine workers, 77,000 city workers and 81,000 plantation workers.(14)

Along with the growth of the working class, the struggle being waged by the working class at that time also developed. According to incomplete statistics, 25 struggles were waged between 1920 and 1925. The most representative of these was the struggle by the Ba Son factory workers in Saigon. Between 1926 and 1929, there were more than 40 strikes, some of which had the participation of thousands of persons, such as the strike by the workers of the Nam Dinh Textile Mill in 1926. As time passed, these struggles became more organized, more closely led and won many victories, such as the struggle by the workers of the Avia Automobile Repair Plant led by Ngo Gia Tu in 1929. Even the French colonialists had to admit: "Not much more is needed to show us that we will encounter many risks in Asia and cruse the ruination of the Indochinese colonies, some of the most beautiful."(15)

2. The new development in the patriotic movement of the Vietnamese people.

As we know, the Vietnamese nation, the people of Vietnam have a tradition of very ardent patriotism. It can be said that throughout the several thousand years of building and defending their country, the Vietnamese have always been determined to drive off aggressor armies, determined to maintain the nation's sovereignty.

In the late 19th century, in the face of the disgraceful surrender by the House of Nguyen to the French colonialists and in the face of the defeat of the national salvation movement, many Vietnamese patriots became determined to find a way to save the country.

As a result of this search for a way to save the country, the Vietnamese revolution came into contact with the world revolution, with the great truth of our times. Of particular importance was the search carried out by the youth Nguyen Tat Thanh, that is, Nguyen Ai Quoc, our revered Uncle Ho. Through his very arduous studies and practical work, he showed our people: "To achieve true independence and freedom, the oppressed nations must rely primarily upon their own forces; the Vietnamese must liberate themselves" (this conclusion was reached by him in 1919, following the Versailles Conference). "The only way to save the country and liberate the nation is by following the course of the proletarian revolution" (he reached this conclusion in late 1920, after reading Lenin's "Theses on the Nationalities and Colonial Questions").

On this basis, Vietnamese patriotism reached a new level of development. The revolutionary and scientific theory of Marxism-Leninism greatly multiplied the strength of the patriotism and the indomitable will of our people that had been forged over centuries.

3. The spread of Marxism-Leninism to Vietnam.

First, we must mention the activities of Uncle Ho, the person who made the first and primary contribution to and had a decisive influence upon the spread of Marxism-Leninism to Vietnam. This work can be divided into two periods:

The period from 1920 to 1924: in 1920, at the Congress of Tours, Uncle Ho proposed the following task: "The party must preach socialism in all of the colonial countries." And, on this basis, he turned his hands to the job he proposed in a planned and tireless manner.

During the years from 1921 to 1924, Uncle Ho continuously wrote articles (in the newspapers LE PARIA, VIETNAM HON, L'HUMANITE and WORKERS LIFE, in the journal COMMUNIST REVIEW and so forth) in order to propagandize Marxism-Leninism within the colonies, with priority given to Vietnam.

The period from 1925 to 1930: in 1924, following the bombing carried out by Pham Hong Thai, the national struggle and the class struggle in our country became intense. In 1924, at the 5th Congress of the Communist International, Uncle Ho said: it is "not enough to continue as we have in the past." He suggested: "The communist International must help them" reorganize themselves, must supply leadership cadres to them and must guide them to revolution and liberation."

Shortly after the congress, Uncle Ho travelled from the USSR to China where he began the work of making political, ideological and organizational preparations for the founding of a communist party in Vietnam. He made every effort to maintain communications with patriotic Vietnamese working overseas, organized them into the Association of Vietnamese Revolutionary Youth, trained them and gradually changed them from genuine patriots to communists. By the end of 1929, the membership of the Association of Vietnamese Revolutionary Youth had risen to 1,700.(16) Between early 1925 and September 1927, Uncle Ho organized about 10 training classes for more than 200 Vietnamese revolutionaries who joined him in China and then returned home to conduct activities. The training program revolved around the pressing questions of the Vietnamese revolution at that time: what is revolution, how many types of revolution are there; what kind of revolution is the Vietnamese revolution; who are the targets of the Vietnamese revolution; who are the forces of the Vietnamese revolution; who is the leader of the Vietnamese revolution; what are the experiences of the world revolution; to be successful, the revolution must first have a party and the party, to be strong, must have Marxism-Leninism as its nucleus; how are the revolutionary organizations of the masses organized, etc. These were things that were very necessary to the patriotic movement and the worker movement in Vietnam.

From then on, Marxism-Leninism entered Vietnam directly: throughout the South, in addition to Uncle Ho, there was a well organized and led corps of propagandists. Once trained, these persons were sent to work in the factories and the countryside, disseminating Marxism-Leninism and the "revolutionary road" to the various strata of the people.

In addition to the training classes and organization of the Association of Vietnamese Revolutionary Youth, Uncle Ho also published the weekly newspaper THANH NIEN. Between June 1925 and April 1927, 88 editions of the newspaper were published. This newspaper competently spread Marxism-Leninism to Vietnam during the years from 1925 to 1927. In 1928-1929, as a result of these activities, the worker movement developed to the level of self-awareness. Marxism-Leninism rapidly permeated and dominated the worker movement and youth movement of Vietnam. The nationalism of the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie was bankrupted. This was the time at which the conditions for founding a communist party in Vietnam had ripened.

As we know, the process of combining Marxism with the worker movement in Europe during the final half of the 19th century as well as the process of

combining Marxism with the worker movement in Russia at the start of the 20th century were a process of sharp struggle between Marxist ideology and non-Marxist ideologies. The same was true in Vietnam: the process of combining Marxism-Leninism with the worker movement and the patriotic movement of Vietnam during the 1920's was also a process of unrelenting ideological struggle between the followers of Marxism-Leninism and the followers of bourgeois nationalism, reformism, etc.

In early February 1930, the revered Uncle Ho, on behalf of the Communist International, convened a conference of delegates of the various communist groups in Vietnam to discuss the merging of these groups. The discussions leading to the merger also were a process of continuing to win total victory for the ideology of Marxism-Leninism. On 3 February 1930, the three communist groups in Indochina unanimously agreed to merge and found the Vietnam Communist Party. This important event marked the basic turning point in the history of the Vietnamese revolution.

FOOTNOTES

1. Phan Boi Chau: "Nguc trung thu."
2. Phan Boi Chau: "Tu phe phan."
3. Nguyen Ai Quoc: "Duong kach menh"
4. Nguyen Ai Quoc: TIENG COI Newspaper, 1926.
5. Lenin: "Complete Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1963, Volume 20, p 272.
6. Lenin: "Complete Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1962, Volume 21, p 478.
7. Lenin: "Complete Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1969, Volume 31, p 177.
8. "Cac to chuc tien than cua Dang" [The Forerunners of the Party] published by the Department of Research on Party History of the Party Central Committee, 1977, p 145.
9. "Van kien Dang" [Party Proceedings], published by the Department of Research on Party History of the Party Central Committee, 1978, Volume 1, p 10.
10. Truong Chinh: "Ho Chu tich lanh tu kinh yeu cua giai cap cong nhan va nhan dan Viet - nam" [President Ho, the Revered Leader of the Working Class and People of Vietnam], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1975, p 15.

11. L'Annam Tonkin, No 8 May 1909.
12. According to data of Van Tao, VAN SU DIA Journal, 1-1956.
13. According to Nguyen Cong Binh, VAN SU DIA Journal, 11-1958.
14. According to data of the Vietnam General Federation of Trade Unions. According to data presented by Gaudel in "Problemes du Travail en Indochine," which Tran Huy Lieu cited in the December 1955 issue of VAN SU DIA Journal, by the end of 1925, there were 221,052 workers throughout Indochina.
15. Le Bien Public, 27-11-1927.
- * They were the Vietnamese patriots.
16. "Nhưng sự kiện lịch sử Đảng" [Events in the History of the Party], published by the Department of Research on Party History of the Party Central Committee, 1976, p 99.

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