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Truong-Chinh – General Secretary of the Central Committee of the
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Firmly Grasp the Three Great Lessons and Successfully Implement the
Two Strategic Tasks

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Studying the Draft Political report to be presented at the 6th Party
Congress, July 7-10 1986.*

‘Besides these great achievements we have committed a number of
serious shortcomings and mistakes in the building and management of
our national economy.’ p 5

‘..... we advance straight to socialism, bypassing the stage of capitalist
development, from a predominantly small production, with several
economic sectors, with a still very low output of commodities and with a
number of areas still retaining the autarkical character of a natural
economy.’ p 6

‘.....and steadily advance to socialism.’ p 7

‘To implement the Party’s line set by the 4th and 5th Party Congresses, the
process of socialist revolution in our country demand from us renewal in
many respects; renewal of our way of thinking, especially economic
thinking, renewal of our work style, renewal of our organization and our
cadres. The 6th Congress shall have to meet the demand. This renewal
should be materialized in the contents of the documents of the Party.’
p 7

‘..... the strength of a country, of revolution, comes from the people. To
really give full play to the working people’s right to collective mastery of
society, we must have faith in the people, all our undertakings, all our
policies must take the people as the starting point.’ p 8

‘Our Party’s policies must proceed from the interests, desires and level of
our people.’ p 8

‘Even when a policy is right, if the people do not yet understand it, do not
yet approve it, it is impossible to carry it out. In this case, we should
strive to educate the people, explain things to them, and should know how

to wait for them. Sometimes we should re-adjust a policy to make it suit reality and the level of the masses.

We should educate the people, help them to understand, make them trust the Party, thereby creating a broad and seething revolutionary movement of the working people who voluntarily and enthusiastically strive to build socialism.....not a few cadres and Party members have alienated themselves from the people.....Lenin said: “The danger facing a party in power lies in severing ties with the masses”.’ p 9

‘The peasants have a spirit of private ownership. That is true. To advance to socialism, it is necessary to get rid of that spirit. That is also true.’ p 9

‘..... in the work of leadership, we should respect the objective laws of development, apply them to reality. Comrade General Secretary Le Duan said: “To be the master of society is to firmly grasp the laws of development and act according to them”. That is true.’ p 10

‘Marxism-Leninism has set general principles of a universal character.’ p 10

‘..... we should proceed from the realities of Vietnam.’ p 10

‘Any policy that lowers the labour zeal of the masses, creates obstacles..... is a manifestation of an incorrect application of the objective laws of development and therefore must be abrogated or amended.’ p 11

‘.....the Party Central Committee has decided to abolish the system of bureaucratic centralism based on State subsidies, switch the economic activities to socialist cost accounting and business transactions based on planning.....switching from economic leadership chiefly by administrative orders to leadership through a correct application of the system of objective laws.’ p 12

‘We should add that in the conjuncture of the present era, when the community of the socialist countries has become a world system, an even more powerful and steadier force and favourable objective conditions are plenty, we should and are in a good position to elicit the priceless assistance of fraternal countries, first of all the Soviet Union.’ p 13

‘..... no matter how favourable the objective conditions may be, our subjective conditions are always the main factor.’ p 13

‘.....they [a number of comrades] fear that by thinking and doing otherwise that State subsidised bureaucratic centralism they would depart from socialism!’ p 13

‘..... [some comrades worry that] our limited supplies, raw materials and energy would flow from State-run establishments into collective and private production sectors. Such a worry leads us to ask: should we restrict production, not letting everybody get jobs?.....that worry shows that we do not yet believe in the strength of the people, do not yet understand the movement of the objective laws governing socio-economic development.....The working people will give full play to their creativeness in overcoming difficulties and boosting production.’ p 14

‘An erroneous policy.... will not only cause production to dwindle, but also impair the worker-peasant alliance, and push the peasants into the hands of private traders and speculators.’ p 14

‘With regard to the socialist transformation of private industry and trade, we must speed up transformation, carry it out continuously, in suitable forms and steps in each area and in the whole country, implement well the guideline of “transforming them for the purpose of using them, and using them to transform them better”, making the production relations always conform with the character and level of the production forces.....on the basis of giving full play to the key role of the socialist economic sector.’ pp 14-15

‘In short, to abide by the objective laws of development, to apply them correctly, to act to according to them is the most correct and quickest way to advance to socialism. There is no other way.’ p 16

‘...to fully mobilize the strength of the people in the advance to socialism, to ensure a conscious application of those laws, to create favourable conditions for developing their positive effect, it is absolutely necessary to maintain and enhance the leading role of the Party.’ p 16

‘Whether the powerful forces of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the great potentialities of the working people will be fully developed or not, depends on whether those forces, those potentials are directed to act accordingly to those laws or not.’ [my emphasis] p 16

‘We can firmly believe that with the correct leadership of our Party, the creative application of the principles of Marxism-Leninism, and the initiative of action according to the objective laws of development, the great strength of the system of proletarian dictatorship and right to collective mastery of society of the working people of our country will highly develop in the years ahead.’ p 17

‘In the present situation, we should at the same time oppose State-subsidized bureaucratic centralism, and oppose individualism, the low sense of organization and discipline, and the tendency to care only for local and regional interests, thereby weakening the centralised and unified management of the State.’ pp 18-19

‘To enhance the Party’s leadership and increase its militant power, we should pay utmost importance to the Party-building work, making it pure, steady and strong; we should carry out well the drive of self-criticism and criticism, hence creating oneness of will and action in the Party and the people, so as to overcome the present difficulties and further move forward.’ P21

‘..... we should heighten our vigilance, stand ready to cope with the land-grabbing and sabotage schemes and acts of the enemy.’ p 21

‘This is an enormous political and ideological problem.’ p 22

Consolidate the Socialist Relations of Production, Develop the Forces of Production and Make our Capital City Strong, Prosperous and Beautiful

Address delivered at the 10th Congress of the Hanoi Party Organization, October 17-23 1986

‘These conclusions show the creative application of the theory of Marxism-Leninism to the transitional period, as well as the practical experience in building socialism community, especially in the spirit of thorough-going renewal of revolutionary and scientific significance put forward at the 27th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.’ p 24

‘..... we had to rely mostly on foreign aid for subsistence.’ p 25

‘The land, labour force, material-technical foundation, capital, capabilities, experience, know-how and working skills of the whole country, of various branches, of each area and each working person are not put to full use.’ p 25

‘In the face of the evolution of the situation, we are at a loss to find out effective measures to cope with it. We fail to control the situation and turn rightist. It is quite clear that the more we stick to our old way of thinking and old style of work, the more difficulties crop up.’ p 26

‘Socialism should strive to demonstrate in practice its superiority over capitalism in all domains. To the socialist community, renewal is the path to the development to meet the requirements of our times, the ever-growing reasonable needs and aspirations of the people. For our economy, renewal is more imperative and of vital importance. This requirement is an internal demand of our economy and is in keeping with the trend of renewal of our epoch. Only by renewing our way of thinking, and our working style and by renewing our organizing and cadre work can we get out of the present predicament.’ p 26

‘.....it is necessary to link the development of the production forces with the acceleration of socialist transformation, considering it a regular and continuous task in the transitional period, with appropriate forms and measures, making the relations of production conform to the characteristics and level of the production forces and constantly speeding up the development of production forces.’ p 27

‘.....we reaffirm that it is possible to advance towards socialism from an economy largely based on small-scale production bypassing the stage of capitalist development, but we cannot bypass the development of commodities and should make a judicious use of the relations between money and commodities in planning our national economy.’ p 27

‘..... economic management fraught with bureaucratic, centralism and based on State subsidies, and decided to get rid of that outmoded system by making a complete switch to the system of cost accounting and socialist business operations with planning as its core.’ p 28

‘Our economic thinking is the application of Marxist-Leninist tenets to the conditions of Vietnam in conformity with the objective laws of development, with the economic level at each period of development. That is a dialectic, scientific and revolutionary way of thinking.’ p 28

‘The future of our Homeland and the interests of our nation call on all cadres and members of our entire Party, especially leading cadres, to set examples and take the lead in that struggle. We must courageously do away with our own conservatism and backwardness, free ourselves from simplistic concepts of socialism, give up special rights and gains (which run counter to the principle of distribution according to work) which we have enjoyed for years in the mechanism of bureaucratic centralism and State subsidies, thus contributing to the birth of the new.’ p 30

‘At the same time, it is necessary to appropriately build the infrastructure of society such as electricity, water supply, transport and communications, etc., in order to meet in good time the needs of increasing production, broadening the circulation of goods and stabilizing the people’s life. To build the capital city in general and its infrastructure in particular is an important task of the Hanoi Party organization and people.’ p 33

‘..... with the assistance from the Soviet Union and other fraternal and friendly countries.’ p 33

‘... gear the development of the suburbs to that of the inner city.’ p 34

‘It is necessary to build an ever-stronger socialist economy with the State-run sector as the core.’ p 36

‘I fully support that [cooperation with the city of Moscow] guideline since it conforms with the spirit of my meeting with CPSU General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev in Moscow last summer.’ p 36

‘That is Lenin’s idea about the transitional period applied to the present international conjuncture in which the Soviet Union and other countries in the socialist community have become a powerful system.’ p 37

‘.....at the same time firmly hold the right to united and centralized management by the State in all key economic sectors. You should firmly oppose conservatism and inertia, and at the same time fight liberalism, undiscipline, parochialism, factionalism and the habit of caring overly for the private interests of one’s unit and oneself.’ p 38

‘..... the socialist trade sector should swing into business and control the market through a logical and appropriate mode of marketing and a judicious price policy.’ p 38

‘Our capital city should be a place where the aged are cared for, children are loved, and women respected and assisted.’ p 39

‘With the ensuring of the grassroots economic units right to autonomy in production and business transactions, the directors will be given wider powers. It is necessary to have norms for a judicious choice of directors, whose activities must be regularly controlled and supervised, especially by the collectives and the masses so as to help grassroots establishments boost production and business transactions along the right line, at the same time, help the contingent of our Party cadres to uphold their revolutionary qualities.’ p 40

‘... get rid of degenerate and corrupt elements, and those who indulge in fraud, bribery, back-door connections, and those who take revenge and reprisal on honest people and protect bad ones, who lend a hand to speculators and traffickers.’ pp 40-41

The Strength for Safeguarding the Country Comes from our Entire People and our Armed Forces

Address delivered at the 4th Party Congress of the Armed Forces, October 13-18, 1986

‘.... with the pure internationalist spirit and the great and wholehearted support and assistance of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet people.’ p 44

‘We wholeheartedly welcome and respond to the initiatives of strategic significance on Asia and the Pacific of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union put forward by Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev in his important speech delivered in Vladivostok.’ pp 50-51

‘At the same time, we should realize that the US imperialists and other international reactionaries have never stopped nurturing wicked schemes to weaken our country and eventually conquer it.’ p 51