

6th National Congress of the Communist Party of Vietnam –
Documents
Foreign Languages Publishing House, Hanoi, 1987

Political Report

Situation and Tasks

‘.... the remaining years of the initial stage of the period of transition of the period of socialism.’ p9

‘.... the mistakes made in laying out the economic structure, especially in allocating investments and capital construction in the preceding five years (1976-80), have left us heavy consequences.’ p10

‘The majority of peasants in Nam Bo (formerly Cochinchina – Ed) have taken the road of collective production and has given a correct orientation for strengthening the collective economic relations in the countryside.’ p12

‘Socialist production relations have been slowly consolidated. The leading role of the state-run economic sector is weak. Non-socialist economic sectors have not yet been made good use of and transformed.’ p16

1. On assessing the situation and defining the targets and steps to be taken

Having failed to fully realize that the period of transition to socialism is a relatively long historical process, which has to go through numerous stages, and owing to hastiness and wishful thinking, the Fourth party Congress, in its desire to bypass necessary stages, did not define the targets for the initial stage. As a matter of fact, in the years 1976-80, we stood for promoting industrialization at a time when the premises for it were not yet available; on the other hand, there were delays in renovating the out-of-date mechanism of economic management.

The Fifth Party Congress, while affirming the two strategic tasks, put into a more concrete form the economic line in the immediate stage ahead, and set forth the general objectives and major economic and social policies. But in guiding their implementation, we have not put into effect the above-mentioned important conclusions, have not resolutely done away with manifestations of hastiness and conservatism, mainly in specific policies related to the economic structure, socialist transformation and the mechanism of economic management.’
p18

2. On arranging the economic structure

In arranging the economic structure, first of all, the production and investment structure, we often started from the wish to advance quickly, did not take into account the practical conditions and abilities, did not, from the outset, combine industry and agriculture into a rational structure; neither did we make effective use of the possibilities of expanding economic relations with foreign countries.

In the years 1976-80 we set too high targets for capital construction and development of production; we did not pay adequate attention to restoring and rearranging the economy, laying much stress on building heavy industry and large-scale projects, failing to pool our efforts on basically solving the food problem, on boosting the production of consumer goods and export commodities. Hence, too many investments but very low efficiency

However, we have not scrupulously implemented the resolution of the Fifth Congress. Agriculture has not been regarded as a branch of prime importance; conditions necessary for its development have not been ensured, especially with regard to materials and goods, capital and incentive policies. Consumer goods industries, including handicrafts, are still neglected in terms of organizations, investment and policy. Heavy industry fails to serve agriculture and light industry in good time. A

major mistake was that we have hardly rearranged production units so as to avoid overlapping and overcome irrationalities, and have failed to focus our limited resources of energy, raw materials, materials and goods on key projects with a view to making the best use of the existing productive capacity.....We have not resolutely suspended or deferred the construction of not really pressing projects and projects of low efficiency, and are still bent on building large-scale projects. There is too large an amount of unfinished projects, which causes capital to clog up for too long. A number of localities and branches have built many more projects outside the plans, thus causing capital and materials to be more scattered.’ pp19-20

3. On socialist transformation, consolidating the new production relations and the use of various economic sectors

‘..... we have not yet clearly and consistently determined the viewpoints, undertakings and policies guiding the work of socialist transformation. There have been manifestations of hastiness: we wanted to do away at once with non-socialist economic sectors, to rapidly turn the private capitalist economic sector into a State-run sector there was a strong tendency to set up at once large-scale cooperatives, taking no account of technical equipment, of the level of management and capacity of cadres. So far as the content of transformation is concerned, we laid stress on changing the ownership of the means of production, but overlooked the settlement of problems relating to management, organization and the system of distribution. We often resorted to campaign-like, coercive measures, running after quantity, but neglecting quality and efficiency; and tended to slacken control after a spell of hasty actions. Thus, many so-called joint State-private enterprises, co-operatives and production collectives were established only for form’s sake and were not really based on the new production relations.

Failure to rearrange the various branches and units of production, and delays in renovating the mechanism of economic management have led to weakening the leading role of the State-run economic sector, slowing down the

consolidation of the collective sector, and limiting the utilization and transformation of other economic sectors. State-run trade and supply and marketing cooperatives have not expanded and have made slow progress in terms of organization and mode of enterprise and have not been able to control the market. A section of State-run trade is involved in negative activities, stealthily supplying private traders with goods. There has been little headway in the transformation of private trade. As for speculators, smugglers and saboteurs of the market, we have not yet hit them where they are most vulnerable and severely punished them.

In our perception as well as action, we have not really recognized the fact that the multi-sector economic structure of our country will still continue for a relatively long period. We have not yet grasped and correctly applied the law of correspondence of production relations to the character and level of development of productive forces.’ pp21-22

4. On the mechanism of economic management

However, up to now, the bureaucratic centralize mechanism based on State subsidies has not yet been eliminated in the main. The new mechanism of economic management has not been established in a concerted way. Many obsolete policies and regulations have not yet been changed: a number of new management regulations are still patchy, heterogeneous and even self-contradicting. There are serious manifestations of bureaucratic centralism, while breaches of discipline and violations of organization rules are rather widespread

Obviously, we lack knowledge and experience in management and have not yet paid attention to summing up experiences. At present we should oppose two tendencies: conservatism, sluggishness, reluctance to renovate the management mechanism on the one hand, and hastiness and simplism, which finds expression in the desire to settle all problems in the shortest possible time, on the other.’ pp23-24

5. On distribution and circulation

First of all, those are mistakes in laying out the economic structure and in socialist transformation. They are also the ill-effects of the bureaucratic centralized mechanism based on State subsidies which have existed for many years in economic management. Hence slow development of production, and increasingly sharper contradictions between supply and demand. Meanwhile, we slackened our vigilance and failed to take effective measures to prevent bad elements and the enemy from taking advantage of our deficiencies to carry out their sabotage.

We have failed to formulate a basic financial policy which will go together with correct pricing, wage. money-credit policies. The State has failed to adequately readjust the incomes of private traders, to seize illegally earned incomes, and to protect State property it has failed to concentrate major sources of income on the budget, and to correctly allocate the capital, materials and goods at its disposal. Budget expenditures bear a State-subsidy character and have for quite a long time exceeded revenues. Utilization of loans and foreign aid has proved ineffective. We have consumed a major part of the capital acquired from foreign countries and of the basic amortization fund. All this has led to a budget deficit - a direct cause of serious inflation.

We have made mistakes in tackling the pricing, wage and money problems. The specific solutions to such problems as price fixing and control, wage fixing and control of wage fund, currency conversion, steps to be taken in readjusting prices, wages and the amount of money in circulation did not suit the actual situation, as they were carried out without good preparations, without concerted and effective measures so that the State could control goods and money. pp24-25

6. On exercising proletarian dictatorship

Slackening proletarian dictatorship finds expression in the many shortcomings We have had in the socialist transformation,

in the management of the economy and society, in the ideological and cultural struggle, and in opposing the enemy's schemes and maneuvers of sabotage. We have failed to make full use of the aggregate strength of proletarian dictatorship in order to establish and maintain socialist order in all spheres of economic and social life. We have let violations of State law and regulations become widespread. p26

The main ideological feature of those errors, especially those made in economic policies, was subjectivism, voluntarism, a simplistic way of thinking and acting, and impatiently seeking to realize subjective wishes; it was a manifestation of laissez faire, slackening of discipline, and failure to properly implement the Party lines and principles. This was petty-bourgeois ideology, manifestation of both 'left' and right deviations. p26

..... our Party's ideological and organizational activity was unable to keep pace with the revolution's requirements. In the ideological domain, there was a lag in our theoretical appreciation and practical application of the objective laws prevailing in the transitional period. p27

In organizational work, the biggest shortcoming was the stagnation and slowness in renewing cadre work. p27

Violations of Leninist principles in Party life occurred in various Party organizations and party committees, first of all regarding the principles of democratic centralism, collective leadership, individual responsibility, submission by the minority to the majority, by the lower to the higher authorities, by the whole Party to the Central Committee. p28

The Central Committee, the Political Bureau, the Secretariat and the Council of Ministers were primarily responsible for the above-mentioned mistakes and shortcomings in Party leadership. p28

One: In all its activities, the Party must be thoroughly imbued

with the idea that 'the people are the roots' and must establish and give full play to the working people's right to mastery over society. p29

..... in conditions of a party in power, special care must be taken to strengthen the links between the Party and the people. p29

Two: The Party should constantly proceed from reality, observe objective laws and act upon them. p30

The criteria for assessing the correct application of these laws in the Party and State's undertakings and policies are the development of production, the smooth circulation of goods, the gradual stabilization and improvement of the people's material and cultural life, the emergence of the socialist man with ever clearer features, the ever more wholesome social environment, and the strengthening of the socialist system. p30

Three: We should know how to combine the forces of our nation and those of our times in the new circumstances..... Our revolution is taking place in a period of transition to socialism on the world scale. p31

Four: We have to make our Party be up to the political tasks of a party in power which leads our people in the socialist revolution..... The principle of democratic centralism must be firmly maintained in Party life as well as in economic and social leadership. p32

Small-scale production, with its inherent weaknesses, the aftermath of the past long wars and even of the recent ones the vestiges of the old regime - all are obstacles on our path of development. With the achievements obtained in the building of socialism, we have overcome to some extent our economic dispersion and backwardness, partly transformed the socio-economic structure and laid the initial bases for further development. But we have not gone far enough from a very low starting point. Our mistakes and shortcomings have made the situation even more difficult. pp32-33

The revolutionary forces of our times and the world peace movement are growing. ever stronger and are definitely in an active and offensive position. The forces of the socialist system, with the Soviet Union as its pillar, are being strengthened in every field. The 27th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union ushered in a new stage of a turning-point character, a stage of dynamic development in all areas of social life in the Soviet Union. With a strategy for accelerating economic development, the Soviet economy is shifting energetically toward intensive development aimed at fulfilling the major objectives of the remaining years, of the 20th century. p33

The socialist community's achievements a decisive factor for the victory of world socialism in the struggle between the two opposing socio-political systems on earth. p34

..... the *Non-Aligned Movement*, which includes more than one hundred member countries, has become a large political force playing an ever greater role in the struggle against imperialism and colonialism, for independence and peace. p34

The struggle in the economic field is of ever greater political importance to the outcome of the struggle between the two world systems. The socialist countries, bringing into play the superiority of the new system with an increasingly effective use of the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution, are changing their production structures and management mechanism, conducting a large-scale reform of profound revolutionary significance, and will surely bring about greater changes in a not too distant future. pp35-36

We must bring into full play the strength of the whole system of proletarian dictatorship, the strength of the whole Party, people and armed forces, closely combine economic, defence and security tasks, and step up the building of the all-people defence and security and a secure rear area in all respects. p40

The people's militia and self-defence forces must be developed with adequate strength and quality in order to meet the requirements of the tasks. The building of reserve forces must be promoted. We should promote research on and development of the Vietnamese military science and art. p40

The mechanism of Party leadership over the army and national defence should be correctly implemented. p41

..... the enemy's acts of economic, political and ideological sabotage and their intelligence and espionage activities must be prevented and punished.' p41

..... our Party and people continue to attach prime importance to *the task of building socialism*, building the system of collective mastery, a new economy and a new culture and fostering a new, socialist type of man. p42

Advancing from capitalism to socialism through a transitional period is an objective necessity, and the length of this period depends on the economic, political and social conditions of each country. The transitional period in our country which is advancing straight towards socialism from a small-scale production bypassing the stage of capitalist development, naturally must be long and difficult. This is a period of profound, comprehensive and thoroughgoing revolutionary transformation aimed at building from the beginning a new social system in terms of productive forces, production relations as well as superstructure. This is a period of complicated class struggle between the two roads, socialist and capitalist, in all spheres of social life, in order to solve the 'which will win' problem. Holding firm to proletarian dictatorship, promoting the working people's right to collective mastery, simultaneously undertaking the three revolutions and carrying out socialist industrialization are the main contents of the Party's revolutionary line. pp42-43

As Lenin put it: 'This whole period (the transitional period) in our policy, is again divided into many smaller transitional steps.

All the difficulties of the task we have to do, all the difficulties of the policy and all the ingenuity of the policy lie in knowing how to deal with the specific tasks of each of these transitional steps.’ (V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works* (in Vietnamese), Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1977, Vol. 40, pp..119-120.) p44

..... and realization of social equity.’ p45

Precisely speaking, we must ensure that the people get adequate food at a higher nutritional level than at present, and adequate clothing; we must satisfy better their needs for health protection and treatment of diseases, travelling, education and cultural enjoyment, for essential household necessities, and lessen the difficulties in housing, particularly in urban and concentrated industrial area. These are the requirements of the fundamental economic law of socialism in the present conditions. pp45-46

..... we must by all means create a rational economic structure geared to the intensification of agricultural production, mainly of grain and foodstuffs, and the promotion of the production of consumer and export goods. pp46-47

3. Building and perfecting further the new production relations in accordance with the character and level of development of the productive forces. We must consolidate the socialist economic sectors, including the State-run and collective sectors, in an all-round manner, including the systems of ownership, management and distribution, helping these economic sectors play a dominant role in the national economy and show their superiority in labour productivity, product quality, workers' incomes and accumulation for industrialization. With appropriate measures, we shall make use of all the capacities of the other economic sectors in close association with and under guidance of the socialist economic sectors. p47

Social equity should be realized in conformity with the concrete conditions of our country.’ p48

The length of the initial stage depends largely on how we shall

apply the lessons drawn from the practice of the past ten years, in order to accelerate the tempo of economic and social development in the years ahead. p49

..... it is of prime importance to renovate the economic and social policies with a view to bringing into full play the role as masters and the zeal of the working people, creating a seething mass movement to carry out simultaneously the revolution in production relations, the scientific and technological revolution and the ideological and cultural revolution. p50

..... the land with great possibility of intensive cultivation. p51

..... *with a view to vigorously developing the productive forces along with building and strengthening the socialist relations.* p51

..... determine the *foremost position of agriculture.* p53

..... effect mechanization gradually and in selected areas hold the initiative in providing against and fighting floods and storms. p53

The water acreage which is now under the control of State-run or collective enterprises and which has not yet been fully utilized is to be leased or allotted to the people on a contractual basis for developing production. p55

State-run economic enterprises should be developed and consolidated in those areas that control production and circulation. p56

Socialist trade organs must strive to play their role as the representatives of the consumers in placing orders and signing contracts with production units. p56

Those production units doing bad business and failing to thrive must either change their production lines, reduce operation or be

closed down. p56

The building of heavy industry establishments which exceed our practical conditions and capacities must be avoided, including those serving for agriculture and light industry. p57

..... increasing the volume of railway transport, rearranging in a rational manner land transport and developing air transport. p58

..... take one step forward in improving public conveyance for the people. p58

Along with increasing power supply, a balanced national power grid must be established. It is necessary to build and improve the network of water supply and drainage and the sewage system in cities and provincial towns. p58

The yardstick for the efficiency of an investment is low capital, more job opportunities and rapid completion of the project. p60

In our society, many able-bodied people are still unemployed or underemployed. The State sector's ability to absorb the work force is still very limited in the years ahead. It is impossible either to bring all those who engage in individual business into collectives within a short period of time. There are branches and occupations which, if collectivized, are not expected to bring in good results. While the financial resources of the State and the collective enterprises are still limited, the idle money at the disposal of the people is used mainly for consumption purposes, or kept in reserve and spent on hoarding purposes. Policies are needed to pave the way for the working people to create jobs by themselves, to stimulate everyone to invest their money in production and business, to practise thrift in consumption for the purpose of accumulation and widen reproduction on a nationwide scale.

Proceeding from the evaluation of such potentialities, scattered

yet very important, at the disposal of the people as labour force, technology, capital, ability to create jobs, we hold that, together with developing the public and collective economic sectors, promoting the State's centralized source of accumulation and drawing capital from abroad, there should be *policies for using and transforming other economic sectors properly*. pp62-63

..... in which the public sector plays the leading role. p63

..... is an application of the Leninist point of view to *regard the multi-sector economy as a characteristic feature of the transitional period*. p64

According to the law of the correspondence of production relations to the character and level of development of productive forces, the process of socialist transformation must be undertaken in appropriate steps and suitable forms. p64

In each step of socialist transformation, it is imperative to accelerate the building of the material and technical basis create new productive forces and on this basis continue to shape the production relations into new and appropriate forms and scale so as to further develop the productive forces.

The socialist transformation and the building of new production relations cover three aspects, namely the building of a system of public ownership of the means of production, a socialist management system and a socialist system of distribution. Though public ownership of the means of production constitutes the foundation of the new production relations. When the management and distribution systems do not go with each other, even publicly owned economic organizations, provided with better technical facilities, would yield less efficiency. Building the new production relations in all the three aspects, providing them with a real socialist nature, making it linked with each step in the development of the productive forces such is a great task which cannot be accomplished within a short period of time. p65

It is a permanent and continuous task throughout the period of transition to socialism to step up socialist transformation in appropriate forms and steps, making the production relations tally with the character and level of development of productive forces and always be a driving force for the development of productive forces. p66

..... the most *important thing* is to strengthen and develop the socialist economy, first of all, to enable the State sector to really play the leading role and control the others. p66

In agriculture it is necessary to handle correctly the relations between the State, the State-run economy and the cooperatives, and at the same time improve the internal management of the cooperatives. p67

The collective production units in the South must be consolidated strictly in accordance with the criteria of the collective economy. p67

..... after fulfilling their obligations and duties towards the State and the collectives, families of workers, employees and co-op members can, with their own labour, p67

..... *socialist economy with the State sector as the core must play a decisive role in the national economy*, i.e. it must account for a large proportion both in production and circulation, prove its superiority and, through economic integration. exercise its control over the other sectors. p68

People engaged in private undertakings should be motivated to take up the collective way of work on the basis of voluntariness and mutual benefit. p68

The activities of the private capitalist economic units are guided along the orbit of socialism in various forms of State capitalist economy, through the control of the State and economic integration with the State and collective sectors. p69

In the field of circulation, private capitalist trade must be eliminated. p69

So, the utilization of the small commodity production economy and the private capitalist economy is always linked with the process of socialist transformation of those sectors in various forms. p69

The State applies economic policies (such as those concerning investment, taxation, credit etc.) favouring the socialist economic sector. p70

The bureaucratically centralized management mechanism based on State subsidies, which has been in force for many years now, far from creating a driving forces for development, has weakened the socialist economy, limited the use and transformation of the other economic sectors, put a brake on production, lowered labour productivity, product quality and economic efficiency, put distribution and circulation in a state of chaos and given rise to numerous negative manifestations in our society. p71

After seizing power and getting hold of the key economic branches in the country, the socialist State is in a position to manage the national economy according to a unified plan and must necessarily do so. *Planning* is the number one characteristic of the economic management mechanism right from the beginning of the transitional period. pp72-73

..... all economic organizations and units should make up themselves for the expenses and should gain profits to realize enlarged reproduction, that they should carry out economic cost-accounting and socialist enterprise. p73

The State-run and collective economic units are socialist commodity production units and so they have the right to autonomy in production, business and finance. Labour collectives really play their role as masters in organizing and managing production and business. p74

The decentralization of management must ensure the right to mastery of the three levels: the right to decision-making of the centre (including all the central branches) over the key fields of activity, over questions of strategic significance so as to ensure a balanced development of the whole economy; the right to initiative of localities in fulfilling their tasks of economic-social management on their territories; and the right to autonomy in production-business of grassroots economic units and the mastery of labour collectives. In the division of labour and decentralization of management, responsibility must go with rights, and duty must be closely linked to interests. pp76-77

The State uses economic levers both in direct indirect planning to ensure the implementation of the guidelines and targets of national economic plans. p79

..... we must have *policies for expanding the circulation of goods*, putting an end to such practices as banning normal market activities, and dividing the market according to administrative boundaries. p80

The State must take effective measures to transform and abolish private capitalist trade and severely punish speculators and traffickers. Nevertheless, it is impossible to abolish private small trade out of wishful thinking by means of administrative orders. We can only restrict it with a better replacement by socialist trade and we should know how to utilize it in those domains where socialist trade is not in a position to fare well or is not necessary.

Experience of many localities and grassroots units has shown that socialist trade is fully capable of exerting trade monopoly over essential commodities and controlling the market if it knows how to do transaction, apply mainly economic measures in combination with educational and administrative measures and attract the direct participation of the masses. p80

The policy of forcing prices and a cumbersome mode of trading,

together with such measures as banning or restricting the selling of goods by farmers and producers on the market, would compel them to find ways to cope with the State by either holding back the goods, secretly selling them to private dealers or narrowing down production. This would eventually lead to a drop in production, cause tension between supply and demand, and price hikes. Such a policy would only enable private traders to increase their activities and weaken the worker-peasant alliance. p81

In order to stabilize prices, the pricing policy must aim, first of all, at stimulating production units and every producer to turn out more goods, reduce costs and sell their products to the State active steps should be taken to gradually do away with the spontaneous character of free market prices. p82

To enable the State-run trade to extricate itself from a predicament in which it finds it difficult to buy or sell, thus leaving a vacuum on the market, we should promptly set up a mechanism for properly fixing and controlling prices. p83

..... should amend some regulations on social welfare which are beyond the actual possibilities of the economy. p85

Collective credit organizations must be developed widely among the population and usury by private money-lenders must be prevented. p86

We must encourage everybody to practise thrift in consumption, to save money for accumulation in various forms. The policy of thrift in consumption must help encourage the use of home-made goods, limit the use of goods reserved for export and prevent the import of luxury goods. p87

The main task of *social sciences* in the years to come is to take an active part in the Party's theoretical work, contribute to the elaboration of a programme for socialist revolution in our country in the transitional period, elucidate a series of theoretical questions, especially in the field of economic and

social management on the basis of summing up the practical experience of our country and grasping promptly and keenly the theoretical achievements of fraternal countries. Social sciences must become an effective means for the renewal of conceptual and thinking methods, the forging of social consciousness and socialist personality. p90

Through this cooperation, we should promptly grasp scientific and technological achievements, thus avoiding waste caused by overlapping research. p92

..... our country must participate in the international division of labour, first and foremost by broadening the division of labour and all-round cooperation with the Soviet Union, Laos and Kampuchea, with other countries in the socialist community, at the same time broadening economic and scientific-technical relations with Third World countries, with developed industrial countries, with international organizations and private organizations abroad, on the principle of equality and mutual benefit. p95

It is necessary to promulgate a policy on import duties so as to stop irrational imports and prevent the import of luxury goods. We should determine correctly and in good time the prices for imported goods in order to avoid wasteful use and losses of goods and encourage production and use of domestic substitutes for imported goods. p97

..... the principle of State monopoly over foreign trade. p98

Along with the promulgation of the investment code, we should apply policies and measures to create favourable conditions for foreigners and overseas Vietnamese to come to our country for business cooperation. p100

..... the State should work out policies aimed at enabling the working people to secure their own employment. To this end, it should encourage the development of the household economy. p103

In the State sector, we should markedly reduce the number of people holding non-productive jobs and in the administrative management and transfer them to production and service industries. p104

We should pay adequate attention to developing pre-school education, raising the quality of education of pre-school children, and building more schools and *classes* for them complete universal primary education among school-age children, make junior-high school education universal in localities with favourable conditions. p107

Adequate investments should be made in the educational sphere, first of all in providing sufficient textbooks and school facilities. Besides the State budget we should clearly mention the contributions to be made by various branches and localities, by economic and social organizations to the educational pursuit. p108

We should oppose vestiges of feudal, colonialist and bourgeois cultures. All plots and moves by hostile forces aimed at making cultural and art activities a means of sowing pessimism and a depraved life style must be thwarted. Superstitions and other backward customs and practices must be curbed. p110

..... we should in the immediate future *raise the quality of health service* so as to make notable progress in caring for the people's health. p111

..... quickly strengthening the network of public health, especially in rural and urban districts and at grassroots levels strive to make more investments in the public health service and take better care of the material and cultural life of medical workers. p111

..... develop the production of pharmaceutical materials and products and medical facilities and equipment, and expand the farming, processing and effective use of traditional medicines.

p111

Attention should be paid to educating athletes in socialist ethics and the spirit of sportsmanship. p112

We should step by step build a socialist social security policy for the entire people according to the motto 'joint efforts of the State and the people'. p113

We should have a comprehensive policy on the housing problem, draw more investments from the State collectives and the people. p114

We should adopt a correct and consistent view and apply effective policies and measures to shape the working class, the collective peasantry and the socialist intelligentsia in all respects, thereby making the socio-political foundation of the new society ever firmer and bringing into full play the superiority of socialist forces in the struggle against capitalism. p115

Our Party once again expresses its full support for the domestic and foreign policies adopted by the 27th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, for the (revised) Programme of the CPSU, considering it a model of creative application of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine. p120

..... our Party contribute actively to strengthening the unity of the movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. p122

Loyal to Marxism-Leninism and imbued with the pure revolutionary thoughts and sentiments of the great President Ho Chi Minh. p130

..... our party considers *socialist collective mastery* to be the essence of the socialist democratic system, which should materialize in every aspect of life. We have defined the relationship of *leadership by the Party, mastery by the people*

and management by the State into an over-all mechanism in the management of the entire society. p131

.... a lack of cohesion between the Party, the State and the people. p132

This Party has not yet brought into play the role and functions entrusted to the mass organizations in educating and motivating the masses to participate in economic and social management. Mass organizations have not yet actively renewed their mode of activity to make it suit the character of these organizations. p133

As far as the working class is concerned, the Party must take special measures to raise its socialist consciousness and understanding in all aspects, making it worthy of its role as the vanguard of the revolution; at the same time the Party must care for its material and cultural life, and create necessary conditions for the working class to fulfil its historical mission.

Management is not only the work of professional managerial cadres, but also the people's cause. It is therefore necessary to elicit the masses' participation in the management of State organs, either in administration, production and trade transactions or in the maintenance of law and order. p134

.... the Party committees or administrative bodies must organize consultations with the people before making any decisions. pp134-135

The collectives of working people have the right and duty to take part in working out production and business plans, in the disposition of the labour force and the selection of managerial cadres as well as in the control and supervision of activities of the management bodies. p135

In communes, precincts and population centres, it is necessary to bring into full play the role of the Trade Union, the Youth Union, the Women's Union, the Collective Peasants' Association

and the Fatherland Front in motivating the people to develop production and household economy, the distribution and circulation of goods and services, to organize cultural, educational, healthcare and environmental activities, as well as to maintain law and order. p135

Labour discipline and social regulations can be strengthened only when there is a correct management mechanism, and strong measures of a legal character are applied, coupled with the education in socialist ethics. p136

....and through socio-economic construction to *train and temper the new man and form collectives of new working people*. p137

.... first of all the Federation of Trade Unions. p137

Adolescents and young children should be ensured the right to education and. cared for in social affection and family love. p140

..... we should make sure that the Party's guidelines for motivating women permeate the entire system of proletarian dictatorship and concretize them in policies and laws. p140

During the transitional period, it is a *proletarian dictatorship State that exercise socialist democracy*. pp141-142

As our Party is now in power, all cadres in whatever positions must live and work in strict compliance with the law and be exemplary in observing the law. p146

Under socialism, everything is done by the people and for the people; and only when it is truly done by the people can it truly serve the people to the full. Strict and steady observance of that cardinal principle is the decisive factor for all successes of the revolution. p149

The large-scale and the complex character of the socio-economic tasks in the transitional period, the 'which-will-win'

struggle between the socialist guideline and the capitalist guideline, and our people's struggle against imperialism and international reaction are demanding the constant enhancement of the leading capacity and fighting power of our party. p151

..... the Party must effect a renewal in many respects: renewal of the way of thinking, first of all economic thinking; renewal in organization; renewal of the personnel; renewal of the style of leading and work. p151

For many years now, there still exist in our knowledge of socialism many outdated concepts, especially those concerning industrialization, socialist transformation, economic management mechanism distribution and circulation of products, etc. p152

To renew thinking, our Party must fully grasp the revolutionary and scientific nature of Marxism-Leninism, inherit the invaluable revolutionary ideological and theoretical heritage of President Ho Chi Minh, Comrade Le Duan and other leaders of our Party, absorb the theoretical achievements, the new and rich experience of fraternal parties and the scientific advances of our times. p152

The conservatism and inertness of old concepts are no small obstacles, especially when those concepts are closely tied to inveterate individualists and conservatives. p153

In our society, a struggle is taking place between two ways of life: one that has an ideal, is healthy, honest, living by one's own labour, with a sense of respect for and defence of public property, concern for collective and national interests, and the other is characterized by utilitarianism, deceit, selfishness, parasitism and money-seeking. p154

The ideological work must be renewed in content and form, organization and method, personnel and means. p156

Party organizations must form contingents of lecturers and

propagandists whose revolutionary qualities, political and professional knowledge are constantly improved, and who are constantly fostered and used in the work of spreading the Party's lines and policies. p156

Literature and art must constantly enrich themselves with the Party and people's character, they must be closely linked with the two strategic tasks of the revolution, keenly grasp the reality that is going on in a complicated way, discover in good time and commend the new, create vivid models, assert the young talents in life, bravely criticize the negative aspects that hamper social renewal. p158

The form of in-service courses of study should be widely applied to involve millions of Party cadres and members, Youth Union members, etc., in studying Marxism-Leninism in stipulated syllabuses, in order to provide them with a scientific world outlook, and methodology, a communist outlook on life, and teach them the lines and policies of the Party and the State. p159

In no case should the chief be deprived of the authority and especially of the responsibility to select his subordinates. p164

Money-seeking thought and action, selfishness, violations of socialist property and the people's interests, stealing of public property, using public property for gift-giving, wasteful feasts and 'internal distribution of goods' all this must be criticized and sternly dealt with. p170

In the past ten years, over 190,000 members were expelled from the Party, a good number of them for making mistakes concerning revolutionary qualities and ethics; a number of them were brought to justice. Strict disciplinary measures have not yet been taken, and there are still many unqualified members in the Party. The Party must be purified, first of all we must immediately rule out degenerate and depraved members. p171

It is always a matter of vital interest for the revolution to

strengthen the political, ideological and organizational unity and oneness of mind based on Marxism-Leninism, on the Party's policies, viewpoints, and organizational principles. p175

RESOLUTION

The Sixth Congress of the Communist Part of Vietnam, having discussed the Political Report of the Central Committee (Fifth Congress) delivered by General Secretary Truong Chinh p181

In general, we *have not yet fulfilled the overall target set by the Fifth Congress, namely stabilizing in the main the socio-economic situation and the people's life.* p184

In the 1981 -85 period, we did not correctly implement the judicious conclusions of our Fifth Party Congress on concretization of the economic line in the initial stage; we were not sufficiently resolved to do away with the manifestations of wishful thinking, hastiness, conservatism and sluggishness in laying out the economic structure, in socialist transformation and economic management. Moreover, we made new and serious mistakes in the fields of distribution and circulation of products. We slackened proletarian dictatorship in social and economic management, in the ideological and cultural struggle, in the fight against the enemy's wicked schemes and acts of sabotage. p185

.... the education and management of cadres and Party members are not close enough. p186

.... leading the people in the socialist revolution. p186

On the task of building socialism, the Congress asserts: *The overall task and overall objective of the remaining years of the initial stage are to stabilize the socio-economic situation in every respect, continue to build the necessary premises for accelerated socialist industrialization in the subsequent stage.* p187

The three target programmes constitute the main content of the five-year plan for 1986-1990,correctly utilizing an integrating the various economic sectors while promoting the leading role of the State sector. p189

We should ensure that agriculture, as well as forestry and fishery, be the forefront and given priority in the provision of investment, energy, materials and working skills, first of all in the key areas, so as to achieve high economic efficiency. p190

2. We should continuously **carry out the task of socialist transformation**, in proper forms and by proper steps, making the relations of production conform with the character and level of the productive forces, promoting the development of the productive forces. We should strengthen the socialist economy on all three aspects - ownership system, management system, and distribution system - enabling the State-run economy to exercise its leading role and, together with the collective economy, hold a decisive place in the national economy and control the other economic sectors. The development of household economy should be encouraged. We should make use of the active capabilities of the small-scale commodity production economy, at the same time mobilize and organize individual producers into different forms of collective production so as to enhance the effectiveness of their production and business; arrange, transform and use small traders, help to transfer those not necessary in the field of circulation to the production and service sectors. We should make use of private capitalist economy (small capitalists) in some branches while transforming them step by step through various forms of State capitalism; abolish private capitalist trade; expand many forms of association between different economic sectors on the principle of mutual benefit and equality before the law. p192

We should enhance the strength of the entire system of proletarian dictatorship, closely combine economy with national defence. p199

Solidarity and multiform cooperation with the Soviet Union is the keystone of the foreign policy of our Party and State. p201

The Party Central Committee should speed up the elaboration of a comprehensive programme for the whole socialist revolution in the period of transition to socialism. We should work out a strategy for socio-economic development and a strategy for scientific-technologic development.

The programme must interpret the wisdom of our entire Party and people and shall be submitted to our Seventh Party Congress. pp205-206

..... raise high the banner of Marxism-Leninism. p207